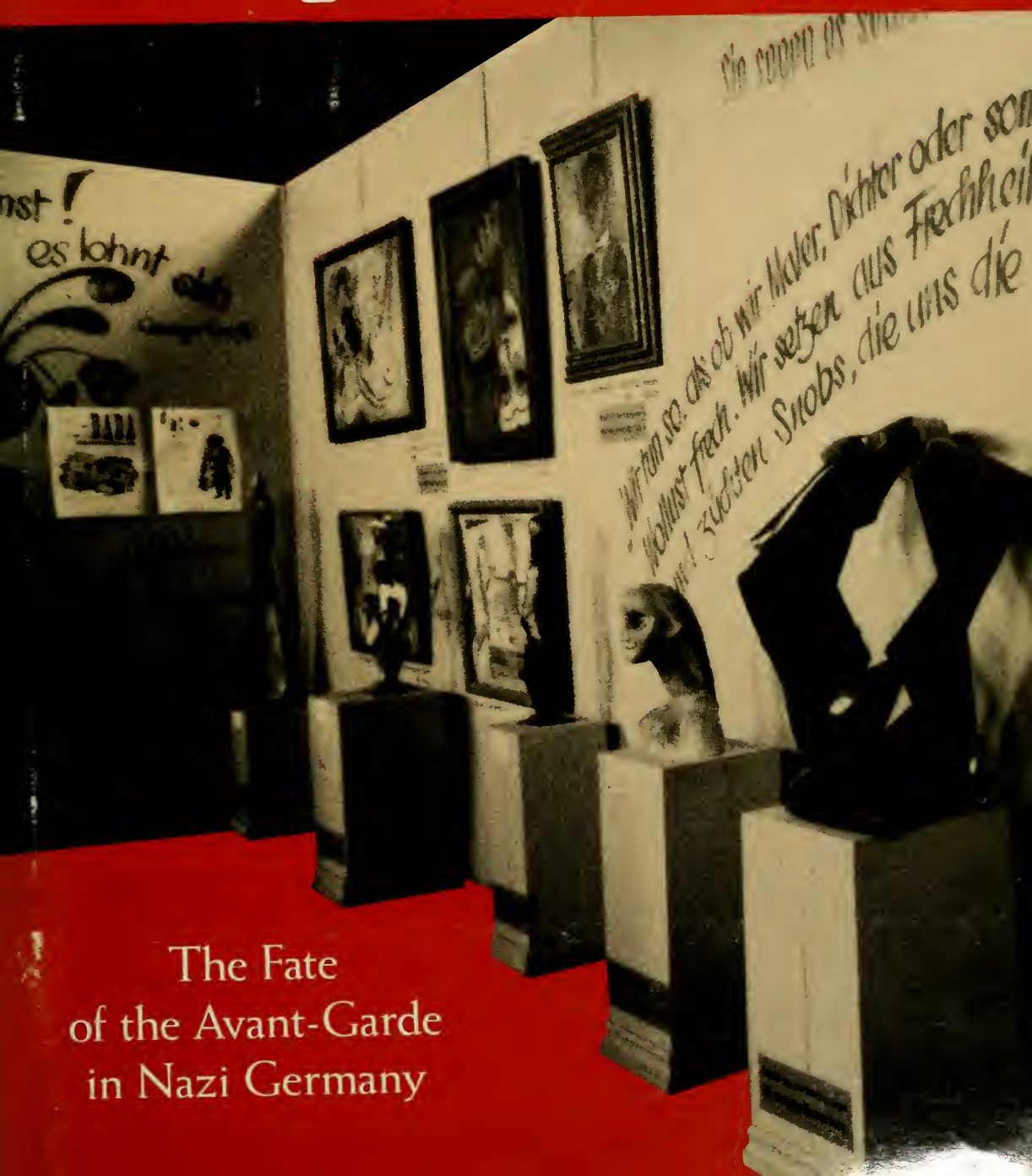


# "Degenerate Art"



The Fate  
of the Avant-Garde  
in Nazi Germany

# "Degenerate Art"

## The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany

No sooner had the Nazis seized control of Germany in 1933 than they launched their relentless attacks on the avant-garde and their desecration of modernist art.

By the fall of 1937 they had stripped 16,000 avant-garde works from the nation's museums and sent 650 to Munich for a massive exhibition, *Entartete Kunst* (degenerate art, as they called this work). Among the artists thus castigated were towering figures of the art world: Max Beckmann, Marc Chagall, Otto Dix, George Grosz, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, and founders of German Expressionism: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Franz Marc, Emil Nolde, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Provocative installation techniques were employed, some even reminiscent of famous avant-garde shows of the past.

Visitors jammed the galleries. Nearly 3 million viewers are estimated to have seen *Entartete Kunst* during its four-year tour of Germany and Austria.

By means of photographic documentation, archival records, motion-picture footage, the recollections of visitors, and published accounts, this infamous exhibition has been reconstructed (to the extent still possible) by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. In this book, prepared in conjunction with the exhibition, Stephanie Barron, curator of twentieth-century art at the museum, has assembled more than 150 surviving masterworks from the original show. Barron's illuminating introductory essay establishes the cultural context for the brutal attack waged by the Nazis against the avant-garde. In their essays Peter Guenther, Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, and Christoph Zuschlag discuss the preparation, installation, and travel of the 1937 show. George Mosse analyzes the National Socialist conception of beauty in art. Annegret Janda reveals aspects of the little-known resistance to the Nazis' campaign by museum officials in Berlin, while Andreas Hüneke and Barron document events surrounding the seizure and subsequent sale of many of the most valuable artworks. Michael Meyer and William Moritz examine the National Socialist attitudes toward music and film. These vivid, exhaustively researched essays cannot help but suggest a parallel with our own times, in which artistic freedom is under attack by ideologues.

Generously illustrated with many photos never before published, this volume also contains biographical information on each artist pertinent to the Nazi persecution of the avant-garde, a register of names and institutions, an illustrated

(continued on back flap)







## The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany



Hans Baldus - 1922-24



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



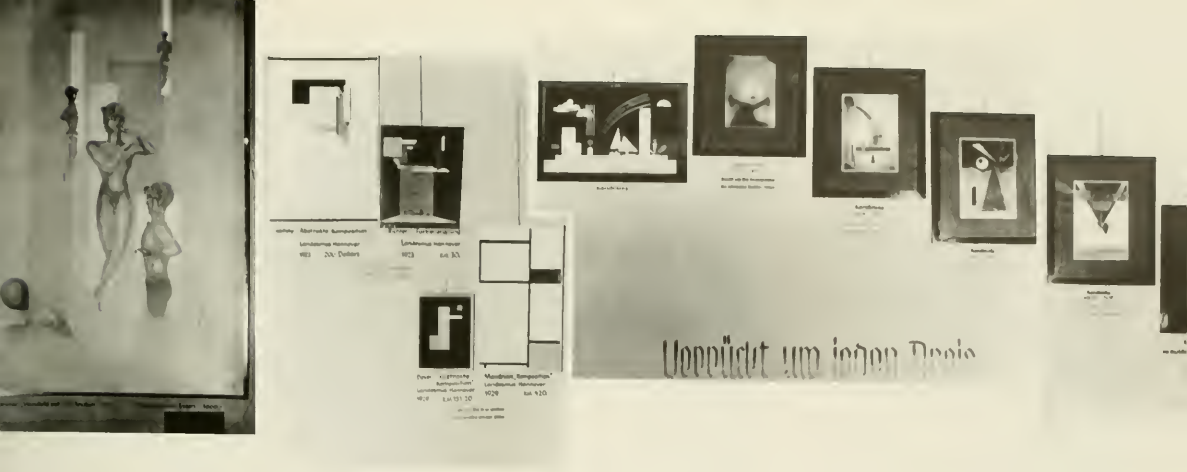
Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



Fritz Koenig - 1924-25



# "Degenerate Art"

## The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany

Stephanie Barron

with contributions  
by

*Peter Guenther  
Andreas Hüneke  
Annegret Janda  
Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau  
Michael Meyer  
William Moritz  
George L. Mosse  
Christoph Zuschlag*

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February 17–May 12, 1991

The Art Institute of Chicago  
June 22–September 8, 1991

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Cover: View of a section of the south wall of Room 3 in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937

Title page: Section of the north wall of Room 5

Right: View of Room 3, the sculptures are Eugen Hofmann's *Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve), at left, and Karl Niestrath's *Die Hungerige* (The starving woman)

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## Foreword

During the 1910s and 1920s public and private enthusiasm for contemporary art flourished in Germany in an unprecedented way. A museum devoted to modern art was founded in Halle, and other museums in Berlin, Essen, and Frankfurt set aside special sections devoted to contemporary art. In the 1930s, however, with the rise of National Socialism all this came to a devastating halt. Museum directors and curators were dismissed, and sixteen thousand paintings, sculptures, prints, and drawings were removed from public collections in a series of swift actions. Artists who were until that time accorded respect, on the faculty of leading academies and universities, and the subjects of important exhibitions and monographs were forced to flee their native Germany, radically alter their style, or cease creating art altogether. The most ambitious assault by the National Socialists on the avant-garde occurred in 1937 with the opening of the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate art) exhibition in Munich.

Our exhibition and catalogue "*Degenerate Art*": *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* examine the events surrounding that condemnation of modern art. Although this project has been in the planning stage for five years, its topic has recently attained greater timeliness. Museums in this country have relied for a quarter of a century on government grants through the agencies of the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, and the Institute for Museum Services. This assistance has, among many other things, enabled public institutions to continue to present important exhibitions to an ever-growing public and to attract private and corporate funding. As the 1990s begin, museum exhibitions are in a precarious position. If government support for the arts is jeopardized, the ability of all museums to organize exhibitions will be affected and the museum as an educational institution will be seriously diminished.



Only with two very generous subventions from the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have we been able to mount this exhibition, organize its related events, and produce this catalogue. This exhibition focuses on events that are powerful, disturbing, and sometimes difficult to understand. It is especially gratifying to us that the Endowments recognized the importance of the issues and made it possible for us to pursue the project.

*"Degenerate Art" The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* was conceived and organized by Stephanie Barron, curator of twentieth-century art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It represents Ms. Barron's third major undertaking in the history of modern German art, following the acclaimed *German Expressionist Sculpture* in 1983–84 and *German Expressionism 1915–1925: The Second Generation* in 1988–89. These accomplishments have contributed substantially to the museum's reputation as an important center for the study of German art. We are grateful to Ms. Barron for her outstanding work on this ambitious project.

In the course of preparing the exhibition the museum and Ms. Barron have been fortunate in receiving excellent cooperation from museums and private collections in North and South America and Europe. We are indebted to our lenders, who are listed on page 416, for without their generosity this project would have remained a dream.

Most foreign loans have been covered by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. Additional assistance was received from the cultural authorities of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Leopold Siefker, former Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Los Angeles, was most gracious in securing this funding. The Goethe-Institut Los Angeles and the Nathan Cummings Foundation each provided special funding for the extensive educational programs—including films, lectures, concerts, symposia, and a cabaret—that accompany the exhibition. Without this significant help an exhibition and publication of this magnitude would have truly been impossible to realize. Lufthansa German Airlines graciously provided major assistance for the transportation of the works of art, Joe Zucker, Public Relations Manager—USA West for Lufthansa, has once again proved most responsive to our request for funding.

A newly reunited Germany faces extraordinary challenges, inevitably among them is a reexamination of the events of the Third Reich. We profoundly hope that the exhibition and catalogue we are proud to present at our two institutions will contribute to the continuing reevaluation of the cultural heritage of Germany and the vigilance and reaffirmation that are an essential component of the health of our own nation's intellectual and artistic traditions.

The interest and enthusiasm, on both sides of the Atlantic, that have greeted this project since its inception have been enormously gratifying. *"Degenerate Art" The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* documents one of the most appalling moments in our century's cultural history, but it is also a reminder that art and creativity will survive censorship and oppression.

Earl A. Powell III

Director

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

James N. Wood

Director

The Art Institute of Chicago

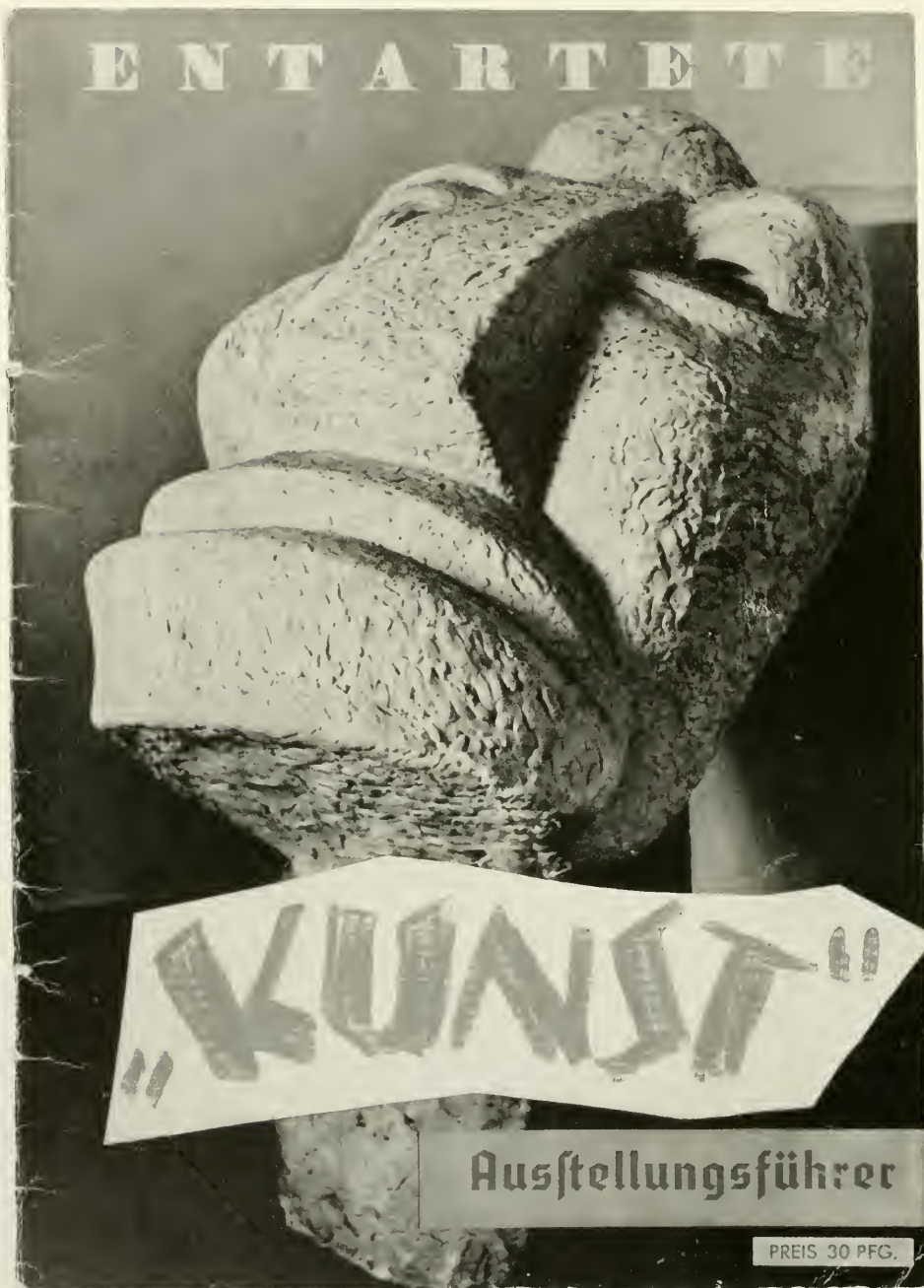


Figure 1  
Cover of the exhibition guide for *Entartete Kunst*, 1937, image: Otto Freundlich, *Der neue Mensch* (The new man), 1912, plaster cast, height 139 cm (54 3/4 in.), location unknown

1937

## Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany

**I**n 1937 the National Socialists staged the most virulent attack ever mounted against modern art with the opening on July 19 in Munich of the *Entartete Kunst* ('Degenerate art') exhibition, in which were brought together more than 650 important paintings, sculptures, prints, and books that had until a few weeks earlier been in the possession of thirty-two German public museum collections. The works were assembled for the purpose of clarifying for the German public by defamation and derision exactly what type of modern art was unacceptable to the Reich, and thus "un-German." During the four months *Entartete Kunst* was on view in Munich it attracted more than two million visitors, over the next three years it traveled throughout Germany and Austria and was seen by nearly one million more. On most days twenty thousand visitors passed through the exhibition, which was free of charge, records state that on one Sunday—August 2, 1937—thirty-six thousand people saw it.<sup>1</sup> The popularity of *Entartete Kunst* has never been matched by any other exhibition of modern art. According to newspaper accounts, five times as many people visited *Entartete Kunst* as saw the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* ('Great German art exhibition'), an equally large presentation of Nazi-approved art that had opened on the preceding day to inaugurate Munich's Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German art), the first official building erected by the National Socialists.

The thoroughness of the National Socialists' politicization of aesthetic issues remains unparalleled in modern history, as does the remarkable set of circumstances that led to the complete revocation of Germany's previous identification of its cultural heroes, not only in the visual arts but also in literature, music, and film. When the National Socialists assumed power in 1933, one of their first acts was an attack on contemporary authors; widespread book-burnings in which thousands of volumes were destroyed in public view announced the new policy toward the arts. The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was only the tip of the iceberg: in 1937 more than sixteen thousand examples of modern art were confiscated as "degenerate" by a committee empowered by Joseph Goebbels, Adolf Hitler's second-in-command and since March of 1933 Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich minister for public enlightenment and propaganda). While some of the impounded art

was earmarked for *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, hundreds of works were sold for hard currency to foreign buyers. Many of the "dregs," as Goebbels called them, were probably destroyed in a spectacular blaze in front of the central fire department in Berlin in 1939.<sup>2</sup>

The National Socialists rejected and censured virtually everything that had existed on the German modern art scene prior to 1933. Whether abstract or representational, the innocuously beautiful landscapes and portraits by August Macke, the expressionistically colored paintings by the popular Brücke artists Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Emil Nolde, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, the biting social criticism of Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, and George Grosz, or the efforts of the Bauhaus artists to forge a new link between art and industry—all were equally condemned. The Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums ('Professional civil service restoration act') of April 7, 1933, enabled Nazi officials to dismiss non-Aryan government employees from their jobs. In that year alone more than twenty museum directors and curators, all of whom worked for state institutions, were fired.

Artists were forced to join official groups, and any "undesirables" were dismissed from teaching posts in the academies and artistic organizations. No matter what their political attitudes, artists who worked in abstract, Cubist, Expressionist, Surrealist, or other modern styles came under attack. Nolde, who was actually an early member of the National Socialist party, saw his own work declared "degenerate." Willi Baumeister and Beckmann were dismissed from their positions at the Frankfurt Städelschule (Municipal school); Dix, Paul Klee, and Max Pechstein were fired from the academies in Dresden, Düsseldorf, and Berlin, respectively. The Preussische Akademie (Prussian academy) in Berlin lost many important artists, including Ernst Barlach, Rudolf Belling, Dix, Ludwig Gies, Karl Hofer, Kirchner, Oskar Kokoschka, Käthe Kollwitz, Max Liebermann, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Pechstein, and Bruno Taut. Most of the artists who were persecuted were not Jewish, on the contrary, of those mentioned above only Liebermann was Jewish, and of the 112 artists included in *Entartete Kunst* only 6 were Jews. Any artists who were mentioned or whose work was illustrated in any of the well-publicized books on contemporary art by Ludwig Justi or Carl Einstein or in avant-garde periodicals such as *Das Kunstblatt* ('The art paper'), *Die Aktion* ('Action'), or *Der Sturm* ('The storm') were easy

targets for the National Socialists. In 1979 Berthold Hinz produced evidence that Einstein's *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The art of the twentieth century) was in fact used as a guide by many of the National Socialists in defining who and what was modern, and consequently "un-German" and to be vilified.<sup>1</sup> With the swift imprint of the censor's stamp they outlawed an entire generation of modernism.

While the focus of "Degenerate Art": *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* is on events in the visual arts, these can be seen as indicative of prohibitions in the wider spectrum of the cultural arena. It is worthwhile to look at the various areas that came under the jurisdiction of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. In November 1933 Goebbels established *Reichskammern* (Reich chambers) of film, music, radio broadcasting, press, theater, and writers, in addition to the fine arts (fig. 2). Each of the heads of these chambers had under him (there were no women) seven departments incorporating further subdivisions. The Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts), for example, was divided into departments of 1) administration, 2) press and propaganda, 3) architecture, landscape architecture, and interior design, 4) painting, sculpture, and graphic arts, 5) commercial illustration and design, 6) art promotion, artists' associations, and craft associations, and 7) art publishing, sales, and auctioneering.

What becomes apparent is the microscopic attention the Nazi hierarchy accorded the observation and regulation of all aspects of cultural life in the Reich. The government established procedures whereby it decided what and who was acceptable or undesirable. Exclusion was tantamount to permanent disbarment. One can only wonder at the disproportionate amount of bureaucratic organization, paperwork, rules, and regulations that was aimed at an area of society that was economically, politically, and militaristically unthreatening. Obviously the National Socialists perceived the cultural life of the citizens of the Reich to be extremely important and worthy of such intensive concern. This elevation of art to such a major role in a totalitarian society was without historical precedent, other than in the Soviet Union. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt wrote in the early 1950s, "Such complete monopolization of the entire creative potential of a people, of every aesthetic instinct, such subjugation of every current of its productivity and its capacity for artistic experience to the purposes of the leaders of collective society does not exist before the present century."<sup>4</sup> Although Hitler had a personal interest and involvement with art, due to his unsuccessful career as a painter in Vienna, Lehmann-Haupt argues convincingly that the preoccupation of the National Socialists with culture far transcended Hitler's own frustrated flirtation with art.<sup>5</sup>

## Die Reichskulturkammer

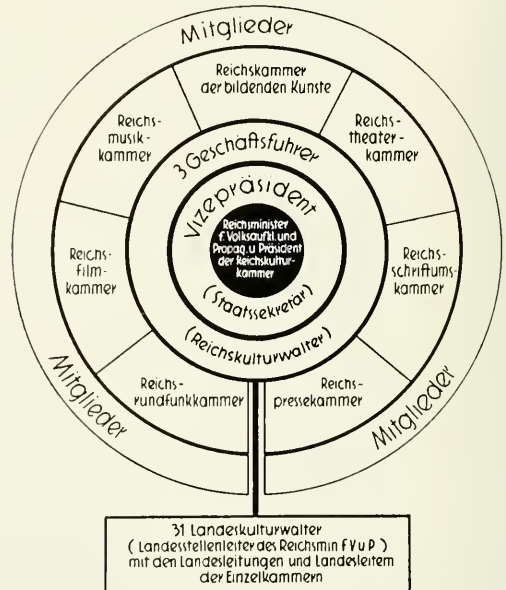


Figure 2  
Organizational chart of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture), illustrating its division into chambers of radio broadcasting, film, music, visual arts, theater, literature, and journalism.



### Degeneracy and Nazi ideology in the 1920s and 1930s

The *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* and *Entartete Kunst* did not occur as isolated incidents. The issues raised, the fusion of political and aesthetic themes, and the use of the term *entartet* to designate supposedly inferior racial, sexual, and moral types had been in the air for several years. (*Entartet*, which has traditionally been translated as "degenerate" or "decadent," is essentially a biological term, defining a plant or animal that has so changed that it no longer belongs to its species. By extension it refers to art that is unclassifiable or so far beyond the confines of what is accepted that it is in essence "non-art.")

The events leading up to 1937 had their roots in German cultural history long before the National Socialist party was formed. The year 1871 marked both the emergence of the German empire and the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man*, a book later used to justify German racism. As a unified country Germany became prone to an intense nationalism that manifested itself quite often as a belief in the natural superiority of the Aryan people. The myth of the blond, blue-eyed Nordic hero as the embodiment of the future of Western civilization was promoted in the writings of several European authors of the early twentieth century, including Count Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Hans Günther, and Alfred Rosenberg. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 the concept of racism had achieved popularity in the middle class. By the 1920s certain authors argued that racial characteristics and art were linked and attempted to "prove" that the style of a work of art was determined by the race of the artist.<sup>6</sup>

This period in German history also saw the efflorescence of modern art, literature, film, and music created by individuals who would be labeled "degenerate" in the 1930s. German art virtually exploded in a series of events in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich. The emergence of the artists' groups Die Brücke (The bridge) and Der Blaue Reiter (The blue rider), the publication of important radical periodicals to which artists contributed, and the intense response by artists and writers to the cataclysmic events of the First World War characterized the first phase of German Expressionism. These artists and writers were also drawn to the exotic: the carvings and wall hangings of African and Oceanic peoples that the Brücke artists saw in the Dresden Völkerkunde-Museum (Ethnographic museum); for example, or the art of the insane that served as inspiration for the poetry and prose of such esteemed authors as Hugo Ball, Alfred Döblin, and Wieland Herzfelde. In the wake of the war avant-garde German art came increasingly into conflict with the nationalistic realism that was more easily understood by the average German. The country had experienced a humiliating defeat and had been assessed for huge war reparations that grievously taxed its already shaky economy. Movements such as Expressionism, Cubism, and Dada were often viewed as intellectual, elitist, and foreign by the demoralized nation and linked to the economic collapse, which was blamed on a supposed international conspiracy of Communists and

Jews. Many avant-garde artists continued their involvement in Socialism during the turbulent Weimar era and made their sentiments known through their art. This identification of the more abstract art movements with internationalism and progressive politics created highly visible targets for the aggressive nationalism that gave birth to the National Socialist party, even as institutions such as the Bauhaus school moved into the cultural mainstream and German museums exhibited more and more avant-garde work.

Concurrent with important artistic developments, pseudoscientific treatises such as Max Nordau's *Entartung* (Degeneration) of 1892 were enjoying renewed popularity.<sup>7</sup> Nordau, himself a Jew, wrote a ponderous text vilifying the Pre-Raphaelites, Symbolism, Henrik Ibsen, and Émile Zola, among others, as he sought to prove the superiority of traditional German culture. In 1895 George Bernard Shaw had written a brilliant and scathing review of Nordau's book,<sup>8</sup> one of several responses provoked internationally. Unfortunately, the criticism had little impact on the architects of Nazi ideology. *Entartung* and other racist works took the widely accepted view that nineteenth-century realistic genre painting represented the culmination of a long tradition of true Art. Even before they obtained a majority in the Reichstag (Parliament), disgruntled theorists and polemicists had written and spoken of how "good German art" was being overrun by "degenerates, Jews, and other insidious influences." The avant-garde artist was equated to the insane, who in turn was synonymous with the Jew: the nineteenth-century founders of German psychiatry felt that the Jew was inherently degenerate and more susceptible than the non-Jew to insanity.<sup>9</sup> As Sander Gilman has pointed out, the classifications of "degenerate" and "healthy" appeared for the first time in the late nineteenth century, by the late 1930s they were fairly standard in discussions about the avant-garde and the traditional.<sup>10</sup>

Opposition to the wave of avant-garde activities in German museums had begun in the 1920s with the founding of the Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft (German art association), which had as its goals a "common action against the corruption of art" and the promotion of an "art that was pure German, with the German soul reflecting art." They attacked exhibitions of the works of Beckmann, Grosz, and other proponents of "Kulturbolschewismus" (art-Bolshevism). In 1927 Rosenberg, the chief architect of Nazi cultural policy, founded the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture), which had the same goals as the Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft. It was at first an underground organization, but with the rise of National Socialism it worked openly with the party leadership. In 1930 Rosenberg wrote *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltungskämpfe* (The myth of the twentieth century: An evaluation of the spiritual-intellectual confrontations of our age), in which he denounced Expressionism and other modern art forms. "Creativity was broken because it had oriented itself, ideologically and artistically, toward a foreign standard and thus was no longer attuned to the demands of life."<sup>11</sup>

In 1929 the state of Thuringia elected Wilhelm Frick, a member of the Nazi party, as representative to the Reichstag. Frick was named Innenminister (Minister of the interior) for Thuringia. His actions gave a foretaste of what the Nazi seizure of power would mean: he began by replacing most department heads, issuing new cultural policies, and even encouraging the dismissal of Walter Gropius and the entire twenty-nine-member faculty of the Bauhaus in Weimar, which was located within his jurisdiction.

Frick appointed Paul Schultze-Naumburg, an architect and racial theorist, to replace Gropius. In 1925 Schultze-Naumburg had published an attack on the Bauhaus, *Das ABC des Bauens* (The ABCs of building), and in 1928 he wrote *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race), which would have a far-reaching influence in the Nazi scheme against modernism. Exploiting the popularity of Nordau's treatise, Schultze-Naumburg attacked modern art as "entartet." He juxtaposed examples of modern art and photographs of deformed or diseased people to suggest that they were the models for the elongated faces of Amedeo Modigliani, the angular physiognomies of Schmidt-Rottluff, and the florid faces of Dix (figs. 3-4). He railed particularly against the Expressionists, who he felt represented the inferior aspect of modern German culture.

Heidelberg had become a center for the study of art produced by schizophrenics as a means of access to the central problems of mental illness. In 1922 psychiatrist Hans Prinzhorn had published his study *Bilderei der Geisteskranken* (Image-making by the mentally ill), which was based on material he had assembled. He examined more than 5,000 works by 450 patients to demonstrate that the art of the insane exhibited certain specific qualities.<sup>12</sup> The study received serious attention far beyond the medical profession. Although we have no evidence that Hitler, the failed artist, read or even knew of Prinzhorn's book, the attention devoted to it was so widespread that it is more likely than not to have reached him. Thus, it is not surprising that Schultze-Naumburg's methodology of comparing the works of insane artists to avant-garde art was seized upon as a further way to "prove" the "degeneracy" of modern art. The technique of comparison for the purpose of denigration and condemnation thus became a basic tool of the Nazi campaign. In 1933 in Erlangen one of the many precursors of *Entartete Kunst* included thirty-two paintings by contemporary artists shown with works by children and the mentally ill.<sup>13</sup> The same technique was used on several pages in the illustrated brochure published to accompany *Entartete Kunst* as it traveled around Germany (pp. 383, 385, 387, 389).

There emerged in 1934 some confusion about the "official" attitude toward the Expressionists, artists such as Barlach and Nolde in particular. Some factions saw this art as truly German and Nordic, with roots in the Gothic era. Goebbels initially sided with these proponents, in fact, he surrounded himself with examples of Barlach's sculpture and Nolde's painting, he saw the spirit and chaos of Expressionism as analogous to the spirit of Nazi youth. At extreme odds with him was Rosenberg, who sought to promote *völkisch*



art (art of and for the German people) over any type of modern aesthetic. Goebbels and Rosenberg took opposing sides in their speeches and writings, neither yet sure of the Führer's opinion.<sup>14</sup> When Hitler appointed Rosenberg early in 1934 to supervise all "intellectual and ideological training," he gave him a rank equal to Goebbels's in his role as president of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture). The ideological tug-of-war continued well into the year, until the controversy required Hitler's intervention. In September, at the party rally in Nuremberg, Hitler spoke of the dangers of artistic sabotage by the Cubists, Futurists, Dadaists, and others who were threatening artistic growth, but he also cautioned against excessively retrograde German art. Thus, neither Expressionism nor the conservative *völkisch* art received his blessing. Nazi-approved art would be based exclusively on German racial tradition. Henceforth, all forms of modernism, including art criticism, were outlawed.

The unusual methodology employed by the Nazis in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition entailed the gathering of works of art for the specific purpose of defamation. Never before had there been such an effort, perhaps only Soviet Russia in the years following the revolution of 1917 offers a parallel for the efflorescence of modernism and its immediate repudiation by the government in power. The late-nineteenth-century French *Salons des Refusés*, in which art outside the academic tradition could be seen, were state-sanctioned opportunities for the avant-garde to emerge. By contrast, the Nazis exhibited works contrary to their "approved" art in order to condemn them. There was no chance for an alternative voice to be heard.





Figures 3–4  
Juxtaposition of works of “degenerate” art by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and Amedeo Modigliani and photographs of facial deformities, from Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse*, 1928

As early as 1933 the seeds had been sown for the approach used in the Munich exhibition four years later. In that year the *Deutscher Kunstbericht* (German art report), under Goebbels’s jurisdiction, published a five-point manifesto stating “what German artists expect from the new government.” Much of the content of the manifesto was generated by artists outside the mainstream avant-garde who felt that the art world had passed them by. They sought revenge on a modern art that was becoming increasingly identified with Germany in the international art world. The manifesto laid the groundwork for the events in 1937.

- All works of a cosmopolitan or Bolshevik nature should be removed from German museums and collections, but first they should be exhibited to the public, who should be informed of the details of their acquisition, and then burned.
- All museum directors who “wasted” public monies by purchasing “un-German” art should be fired immediately.
- No artist with Marxist or Bolshevik connections should be mentioned henceforth.
- No boxlike buildings should be built [an assault on Bauhaus architecture].
- All public sculptures not “approved” by the German public should be immediately removed [this applied especially to Barlach and Wilhelm Lehmbruck].

### The attack on the museums

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, museums, art dealers, and periodicals in Germany were greatly attuned to avant-garde activities in Europe and were avid advocates for the most recent developments. Museum curators and directors had responded eagerly to Impressionism and Post-Impressionism. In 1897 the Nationalgalerie in Berlin became the first museum in the world to acquire a painting by Paul Cézanne, and the Museum Folkwang in Essen was among the earliest public supporters of the work of Paul Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh. Herwarth Walden, with his gallery and publication *Der Sturm*, was a staunch supporter of Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, and the Russian avant-garde.

In 1949 Paul Ortwin Rave, who had become a curator at the Berlin Nationalgalerie in the 1930s, wrote the first book describing the artistic situation under the Nazi regime, *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich* (Art dictatorship in the Third Reich), which contained his eyewitness account of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.<sup>15</sup> What emerges from his description of the activities of German museums from 1919 through 1939 is a picture of a country filled with museums actively committed to modern art, to its acquisition and display. Alexander Doerner in Hannover, Gustav Hartlaub and Fritz Wichert in Mannheim, Carl Georg Heise in Lübeck, Ludwig Justi in Berlin, Alfred Lichtwark in Hamburg, Karl Ernst Osthaus in Hagen, Max Sauerlandt in Halle and later in Hamburg, Alois Schardt in Halle, Georg Swarzenski in Frankfurt, and Hugo von Tschudi in Berlin and later in Munich were among the museum directors who proselytized for contemporary art. They were responsible for acquiring, often directly from the artists, major works by Barlach, Beckmann, Lyonel Feininger, Erich Heckel, Kirchner, Lehmbruck, Macke, Franz Marc, Nolde, Pechstein, Christian Rohlf, and Schmidt-Rottluff, as well as artists of the earlier generation, Lovis Corinth, Liebermann, and Max Slevogt. They were not only committed to contemporary German art but also acquired in significant quantity important works by foreign Impressionists and Post-Impressionists: Cézanne, Gauguin, van Gogh, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, and Paul Signac and the art of contemporary foreigners such as James Ensor, Wassily Kandinsky, El Lissitzky, Henri Matisse, Piet Mondrian, and Pablo Picasso.

The exhibitions they organized, which frequently traveled, helped to define artistic trends and were important signs to foreign museums and dealers of the healthy state of contemporary art in Germany. Important international exhibitions in Cologne in 1912, Dresden in 1919, and Düsseldorf and Hannover in 1928 exposed new German art to a wider public. Contemporary German art was shown in Florence, London, New York, Paris, Pittsburgh, and Stockholm. In 1931 Alfred Barr, Jr., traveled in Germany to prepare his *Modern German Painting and Sculpture* for the fledgling Museum of Modern Art in New York. He was so impressed by what he saw in the museums that he made a point in his catalogue of citing the contemporary collecting policies of German public institutions.



Figure 5  
*Grosse antibolschewistische Ausstellung* (Great anti-Bolshevik exhibition), Nuremberg, 1937



Figure 6  
 The exhibition *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew), Munich, 1937, over the title are the words, "very political show"

However much modern German art is admired or misunderstood abroad, it is certainly supported publicly and privately in Germany with extraordinary generosity. Museum directors have the courage, foresight and knowledge to buy works by the most advanced artists long before public opinion forces them to do so. Some fifty German Museums, as the lists in this catalogue suggest, are a most positive factor both in supporting artists and in educating the public to an understanding of their work.<sup>16</sup>

After visiting a New York gallery showing of works of modern German art in 1939 the reviewer for the *New York World-Telegram* wrote "One's first reaction on seeing them is of amazement that such early examples of work by men who were later to become world famous should have been purchased by museums in Germany so many years ago."<sup>17</sup>

The Nationalgalerie in Berlin housed the most representative collection of contemporary German art. On October 30, 1936, immediately following the close of the Summer Olympics, Goebbels ordered the gallery's contemporary rooms to be closed to the public. From Annegret Janda's essay in this volume we learn how this most visible forum for modern art was a battleground in which a succession of museum directors engaged in a struggle to reorganize and protect the collection, to preserve some aesthetic dignity, and even to continue to acquire contemporary art with dwindling funds. After coming to power the National Socialists began a systematic campaign to confiscate modernist works from public museum collections. Hitler saw an attack on modernism as an opportunity to use the average German's distrust of avant-garde art to further his political objectives against Jews, Communists, and non-Aryans. The charge of "degeneracy" was leveled at avant-garde practitioners of music, literature, film, and visual art, and their works were confiscated to "purify" German culture. In 1933 the earliest exhibitions of "degenerate" art were organized to show the German people the products of the "cultural collapse" of Germany that would be purged from the Third Reich. Confiscated works were assembled into *Schreckenskammern der Kunst* (chambers of horror of art) whose organizers decried the fact that public monies had been wasted on these modern "horrors" and implied that many of the works had been foisted on the museums by a cabal of Jewish art dealers. These precursors to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich in 1937 sprang up throughout Germany, often featuring works from the local museums (see Christoph Zuschlag's essay in this catalogue). *Entartete Kunst* was not the only anti-modernist exhibition to occur in 1937. The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda (Institute for German cultural and economic propaganda), a section of Goebbels's ministry, organized the *Grosse antibolschewistische Ausstellung* (Great anti-Bolshevist exhibition; fig. 5), which ran in Nuremberg from September 5 to September 29 and then traveled to several other venues, and orchestrated the tour of the NSDAP's exhibition *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew, fig. 6) from Munich to Vienna, Berlin, Bremen, Dresden, and Magdeburg from late 1937 to mid-1939.

### The Kunsthalle Mannheim: An example

The situation in Mannheim was typical of that of many other German museums out of the spotlight of Berlin; one could just as easily have chosen the Landesmuseum in Hannover, the Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, the Museum Folkwang in Essen, or the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg in Halle.<sup>18</sup>

Between 1909 and 1923 Fritz Wichert, the director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, purchased several key examples of French and German Impressionism and German Expressionism, including paintings by Alexander Archipenko, Beckmann, Corinth, Kirchner, and Liebermann. Sally Falk's donations of works by Lehmbruck and Ernesto de Fiori provided the nucleus for a growing collection of sculpture.<sup>19</sup>

Wichert's successor was Gustav Hartlaub, whose tenure extended from 1923 until 1934, when he was forced to resign. He was responsible for most of the exhibitions and major acquisitions of Expressionist and modern art that made Mannheim a center for those who wanted to see current art in Germany (figs. 7–8). The files of the Kunsthalle yield an interesting picture of the volume and velocity of these purchases and exhibitions and of Hartlaub's voracious interest in contemporary art, including the Fauves, *Die Brücke*, *Der Blaue Reiter*, *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity), and other examples of German and non-German avant-garde art.

- 1924–25 Exhibition *Deutscher Werkbund "Die Form"*  
Acquisition Grosz, *Grossstadt*
- 1925–26 Exhibitions *Edvard Munch*; *Neue Sachlichkeit*  
Acquisitions Marc Chagall, *Blaues Haus*; Dix, *Die Witwe*;  
Grosz, *Max Hermann-Neisse*; Kirchner, *Stilleben*
- 1927–28 Exhibitions *James Ensor*, *Wege und Richtungen der Abstraktion*  
Acquisitions Baumeister, *Tischgesellschaft*; Robert  
Delaunay, *St. Severin*; Ensor, *Masks and Death*; Oskar  
Schlemmer, *Frauentrepp*
- 1928–29 Exhibition *Max Beckmann*  
Acquisitions Beckmann, *Pierrette und Clown*, *Das  
Liebespaar*; Chagall, *Rabbim*; André Derain, *Landscape*
- 1929–30 Acquisition Heinrich Hoerle, *Melancholie*
- 1930–31 Exhibitions *Bauhaus*; *Neues von Gestern*  
Acquisition Jankel Adler, *Zwei Mädchen*
- 1931–32 Exhibitions Oskar Kokoschka, *Georg Minne*
- 1932–33 only graphics
- 1933–34 nothing major
- 1934–35 only graphics

As early as the mid-1920s museums had felt the cold wind of censorship. In 1925 Hartlaub's *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition traveled to the Chemnitz Kunsthütte, where the director, Dr. Schreiber-Wiegand, asked Hartlaub to make some changes in the catalogue:

We are most grateful to you for your permission to use your introduction to the catalogue, but with regard to our special art-political conditions,





Figure 7  
Gallery in the Kunsthalle Mannheim during the defamatory exhibition *Kultur-bolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism), 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst* 1. Schlemmer, *Frauentreppe*, 2. Beckmann, *Christus und die Ehrethenern*, 3. Hoerle, *Melancholie*, 4. Adler, *Mutter und Tochter*, 5. Baumeister, *Tischgesellschaft*

*I have one request. Since in the attacks on our collecting activities these [works] are regarded as "Bolshevism in art," might we change a few words in three paragraphs? On page 1 could we simply leave out the word "Katastrophenzeit" [catastrophic time], and maybe on the next page express the sentence a little less controversially? I would like to avoid any problems . . . [I] ask for your friendly understanding of our local situation. You yourself know how everything now is affected by political conditions and [those who] want to kill everything that does not please them. This includes Expressionism, of course, especially my purchases of pictures by Schmidt-Rottluff, Kirchner, and Heckel.<sup>20</sup>*

Hartlaub obliged so that the exhibition and catalogue could proceed as planned. By the early 1930s, however, his own freedom was increasingly hampered. During the last year of his directorship Mannheim was the scene of public protests against some of his acquisitions, including Chagall's *Rabbiner* (Rabbi, fig. 118), which was the subject of a window display in the town incorporating the sign, "Taxpayer, you should know how your money was spent." In 1934 Hartlaub became the first museum director to be fired by the National Socialists. Other directors who soon joined the ranks of those dismissed by the Nazis included Heise in Lübeck, Justi in Berlin, Sauerlandt, then director of the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Schreiber-Wiegand in Chemnitz, and Swarzenski in Frankfurt.

On two separate occasions, July 8 and August 28, 1937, the Kunsthalle Mannheim was visited by the special committee empowered by Goebbels to confiscate examples of "degenerate" art from German museums. Mannheim was one of their most successful stops: they seized over six hundred works by artists such as non-Germans Chagall, Delaunay, Derain, Ensor, and Edvard Munch and Germans Beckmann, Corinth, Grosz, Lehndruck, Nolde, and Schlemmer. Most of these masterworks are lost, a few, fortunately, have been reacquired by the Kunsthalle, and others are dispersed in public and private collections.

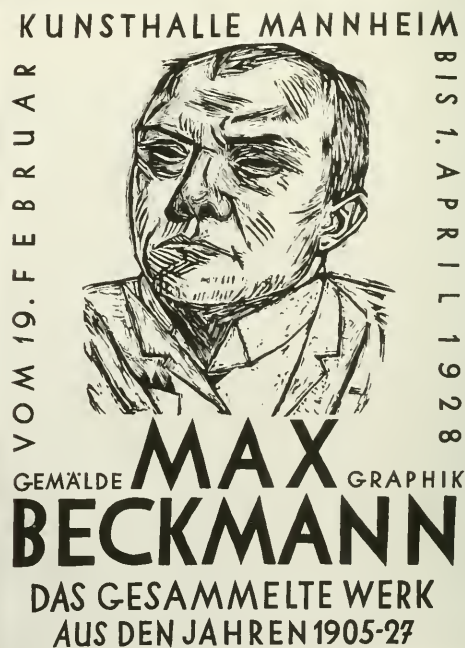


Figure 8  
Poster for an exhibition of paintings and graphic works by Max Beckmann, Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1928

### The "Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung," 1937

On October 15, 1933, at the ground-breaking ceremony for the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Hitler said he was laying the "foundations for this new temple in honor of the goddess of art." The architect, Paul Troost, insisted from the beginning that the building was to be a representative structure for the new German art. Due to the expensive materials used and the monumental scale of the rooms the building attracted enormous attention. Hitler announced that it was the first new building worthy to take its place among the immortal achievements of the German artistic heritage.<sup>21</sup> (It was also in this speech that he delivered the ultimatum that the National Socialists would give the people four years time to adjust to the cultural policies of the new government.)

The year 1937 represents both a nadir and zenith for the National Socialists in terms of their campaign against modern art. Hitler evidently concurred with Troost that the Haus der Deutschen Kunst should display contemporary art; in fact, he planned to use an exhibition of approved German art as a chance to further shape cultural policy.<sup>22</sup> To find the art to fill the spacious new halls the National Socialists staged an open competition chaired by Adolf Ziegler, president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste. The competition was open to all German artists, and approximately fifteen thousand works were submitted. Much to the frustration of the organizers they were provided with no clear guidelines for the selection of works to be included in the exhibition. Goebbels and Hitler himself participated in the selection (figs. 9–10), and Goebbels noted in his diary, "The sculpture is going well, but the painting is a real catastrophe at the moment. They have hung works that make us shudder. The Führer is in a rage."<sup>23</sup> Hitler added some artists who had previously been rejected and threw out the work of several who had been judged acceptable. He abhorred "unfinished work," which subsequently became a criterion in the selection process. Eventually, nine hundred works were chosen from which the final selection would be made.

On July 18 in Munich, Hitler presided over the opening, held with great pomp and ceremony, of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and its inaugural exhibition of approved art. The *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (fig. 11) brought together over six hundred paintings and sculptures that were intended to demonstrate the triumph of German art in the Third Reich. Hitler announced

*From now on we are going to wage a merciless war of destruction against the last remaining elements of cultural disintegration. Should there be someone among [the artists] who still believes in his higher destiny—we'll now, he has had four years' time to prove himself. These four years are sufficient for us, too, to reach a definite judgment. From now on—of that you can be certain—all those mutually supporting and thereby sustaining cliques of chatters, dilettantes, and art forgers will be picked up and liquidated. For all we care, those prehistoric Stone-Age culture-barbarians and art-stutterers can return to the caves of their ancestors and there can apply their primitive international scratchings.*<sup>24</sup>



Figures 9–10  
Heinrich Hoffmann's candid photographs of Adolf Hitler and Adolf Ziegler choosing sculpture for inclusion in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition), Munich, 1937.



Figure 11  
Hoffmann's photograph of a gallery in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. Josef Thorak's sculpture *Kameradschaft* (Comradeship, fig. 27) can be seen against the far wall.

The *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* was the first of eight annual exhibitions, from 1937 to 1944, mounted in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in the Nazis' attempt to present the best of German artistic creation, a continuation of the exhibitions that had formerly taken place in the Munich Glaspalast (Glass palace), which had burned to the ground in 1931. There was a tradition in several German cities of staging annual open competitive exhibitions for local artists in which all the works of art were for sale, they were characterized by the display of distinctly conservative and traditional art, which entertained a consistently loyal public. In this respect the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellungen* were no different, except that they were larger, less parochial, and actively sponsored by the government. Installation photos and film footage indicate that the art was arranged by category—landscapes, portraits, nudes, military subjects—in the way commodities would be sold in separate areas in a market. The sales opportunities were fairly promising, and this alone may have convinced some artists to embrace National Socialist policies, since without their approval it was virtually impossible to sell contemporary art in Germany. Many of the purchases were used to decorate public buildings and offices. Several of the buyers were among the Nazi elite, who purchased the works for their official residences.<sup>25</sup>

At the time of each opening there occurred an elaborate pageant on the "Tag der Deutschen Kunst" (German art day). Participants wore historical costumes and created floats featuring models of well-known works of art that were driven through the streets of Munich. The opening ceremonies attracted anywhere from 400,000 to 800,000 visitors. In his inaugural speech in 1937 Hitler announced that, "When we celebrated the laying of the cornerstone for this building four years ago, we were all aware that we had to lay not only the cornerstone for a new home but also the foundations for a new and genuine German art. We had to bring about a turning point in the evolution of all our German cultural activities." The 1937 pageant was centered around the theme, "Zweitausend Jahre Deutsche Kultur" (Two thousand years of German culture). Hundreds of thousands of spectators watched the spectacle of a parade of more than three thousand costumed participants and four hundred animals. Immediately following this overblown performance thousands of uniformed soldiers marched through the streets, as if to provide the ultimate marvel. The official National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, described the events in glowing words: "Today we sat as spectators in the theater of our own time and saw greatness" (July 19, 1937).

In the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* the Nazis sought to promote mediocre genre painting as mainstream art, the most recent achievement in a continuum of centuries of German art. It was meant to wipe out any hint of the modernism, Expressionism, Dada, New Objectivity, Futurism, and Cubism that had permeated the museums, galleries, journals, and press since 1910. The National Socialists sought to rewrite art history, to omit what we know as the avant-garde from the history of modern art.



Figure 12

Collage of "Expressionist art of the [Communist] school," from Wolfgang Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels*, 1937, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. Nolde, *Christus und die Jünger*, other work. 2. Nolde. 3. Schmidt-Rottluff. 4. Mueller. 5. Hoyer. 6. Pechstein. 7. Klee. 8. Rohlf. 9. Kirchner. 10. Beckmann.

The situation was slightly different for sculpture. Guidelines were more difficult to observe, artists' motives more difficult to judge. Sculptors were apt to discover that some examples of their work were championed by the National Socialists and others lumped with "degenerate" art. One artist's work was inadvertently included in both the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* and *Entartete Kunst*. Belling's *Boxer Max Schmeling* was on view in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, while his *Dreiklang* (Triad) and *Kopf* (Head) were branded "degenerate" next door. Georg Kolbe and Gerhard Marcks had some of their earlier Expressionist works confiscated from German museums, yet their contemporary images found favor with the Nazi elite, and they continued to work openly (although two of Marcks's works were in *Entartete Kunst*). Even Arno Breker, the Nazis' sculptor of choice, saw one of his early sculptures confiscated. More conservative sculpture in the tradition of Aristide Maillol and Auguste Rodin had a significant following before the Nazis came to power and continued to be appreciated under Hitler's regime.





Figure 13  
Collage of "degenerate" art from the Stadtmuseum Dresden, from Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels*, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. Dix, *Kriegskrupp*, 3. Voll, *Schwangere Frau*. 4. Segall, *Die neuen Wanderer*, 5. Schwitters, *Merzbild* (sideways), 6. Kokoschka, *Die Helden*, other work. 2. Eugen Hoffmann

### The campaign against modern art in museums

Goebbels issued a decree on June 30, 1937, giving Ziegler and a five-man commission the authority to visit all major German museums and select works for an exhibition of "degenerate" that was to open in Munich at the same time as the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*.

*On the express authority of the Führer I hereby empower the president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Professor Ziegler of Munich, to select and secure for an exhibition works of German degenerate art since 1910, both painting and sculpture, which are now in collections owned by the German Reich, individual regions, or local communities. You are requested to give Prof. Ziegler your full support during his examination and selection of these works.*<sup>26</sup>

The directive went on to define works of "degenerate" art as those that either "insult German feeling, or destroy or confuse natural form, or simply reveal an absence of adequate manual and artistic skill." To have the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* and *Entartete Kunst* on view simultaneously would underscore the triumph of official art over "degenerate" art. This was to be a far more ambitious action than any of the small exhibitions mounted since 1933.

Ziegler's commission was made up of individuals who, as critics of modernism, were well suited to their task, among them were Count Klaus von Baudissin, an SS officer who during his brief tenure as director of the Museum Folkwang in Essen had already cleared the museum of "offensive" examples of modern art, and Wolfgang Willrich, author of *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art), a racist pamphlet whose methods of exorcism of modern art (figs. 12–13) played an important role in the concept and content of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. The other members were commissioner for artistic design Hans Schweitzer, art theoretician Robert Scholz, and art teacher and polemicist Walter Hansen.

According to Rave, in the first two weeks of July about seven hundred works were shipped to Munich from thirty-two museums in twenty-eight cities. Museums in Berlin, Bielefeld, Bremen, Breslau, Chemnitz, Cologne, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Erfurt, Essen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Jena, Karlsruhe, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Lübeck, Mannheim, Munich, Saarbrücken, Stettin, Stuttgart, Ulm, Weimar, Wiesbaden, and Wuppertal were purged of their holdings of Expressionism, Futurism, Constructivism, Dada, and New Objectivity. At the Kunsthalle Mannheim, for example, the commission selected eighteen paintings, five sculptures, and thirty-five graphic works, which were shipped immediately to Munich.

The commission revisited most of the museums later in the summer and selected additional works, so that a total of approximately sixteen thousand paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints by fourteen hundred artists were confiscated and shipped to Berlin to await final disposal. The commission overstepped its authority and seized works created prior to 1910, as well as those by non-German artists. The plundering continued until 1938 and was finally "legalized" retroactively under a law of May 31, 1938, that stated that "products of degenerate art that have been secured in museums or in collections open to the public before this law went in to effect may be appropriated by the Reich without compensation."

The works not included in *Entartete Kunst* and those from the second round of confiscations were sent to Berlin and stored in a warehouse on Köpenicker Strasse where they were inventoried. Those of "international value" that could be sold outside Germany for substantial sums were later weeded out and sent to another storage facility at Schloss Niederschönhausen. Goebbels created another commission, for the "disposal of confiscated works of degenerate art," which was to decide which works were to be sold for foreign currency and at what prices. This group included Ziegler, Schweitzer, and Scholz, with the addition of Franz Hofmann, Carl Meder, Karl Haberstock, and Max Taeuber. The work of this commission and its effect are discussed later in this volume in essays by Andreas Hüneke and myself.

## "Entartete Kunst"

On July 19, 1937, Ziegler opened the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition across the park from the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, in a building formerly occupied by the Institute of Archeology. The exhibition rooms had been cleared, and temporary partitions were erected on which the objects were crowded together in a chaotic arrangement (figs. 14–16), which is not surprising when one considers that the art was confiscated, shipped to Munich, and installed in less than two weeks. The paintings, some of which had had their frames removed, were vaguely organized into thematic groupings, the first time Expressionist works were presented in this way. While the first rooms were tightly grouped according to themes—religion, Jewish artists, the vilification of women—the rest of the exhibition was a composite of subjects and styles that were anathema to the National Socialists, including abstraction, antimilitarism, and art that seemed to be (or at least to be related to) the work of the mentally ill. (The specific organization of the works in Munich is discussed in this volume by Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, who has painstakingly recreated the installation and inventory of the exhibition.) Directly on the wall under many of the works were hand-lettered labels indicating how much money had been spent by each museum to acquire this "art." The fact that the radical postwar inflation of the 1920s had led to grossly exaggerated figures—in November 1920 a dollar was worth 42 billion marks!—was conveniently not mentioned. Quotations and slogans by proscribed critics and museum directors and condemnatory statements by Hitler and other party members were scrawled across the walls. Since every work of art included in *Entartete Kunst* had been taken from a public collection, the event was meant not only to denigrate the artists but also to condemn the actions of the institutions, directors, curators, and dealers involved with the acquisition of modern art.

*Entartete Kunst* was to have been on view through the end of September, but the astonishing attendance prompted the organizers to extend the run until the end of November. Plans were also made to circulate the exhibition to other German cities, with Berlin as the first stop. The leaders of the various *Gaus* (regions into which Germany had been divided by the National Socialists for administrative reasons) vied for the opportunity to present the exhibition, but only the most important were accorded the chance. *Entartete Kunst* in varying configurations ultimately traveled to thirteen German and Austrian cities through April of 1941. (The tour is discussed and documented in Zuschlag's essay.) Shortly before the show closed in Munich, Ziegler's office appointed Hartmut Pistauer as the exhibition coordinator. It was his job to make the arrangements for each venue, supervise the installation, and greet any important party visitors at the opening (fig. 17) on behalf of the Propagandaministerium (Ministry of propaganda).<sup>27</sup>

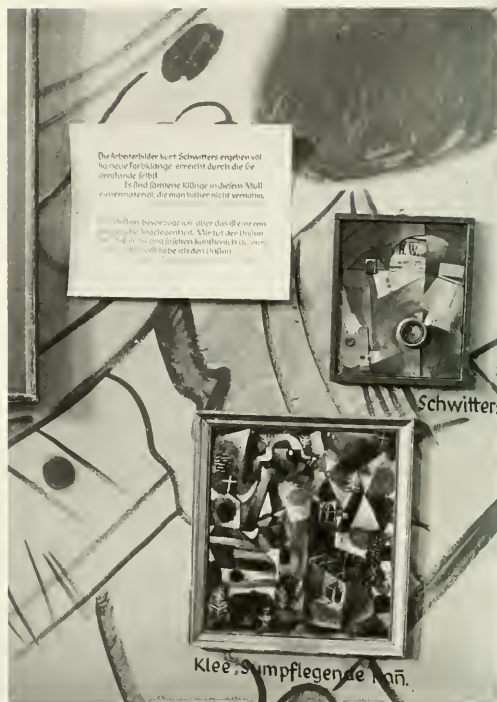


Figure 14  
Detail of the Dada wall in Room 3 of *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937, work by Klee and Schwitters



Figure 15  
View of a portion of the south wall in Room 5, work by Beckmann, Fuhr, Kirchner, Mueller, Nolde, Rohlf, and Schmidt-Rottluff

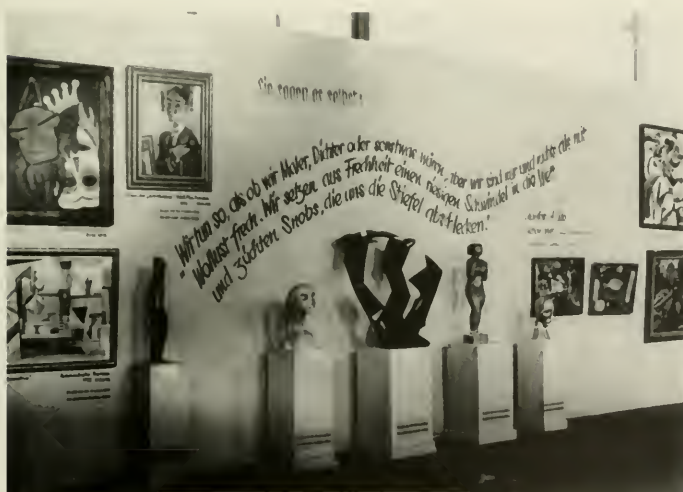


Figure 16  
View of a portion of the south wall of Room 3, work by Baum, Belling,  
Campendonk, Drexel, Felixmüller, Eugen Hoffmann, Klee, and Nolde





Figure 17  
Hartmut Pistorius (in dark suit, center) leads Nazi party officials through the Düsseldorf venue of *Entartete Kunst*, 1938, work by Gies and Nolde can be seen in the background

When *Entartete Kunst* opened in Munich, no catalogue was available. Shortly before the exhibition closed in November, a thirty-two page booklet was published to accompany the touring presentation. This *Ausstellungsführer* (exhibition guide) stated the aims of the exhibition and reproduced excerpts from Hitler's speeches condemning the art and the artists that produced it (a facsimile and translation by David Britt are presented in this volume). Some of the same quotations that were used on the walls in Munich found their way into the booklet, and Schultze-Naumburg's technique of juxtaposition was prominently featured: images of art by the mentally ill from the Prinzhorn Collection were placed next to photographs of works by Rudolf Haizmann, Eugen Hoffmann, Klee, and Kokoschka, with captions such as, "Which of these three drawings is the work of an inmate of a lunatic asylum?" Although not all the works illustrated in the booklet were included in *Entartete Kunst*, all were by artists who were represented in the exhibition. The cover featured *Der neue Mensch* (The new man), a famous sculpture (later destroyed) by the Jewish artist Otto Freundlich, with the words *Entartete Kunst* partly obscuring the image (fig. 1). By printing *Kunst* to look as if it had been rudely scrawled in red crayon and by enclosing it in quotation marks, the National Socialists clearly made the point that although they considered this material degenerate, they certainly did not consider it art.

One of the inevitable questions about the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition concerns its purpose. Why did the National Socialists go to such an effort to mount, publicize, and circulate it? What did they hope to gain? One explanation at least offers itself. If the Nazis had merely confiscated and destroyed the art, it would have been the cultural equivalent of creating a martyr. By staging *Entartete Kunst* they were able to appeal to the majority of the German people who must have considered most modern art incomprehensible and elitist. To all modernists, not just those represented in *Entartete Kunst*, the Nazis sent the message that such art would no longer be tolerated in Germany, an official position that, thanks to the cleverly manipulated complicity of the German people, had the force of a popular mandate.

One thing that emerges from any examination of the cultural activities in Germany under the National Socialists is that, despite every attempt to provide rigorous definitions of "healthy" and "degenerate" art and to remove all traces of the latter from public view, the actions against modern visual arts (as well as those against literature, music, and film) were enormously problematic and contradictory. Ultimately, however, the brilliant flowering of modernism in Germany that had begun in the early years of the century came to a halt in 1937 with the opening of *Entartete Kunst* and the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. Artists, writers, filmmakers, poets, musicians, critics, and intellectuals of all disciplines were forced to take drastic action, either to emigrate or to resort to a deadening "inner immigration." Much of the confiscated art was destroyed or has vanished, and many of the most powerfully creative artists of Germany's golden era were broken in spirit, forced to flee, or killed. But the art, the documents, and the memories that have survived enable us to reconstruct the era and ensure that, in the end, the National Socialists failed—the modern art of Germany was not and will never be eradicated. Collectively, the works of art and the pieced-together fragments of history remind us that art may be enjoyed or abhorred but it is a force whose potency should never be underestimated.

It is ironic that some of the issues raised by an examination of these events should have such resonance today in America. Newspaper articles on public support for the arts and the situation facing the National Endowment for the Arts emphasize an uncomfortable parallel between these issues and those raised by the 1937 exhibition, between the enemies of artistic freedom today and those responsible for organizing the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. Perhaps after a serious look at events that unfolded over half a century ago in Germany, we may apply what we learn to our own predicament, in which for the first time in the postwar era the arts and freedom of artistic expression in America are facing a serious challenge. ■

# Notes

- 1 Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 109.
- 2 While all accounts from the immediate postwar era confirm this event, first reported by Paul Ortwin Rave in 1949 (*Kunstskizzen im Dritten Reich* [Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann]), more recent works by authors including Georg Bussmann and Eckhardt Klessmann have questioned whether there was in fact such a wholesale destruction of works of art; see Bussmann, "Degenerate Art: A Look at a Useful Myth," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905–1985* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 113–24, and Klessmann, "Barlach in der Barbaren," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 13, 1983, literary supplement. In Sothe Fohn's recently published account of her and her husband's art exchanges with Berlin in the late 1940s she challenged the Nazis' contention that approximately five thousand works were burned on March 20, 1939, and suggested that only the frames may have been destroyed in the fire, see Carla Schultz-Hoffmann, ed., *Die Sammlung Sothe und Emanuel Fohn: Eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990), 27.
- 3 Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1926, 2d ed. 1928, 3d ed. 1931, Leipzig: Reclam, 1988), Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich* (New York: Random House, 1979), 24.
- 4 Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 3.
- 5 Ibid., 45–46.
- 6 In 1909 Julius Langbehn published *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Rembrandt as teacher) and in 1928 his *Durer als Führer* (Durer as leader), completed by Momme Nissen, was issued posthumously; these two immensely popular books made strong appeals to German nationalism in art.
- 7 For a particularly helpful analysis of Nordau's book see George L. Mosse's introduction to the 1968 English edition (Max Nordau, *Degeneration* [New York: Howard Fertig, 1968]).
- 8 George Bernard Shaw, "The Sanity of Art: An Exposure of the Current Nonsense about Artists Being Degenerate," in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable and Company, 1932, St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1976), 281–332.
- 9 See Theodor Kirchhoff, *Handbook of Insanity for Practitioners and Students* (New York: William Wood, 1893), and Richard M. Goodman, *Genetic Disorders among the Jewish People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 421–31. The term *corruzione* (corruption) had been used by the seventeenth-century Italian critic Giovanni Pietro Bellori in an attack on Vasari and Michelangelo.
- 10 Sander Gilman, "Madness and Representation: Hans Prinzhorn's Study of Madness and Art in Its Historical Context," in *The Prinzhorn Collection* (exh. cat., Champaign, Ill.: Krannert Art Museum, 1984), 7–14, *idem*, "The Mad Man as Artist: Medicine, History, and Degenerate Art," *Journal of Contemporary History* 20 (1985): 575–97.
- 11 Alfred Rosenberg, "Race and Race History" and Other Essays, ed. Robert Pois (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 154.
- 12 Hans Prinzhorn, *Bildnisse der Geisteskranken: Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1922), published in English as *Artistry of the Mentally Ill: A Contribution to the Psychology and Psychopathology of Configuration*, trans. Eric von Brockdorff (New York: Springer, 1972).
- 13 See Table 1 in Christoph Zuschlag's essay in this volume.
- 14 Hildegard Brenner, Barbara Miller Lane, and George L. Mosse have described the conflict and power struggle between Rosenberg and Goebbels over modern art, particularly German Expressionism and Italian Futurism; see Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918–45* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Brenner, "Art in the Political Struggle of 1933–34," in Hajo Holborn, ed., *From Republic to Reich: The Making of the Nazi Revolution* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 395–434; and Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural, and Social Life in the Third Reich* (New York: Schocken Books, 1981).
- 15 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstskizzen im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 103–4.
- 16 Alfred Barr, Jr., *Modern German Painting and Sculpture* (exh. cat., New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1933), 7–8. Barr also indicated which German museums collected examples by each artist.
- 17 "European Works at Buchholz," *New York World-Telegram*, September 30, 1939.

18 Hans Jürgen Buderer, "Entartete Kunst": Beschlagnahme-Aktionen in der Stadtschule Kunsthalle Mannheim 1937 (Kunst + Documentation, no. 10) (exh. cat., Mannheim: Stadtschule Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1987). I am grateful to Dr. Manfred Fath, director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, for permission to examine museum files related to the "degenerate" art action.

For recent publication on the special situation in other museums mentioned see the following: Essen: Paul Vogt, ed., *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Museum Folkwang 1912–1945* (Essen: Museum Folkwang, 1983); Halle: Andreas Huneke, *Die jüdische Aktion "Entartete Kunst" 1937 in Halle / I Halle: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg 1987* (Hannover: Beschlagnahme-Aktion im Landesmuseum Hannover 1937) (exh. cat., Hannover: Landesmuseum Hannover, 1983).

In addition to the acknowledgments I have made elsewhere in these notes, I would like to thank Markus Kersting of the Stadtschule Galerie in Frankfurt for providing data on the purchases of Georg Swarzenski and to Hans Gopfert of the Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden for details on the collecting and exhibitions there in the 1920s and 1930s. Contemporary articles in the journals *Museum der Gegenwart* and *Die Kunst für Alle* also provided much background information.

- 19 Buderer, "Entartete Kunst," 8.
- 20 Ibid., 11.
- 21 Hinz, *Art of the Third Reich*, 163.
- 22 Rave, *Kunstskizzen*, 54.
- 23 *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Sämtliche Fragmente*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: C. K. Saur, 1987), pt. 1, vol. 3, 166.
- 24 Adolf Hitler, speech at the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Munich, July 18, 1937, cited and translated in Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship*, 76–77.
- 25 Jonathan Petropoulos, "Art as Politics: The Nazi Elite's Quest for the Political and Material Control of Art" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990).
- 26 Joseph Goebbels, decree sent to all major museums, June 30, 1937, a copy is preserved in the archives of the Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich, Akt 712a, 1271937, Nr. 1983, cited in Mario-Andreas von Luttichau, "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst': Die Münchner Ausstellungen 1937," in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 92.
- 27 I am indebted to Christoph Zuschlag who first brought Pistauer and his role in *Entartete Kunst* to my attention.



Figure 18  
Arno Breker, *Bereitschaft* (Readiness), 1937, bronze,  
formerly at the Zeppelinfeld, Nuremberg



# Beauty without Sensuality

## The Exhibition *Entartete Kunst*

**T**he National Socialist standards for art were based upon the idealized figures and sentimental landscapes that had informed nineteenth-century popular taste and upon the neoclassical themes that were Adolf Hitler's favorites. National Socialism annexed neoromantic and neoclassical art, defining it as racially pure, an art that could easily be understood and whose depictions of men and women exemplified the Germanic race. This was the official art that dominated the annual *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) in Munich, beginning in 1937, for which the paintings and sculptures were often selected by Hitler himself.

There was deeper purpose to the acceptance of such art: it symbolized a certain standard of beauty that might serve to cement the unity of the nation by projecting a moral standard to which everyone should aspire. Respectability was to inform personal and public morality, which true art must support. The men and women in Nazi painting and sculpture thus embodied the proper morality and sexual behavior. Beauty without sensuality was demanded of artists and sculptors, a beauty that had to reflect the generally accepted moral standards that the Nazis championed as their own. For it was the strength and appeal of National Socialism that it did not invent anything new in its effort at self-representation but simply appropriated long-standing popular tradition and taste.

The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was staged in 1937 as a foil to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. Painting and sculpture that supposedly reflected life in the Weimar Republic (1919–33) were displayed as concrete evidence that the Nazis had saved German society from Weimar's onslaught upon all the moral values people held dear: marriage, the family, chastity, and a steady, harmonious life. Weimar culture was "Bolshevist" culture, manipulated by the Jews, as the guide to the exhibition and the inscriptions on the gallery walls stated repeatedly. The destruction of respectability and the destruction of society and the nation were linked.

The exhibition must not be seen simply as Nazi propaganda, for it played upon basic moral attitudes that inform all modern societies. The concept of respectability has lasted, after all, even today art is condemned if it transgresses the normative morality in too shocking a fashion. That *Entartete Kunst* exists in a continuum is demonstrated

by the controversy in 1989 over Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs, which were thought to offend against public decency. Beauty with sensuality presented a danger to society because of what it symbolized, namely, a revolt against respectability as a principle of unity and order—thus, the destruction of the immutable values upon which society supposedly rested. If we are to understand the true significance of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, we must examine the relevant history in order to see how the forces of respectability coped with their "enemies" and what was at stake, for the exhibition itself was like the tip of an iceberg, and that iceberg has not yet melted.

Hitler pointed out at the 1934 Nazi party rally in Nuremberg that "anyone who seeks the new for its own sake strays all too easily into the realm of folly," a remark that was printed in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition guide. What was at issue was art as the expression of supposedly unchanging values in a society in search of such values. The modern age seemed to threaten the coherence of life itself. The accelerated pace of industrial and technological change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries produced a certain disorientation, a "simultaneity of experience" with which people had to cope. By the mid-nineteenth century there were already complaints that railroad travel had destroyed nature, as the landscape performed a wild dance before the trains' windows. Just so, the invention of the telephone, the motorcar, and the cinema introduced a new velocity of time that menaced the unhurried pace of life in an earlier age. Such concerns were reflected in a heightened quest for order in the face of instability.

Respectability ensured security, order, and the maintenance of values, taming the chaos that seemed always to threaten society; it reflected people's attitudes toward themselves and toward all that was "different." The enemies of respectability, it was said, could not control themselves: they were creatures of instinct, with unbridled passions. Such accusations were scarcely to be found before the age of the French Revolution, but from then on they became common whether it was Englishmen at the time of the Napoleonic wars claiming that the French were sending dancers to England to undermine the islanders' morality, or whether it was First World War propaganda seeking by means of words and pictures to impute to the enemy every kind of so-called sexual perversion; respectability was made a political issue from the very beginning.



Figure 19  
Urban scene from the film *Der Tunnel*: The tunnel, 1933

During the course of the nineteenth century an increasingly clear distinction was drawn between "normal" and "immoral" behavior, "normal" and "abnormal" sexuality. It was doctors, above all, using categories of health and sickness, who threw their weight behind society's constantly threatened moral norms, lending them legitimacy and thus defining the stereotypes of abnormality.

Those whom society treated as outsiders were now credited with all those characteristics that ran counter to society's image of itself. The mentally ill, Jews, homosexuals, and habitual criminals were all said to be physically unbalanced. Nervousness had been designated a serious illness—one that unleashed the passions—by the famous French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot in the 1880s. It was now seen as the chief threat to mainstream bourgeois morality, which emphasized steadiness and restraint. Sharing the iconography of illness in general—exhaustion, contortions, and grimaces—nervousness was thought to symbolize the opposite of normative standards of beauty. The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was built upon such views of the outsider, using modern art to construct a "chamber of horrors."

Looked at closely, nervousness itself was seen as a product of modernity. The outsiders were always city-dwellers (fig. 19), further proof that they scorned the tranquility of eternal values: for them, time never stood still. One of the most despicable Nazi propagandists, Johann von Leers, expressed it in this way, no doubt speaking for many others in doing so: the city was the refuge of immorality and crime, and it was here that the "Jewish conspiracy" tried to gain control over German hearts and minds in order to drive them insane with frenzy and lust. For all its exaggeration and racial hatred, this view was still indebted to the nineteenth-century notion of respectability with its emphasis on controlling the passions and on the consequences of losing that control. There is a continuity here that we constantly encounter: the National Socialists' attitude toward sexuality cannot be separated from the general history of respectability.

*Degeneration* was, in its modern sense, a medical term used during the second half of the nineteenth century to identify the condition of those who had departed from the "normal" because of shattered nerves, inherited abnormalities, or behavioral or sexual excess. Degenerates could be identified by their bodily deformities, red eyes, feebleness, and exhaustion. Such conditions signaled the start of a process that would inevitably lead to destruction. What haunted society from the *fin de siècle* onward was the fear that not only humans but nations as well could degenerate, a process thought to have begun already because of the falling birth rates in France and other countries. Those who refused to conform to the moral dictates of society were labeled "degenerate," and as they themselves were doomed to destruction they might destroy society as well.

The physician Max Nordau in his book *Entartung* (Degeneration) of 1892 did much to popularize the term in its application to modern literature and art: modern artists, whether Impressionists or Expressionists, were incapable of reproducing nature because they had lost the faculty of accurate observation and painted instead distorted and irregular forms mirroring their own nervous deformities and stunted growth. In Hitler's view the artists in the 1937 exhibition symbolized degeneracy. "And what do you create?" the exhibition guide quotes Hitler as asking: "Misshapen cripples and cretins, women who can arouse only revulsion—as the expression of all that molds and sets its stamp on the present age." Against a background of attempts to define the boundaries of bourgeois morality, Hitler's pronouncement resurrects the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century iconography of the outsider as described by physicians such as Nordau. Moreover, it had the effect of advancing a certain concept of beauty as a readily understood symbol of society's values.

The ideal of beauty played a dominant role as a symbol of morality, extending far beyond the realm of art: beauty helped to maintain control over the passions. Friedrich Schiller, for example, in his series of letters *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (On the aesthetic education of mankind) of 1795 wrote that beauty

ennobled the otherwise merely instinctive sexual act, transcending it by virtue of its eternal values. But what is "beauty"? This question penetrated to the very heart of society's morals. In neoromantic or neoclassical art beauty became the self-portrait of society, the view it liked to have of itself.

How deeply respectability and its concept of beauty were embedded in society can be inferred from the ways in which the concept was presented long before National Socialism. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was religion, especially Protestantism, that took upon itself the task of promoting respectability, whereas by the end of the century that role had been assigned to the people themselves. The stricter attitude toward sodomy, which was made a criminal offense in many countries in *fin de siècle* Europe, appealed no longer to religious but to supposed popular sentiment. The clear and unambiguous distinction between the socially normal and the so-called deviant—a distinction that was now supported medically and iconographically as well as by religion and education—had been internalized. (Propagandaminister Joseph Goebbels knew he was risking very little when, in 1936, he banned art criticism on the grounds that the general public should make up its own mind, that year more paintings offered at the annual exhibition of German art were sold than at almost all earlier exhibitions.)

The achievement of beauty without sensuality presented a special challenge in the representation of the ideal male, who, inspired by Greek models, was often represented in the nude (fig. 20). The evolution of bourgeois morality was contemporaneous with the rediscovery of classical sculpture. J. J. Winckelmann, describing Greek male statuary as the paradigm of beauty for all time in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of the art of antiquity) of 1774, made this art acceptable to the middle classes by raising nudity to an abstract plane and turning it into a stylistic principle. Such beauty was perceived as somehow sexless, a conviction shared by others at a later date, aided by the belief that the almost transparent whiteness of these figures raised them above the personal and sensual. At roughly the same time Winckelmann wrote his famous book. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote, "Apollo Belvedere, why do you show yourself to us in all your nudity, making us ashamed of our own nakedness?" Male symbolism could not be stripped of all physicality; the beauty of the Greek youths—lithe and supple, muscular and harmonious bodies—lay in their nakedness. It was precisely the corporeality of the sculpture that expressed strength and harmony, order and dynamism, in other words, the ideal qualities of both burgher and nation (fig. 21). For the Nazis such men symbolized the true German upon whose commitment the Third Reich depended.

From the moment when bourgeois morality was first established, the ideals of male and female beauty differed radically, a circumstance that largely determined the political role of women as a national symbol. The male was regarded as dynamic, promising to bring about a timeless order and cure an ailing world, Friedrich



Figure 20  
Spear-bearer (Spear-bearer), copy of the *Doryphoros* by Polykleitos (c. 450–420 B.C.), monument to the fallen of the First World War, bronze, formerly at the University of Munich

Theodor Vischer, the nineteenth century's foremost German writer on aesthetics, assigned to beauty and manliness the task of preventing chaos. Women, by contrast, were turned into passive figures such as Germania or Queen Luise of Prussia (1776–1810), who was stylized as the "Prussian Madonna." While the male was often depicted nude, the woman was almost always fully clothed, at least to the extent that she functioned as a national symbol. And yet, for all their differences, public representations of men and women had one important point in common: they transcended sensuality.

The nakedness of the male stereotype displayed on so many Nazi buildings and monuments, however, never lost its unsettling and latently threatening effect. In this context it is not without significance that nudism was banned immediately after the Nazis came to power (it was said to deaden women's natural shame). On much the same level was a warning issued by the Reichsministerium des Innern (Reich ministry of the interior) in 1935 to the effect that nude bathing by people of the same sex could be seen as the first step toward the violation of Paragraph 175, which punished homosexual acts.

In its attempt to strip nakedness of its sensuality the Third Reich drew a sharp distinction between private life and public representation. Arno Breker's nude male sculptures (fig. 18) continued to be in official demand, and statues of seminude men and women still decorated public spaces. But it was an abstract, smooth, almost transparent nakedness and a frozen posture achieved by recourse to Winckelmann's purified concept of beauty.

The Nazis encouraged physical training, and here the problem of nudity arose once more. Hans Surén in his *Gymnastik der Deutschen* (German gymnastics) of 1938, a book that went through several editions during the Third Reich, exemplified the effort to divest the nude body of its sensuous appeal in this particular setting. He advocated nearly complete nudity in the pursuit of sport or while roaming through the countryside, but the male body had to be carefully prepared before it could be offered to public scrutiny: the skin had to be hairless, smooth, and bronzed. The body had become an abstract symbol of Aryan beauty, as it was in Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1936 Olympic Games. Sensuality was transcended by an alignment with Greek form: figures that could be worshipped but neither desired nor loved.

And the Nazi view of women? Goebbels insisted that girls should be strong, healthy, and good to look at, which meant that, as he put it, in contrast to the male, the muscles of their arms and legs should not be visible. (The importance of iconography can be judged by the extent to which the Nazis described physical detail.) But how could this ideal of womankind be reconciled with the naked sports-woman, for the latter did indeed exist. The simple answer was that the female athlete's body was often approximated to that of the male. Without emphasizing the obvious feminine contours, it was thus, in principle, identical to that of the male youth in nakedness without sensuality.



Figure 21  
Richard Scheibe, figure from an unidentified war memorial, bronze,  
location unknown





Figure 22  
Adolf Ziegler, *Akt (Nude)*, 1939, oil on canvas, 86 x 145 cm (33 3/4 x 57 1/4 in.)  
Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich (on deposit)

While, on the one hand, Goebbels launched his attacks on "sports girls," on the other, the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (League of German girls) was liberating the mass of young girls for the first time in their history from some home and family restraints, an act of emancipation achieved through sports and country walks. The National Socialist view of women was clearly not free of incongruity. Perhaps the reason for this is that National Socialism was based on a consciously male society that often behaved in a contradictory way toward women. Male homosexuality, for example, was ruthlessly persecuted, but the same was not true of lesbianism, which was ignored as a punishable crime.

In the depiction of women the main concern was, once again, to separate private from public representation. In the private sphere women could be completely naked and sensual, for how else can we interpret the paintings by Hitler's favorite artist, Adolf Ziegler (fig. 22)—paintings that hung not only in the Führer's private apartments but also in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*? Ziegler's fleshy and often full-bosomed nudes, who left nothing to the imagination, hung side by side with typical chaste German maidens with blond plaits. Public representation was political representation, however, and here the aim was to integrate the masses into the Third Reich with the aid of stereotypes that would treat the beautiful as a reflection of the eternal and immutable, revealing it as something pure and removed from all materialism and sensuality.

The ideal of manly beauty must be seen in contrast to the weak, exhausted, unmuscular figure of the outsider. The youthfulness of the male stereotype symbolized the dynamic of bourgeois society and of the nation as well, outsider figures, by contrast, were generally old. We find very few young Jews represented in nineteenth-century German drama, for example: they were almost without exception old and lonely.

Society expressed its morality in terms of generally accepted ideals of beauty while projecting its fears and ideas of ugliness onto the very groups the National Socialists were eventually determined to exterminate: Jews, homosexuals, habitual criminals, and the mentally disturbed. Even before the Nazis' electoral victory in 1930, Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologist, had written in his book about the Weimar Republic, *Der Sumpf* (The swamp): "Democracy has apparently been stabilized. Yet with its pederasty, lesbianism, and procreation it has been defeated all along the line."

The open homosexuality of Ernst Röhm, the powerful chief of the SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troops), and other SA leaders was indicative of the ambivalent attitude toward bourgeois respectability on the part of some members of the early National Socialist movement. This is true of Hitler himself, who defended Röhm against attack by declaring that the latter's private life was his own affair as long as he used some discretion. When, in 1934, Hitler ordered the murder of Röhm and other leaders of the SA who were known homosexuals, it had in fact little to do with their sexual inclinations: the SA was by then threatening Hitler's own power and destroying

his relationship with the regular army. Be that as it may, the opportunity was seized to underline the role of the party and the regime as the defenders of respectability. Mock trials were held in which Catholic priests were accused of homosexuality, and the family was given a central role in National Socialist propaganda.

The foundations for such developments had been laid immediately after Hitler took power on January 30, 1933. As early as February 23 all so-called pornographic literature had been banned and prostitution drastically curbed. It is no wonder that organizations such as the *Deutsch-Evangelische Sittlichkeitsbewegung* (German evangelical morality league) welcomed Hitler's seizure of power, since it apparently brought an end to the moral chaos of the postwar period, and this was by no means the only organization of its kind that supported the Nazis in their self-styled role as the saviors of bourgeois morality. (Was it only Albert Speer's mother who voted for the Nazis because their youngsters marching through the streets of Berlin looked so neat?) Hitler himself boasted that with his advent the "nervous nineteenth century" had finally come to an end. But a threat to respectability remained.

The Nazi party sought to build upon wartime experiences by first presenting itself as a continuation of the male camaraderie that had existed in the trenches. Even when it broadened its base of appeal, it never lost the character of a *Männerbund*, a league of men, an institution that had a long tradition in Germany. Important subgroups of the party such as the SA or the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, elite guard) were proud of being male organizations that excluded "unmanly" men. But such conscious male bonding seemed to raise the danger of homoeroticism or even homosexuality, a possibility that frightened some of the leadership.

The driving force behind the purge of all that might pose a threat to respectability was Heinrich Himmler, the leader of the SS, who more clearly than anyone else articulated the sexual policies of the Third Reich and thus revealed its underlying fears. (These same fears were also behind the organization of *Entartete Kunst*, which was an attempt to demonstrate the consequences of the rejection of social and sexual norms.) Himmler's obsessive regard for respectability and his fear of all sensuality encouraged him to magnify the homoerotic and homosexual potentialities of the *Männerbund*, including his own SS, which often represented itself symbolically as an idealized seminude male. If he emphasized the contrast between homosexuality and manliness, it was because of his fear that the one could easily turn into the other. At the same time he affirmed that the Third Reich was a state based upon the comradeship of men and that indeed "for centuries, yea, millennia, the Germans have been ruled as a *Männerstaat*" [state of men].

But that state was now threatened with self-destruction as a result of homosexuality, as Himmler made clear in November 1937 in a speech delivered to the SS leadership in Bad Tölz. He regarded homosexuality as a sickness that poisoned both body and mind (he even suggested prostitution—otherwise strictly prohibited—as a remedy), but he now went a stage further and drew on the imagery of the "natural" and "unnatural." In the good old days of the Teutonic tribes, Himmler told his Bad Tölz audience, homosexuals were drowned in the swamps. "This was no punishment, but simply the extinction of abnormal life." Nature rectified her own mistake, and Himmler lamented that this kind of extinction was no longer possible. For him, deviants from the sexual norm were not only outsiders, they were also racial enemies. The desire for their deaths, presented here as the goal of the struggle for purity and respectability, points the way to the Holocaust.

It must be stressed that doctors such as Charcot who described Jews as particularly subject to nervous diseases had never for a moment thought of killing them. For Charcot, anyone who was ill could be cured. It was racism that determined Himmler's offensive against outsiders, but it was also the wish to protect respectability, no matter what the price.

All this is the indispensable background to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. It was designed to be out of the ordinary, a survey of all that was indecent and ugly, all that represented an assault on bourgeois morality through the latter's concept of beauty. Works by modern artists were treated not as evidence of individual creativity but as representative of something undesirable; they were accorded no individual value, only a symbolic status. This, of course, made a mockery of those artists who vaunted their individuality above all else. It was the reaction of a society that felt itself to be under a constant threat, a society, moreover, that was bonded together by respectability and the security that it radiated. Morality and its symbols, of which beauty was the positive and nervousness the negative, were an issue of the first order in an age when society believed itself on the very brink of chaos as a result of the pace of change and the Great War. In this context the concept of "degenerate art" merely added to the general sense of anxiety.

And yet foreign newspapers reported in 1937 that far more people had visited *Entartete Kunst* than the parallel exhibition devoted to officially approved German art. According to the *Manchester Guardian* there were five times as many visitors to *Entartete Kunst* each day, while the *New York Times* reported that there had been 396,000 visitors, as opposed to 120,000 at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, within the space of a week. What is the explanation? It is a question that is difficult to answer, but it is unlikely that an interest in modern art played any part. The Nazis themselves encouraged people to visit the exhibition. Had the latent temptation to act unconventionally—a temptation almost encouraged by the Reich's antibourgeois rhetoric—become acute once more?

Respectability and all that it implied remained an essential part of the regime, and in the exhibition guide all those outsiders who had threatened society's conformist principles since the beginning of the last century were blamed for the degeneration of art. The paintings on display were presented as the work of madmen disfigured by sexual excesses, they represented Marxist and Jewish attacks on all that was German. The text of the guide summed up a tradition that drew an increasingly sharp distinction between respectability—that is, normality—and abnormality between the healthy and the sick, and between the natural and the unnatural. By embracing the respectable, people could resist the chaos of the age embodied by "degenerate" art and accept a "slice of eternity" into their lives. What was sacrificed in the process was sensuality, passion, and, to a great extent, individuality itself.

The analysis of "beauty without sensuality" undertaken here can be seen as a critique of bourgeois morality and, finally, of the never-ending attempt to distinguish between this morality, viewed as the norm, and what was seen as "abnormal." But we must never forget that for most people respectability was and is much more than merely a form of behavior or an ideal of beauty, for many, perhaps even for the vast majority, it offers cogent proof of the cohesiveness of society, a cohesiveness necessary for all systems of government, not just for National Socialism. Hence, the favorable response encountered by the premise of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, even in places where we would least expect it: the London *New Statesman*, for example, a left-wing journal, wrote that the exhibition was the best thing Mr. Hitler had done so far.

The smooth functioning of a generally accepted morality was just as important for the cohesion of society as the more often cited economic and social factors. At the same time it was something that people understood, something that impinged on their daily lives in a wholly concrete and comprehensive way. The ideal of beauty as the exemplification of society's norms was influenced not only by sentimentalism and romanticism, it had a social function as well. The aesthetics of politics, of daily life, had involved a degree of social control ever since bourgeois morality first came into being. Not only the works of art but much of the popular literature was filled with passion and love that were supposedly devoid of sensuality. For example, Agnes Günther's novel *Die Heilige und ihr Narr* (The saint and her fool, 1913), a runaway best-seller during the Weimar Republic, was a sentimental love story in which sensuality was equated with sickness. The representational art and the literature of the time fell readily into a tradition that the National Socialists merely took to its extreme.

And today? If my analysis is correct, I can only say that the same social needs still exist, that our modern tolerance toward the individual and sensuality is more an extension of what is permissible than an actual breach in the principle of respectability. There may be additional proof of this in the fact that after periods of sexual tolerance the limits are always reimposed. We are seeing this rhythm repeated today, in episodes like that of the Mapplethorpe exhibition and in the continued effort in the United States to control the erotic content of publicly funded art.

Marcel Proust gave perhaps the finest expression to that reciprocal relationship between conformism and tolerance that we can see all around us. Swann, the Jewish hero of *À la recherche du temps perdu*, is welcomed among the aristocratic and snobbish Guermantes as an exotic plant until he becomes a Dreyfusard, defending the captain against his reactionary accusers, at which point they see him as a threat to their political and social position. This seems to me to symbolize the reality of a situation in which we continue to find ourselves, bourgeois morality, once a newcomer in our midst, now appears so much a part of the way we see ourselves, so essential to our society, that we can scarcely imagine a different kind of morality, with the result that we have forgotten that, like everything else in this world, it is the result of historical evolution. ■

#### Note

This is a revised version of the author's article "Schönheit ohne Sinnlichkeit: Nationalsozialismus und Sexualität," *Zeitschrift*, special ed., 1987, 96–109. See also his *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).





Figure 23  
Visitors in Room 3 of *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937

## Three Days in Munich, July 1937

**T**hree days in Munich in July of 1937 as a seventeen-year-old: a visit to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition), which had just opened (I had missed the official inauguration by three days), and two visits to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition left unforgettable impressions. Unfortunately, letters to my family were destroyed during the war and in the bombing of Dresden, they would have been of great help in resurrecting the memories of an impressionable teenager, which naturally have been tempered and even augmented by knowledge acquired later. Yet some of the experiences of those three days are as frightfully real as if no time had elapsed.

I should explain that my father, Alfred Günther, was a newspaper critic—what was called a *feuilletonist*—in Dresden. He had written on art and literature for years and knew many contemporary artists and writers, who were frequent visitors in our home. In 1935 he had been expelled from the *Reichsschrifttumskammer* (Reich chamber of literature), the organization to which all writers were obliged to belong, and lost his job because his second wife, the outstanding photographer Genia Jonas, was Jewish.

I had grown up exposed to modern art. In my room hung reproductions of works by Franz Marc (*Blaue Pferd I* [Blue horse I] of 1911, fig. 24) and Vincent van Gogh (one of the versions of *Sunflowers*). My interest in Paul Gauguin had been kindled by such books as Laurids Bruun's *Van Zanten's glückliche Zeit* (Van Zanten's happy times), a sentimental novel about Gauguin's life in the South Seas—certainly not an artistic, historical, or literary masterpiece! I had gone to exhibitions with my father or my mother and looked at—more than read—the various art journals and books available in our home. I thought most people lived as I did.

Some credit for my interest in the arts must also go to the Reemtsma cigarette company. A coupon in each package could be exchanged for quite well-printed color reproductions of important works of art, to be pasted beside short introductory texts in albums of Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque art. I also had an album on modern art that had made me at least partially conversant with the Fauves, Futurists, and Expressionists. Some of my classmates collected coupons from the Trommler cigarette company, which gave away color reproductions of all the uniforms of the army and Nazi



Figure 24  
Franz Marc, *Blaue Pferd I* (Blue horse I), 1911, oil on canvas, 112 x 84.5 cm  
(44½ x 33¼ in.), Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich

organizations. I exchanged Trommler for Reemtsma coupons (a number of my classmates found my interests strange, to say the least), and my "art collection" grew quickly.

In 1937 I made my trip—a vacation in which Munich was only one stop—in excited anticipation. Newspapers and radio had given extensive reports of the greatest of modern art exhibitions, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, in the newly completed Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German art), and of the opening activities, including a speech by Adolf Hitler. This speech, which was published verbatim in the newspapers, had troubled me. Much of it was a condemnation of modern art, artists, art dealers, gallery owners, and museum directors, as well as critics. There was very little to indicate what true modern German art ought to be and how it would differ from that which was so strongly condemned. I looked forward to an exciting three days, but it did not occur to me what an enormous impact this visit would have on me.

When I arrived in Munich some of the decorations installed for the opening pageant, "Zweitausend Jahre Deutsche Kultur" (Two thousand years of German culture, fig. 25), were still in place, although the dismantling was in progress. The Prinzregentenstrasse had been lined with 160 pylons, each nearly forty feet high, crowned with the eagle and swastika. From the railroad station to the center of the city 243 flags had flown at intervals of twenty-five feet from flagpoles nearly thirty-five feet high. A number of these flagpoles and pylons were still standing and gave the city a very festive appearance as I walked toward the new Haus der Deutschen Kunst. Viewing the building's long row of columns stretching along the street, I suspected that there was not much room behind this facade, which was clearly meant to be the dominating feature. Its imposing height and cold symmetry created a monumentality that dwarfed the visitors, an impression that accompanied me into the galleries themselves. (Much later I learned that the Bavarians called it the "Bratwurstgalerie," because the colonnade resembled sausages hanging side by side in the window of a butcher shop.)

The entrance hall was impressive in size but disappointing. The marble, the abundance of red flags, the laurel trees in large pots, the bust and pictures of Hitler were not unique. Basically, the decor repeated on a slightly grander scale that used for all Nazi festivals and special occasions in theaters, opera houses, museums, and even schools. I do remember that I was impressed by the silence—everybody whispered. It was obviously due to the semiclerical atmosphere created by the size of the rooms, their decor, the impressive lighting, and the careful placement of the exhibits (fig. 26).

Which of the works most impressed a seventeen-year-old? Quite a number stayed in my memory, undoubtedly because I expected so much. I find it amusing that I remember especially well a few quite small pieces of sculpture, unimportant in themselves but appealing to me because they counteracted the gigantism and the large number of works that seemed "bland." There was a small



Figure 25  
Parade and pageant, "Zweitausend Jahre Deutsche Kultur" (Two thousand years of German culture), Munich, "Tag der Deutschen Kunst" (German art day), July 18, 1937

bronze group of wild ducks by Max Esser, for instance, which I liked because of its unpretentiousness, and there was a bronze figure by Hermann Geibel of a young girl playing a recorder, which looked to me like an idealized version of an admired girlfriend. The huge figures by Arno Breker and Josef Thorak (fig. 27) and other statues that dominated the galleries, however, held no appeal for me: on the contrary, I found them rather frightening. I thought that they were intentionally attempting to imitate famous Greek sculptures I knew from books, but they lacked the grandeur and quiet balance that I considered to be the hallmarks of that art. These were simply large, primarily male, nudes. People around me marveled at the craftsmanship, technical achievement, and—what was repeatedly praised—realism of these figures (although certainly none of us looked like any of these giants). The visitors whom I overheard seemed not to recognize by the titles given to the statues—*Kameradschaft* (Comradeship), *Sieg* (Victory)—that they were meant to be symbols.

Yet the over-life-sized works fit well into the scale of the large galleries, and even sculptures by Georg Kolbe, Fritz Klimsch, and Richard Scheibe, some of whose works I knew from illustrations, seemed to gain in dimension in these surroundings and made an impression that was quite different from what I had expected. Sometimes the impression was a negative one. I had always loved the beautiful *Tänzerin* (Dancer) of 1912 by Kolbe, a photograph of which I had hanging in my room, but his *Junger Streiter* (Young fighter) of 1935 in this exhibition lacked grace and resembled the numerous other idealized males.



Figure 26  
Gallery in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition), Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Munich, 1937; Adolf Ziegler's triptych *Die vier Elemente* (The four elements) is on the far wall



Figure 27  
Isolde Thorak, *Kameradschaft* (Comradeship), plaster, location unknown, exhibited in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (see fig. 11)

I recall a number of paintings (although my memory may have been aided by reproductions I saw later). Understandably in one so young, I remember well the innumerable nudes—idealized, erotic, but cold, like an amateur's photograph. None was appealing to this seventeen-year-old: not the *Bauerliche Venus* (Rustic Venus) by Sepp Hitzl or the insipid and tasteless *Vier Elemente* (Four elements) by Sepp Hitzl or the pseudo-romantic *Das Erwachen* (The awakening) by Richard Klein, all of which had been reproduced in various journals. It was not that I had been brought up a prude: on the contrary, my mother was very much in favor of anything healthy and natural. Art books containing depictions of nudes had surrounded me since childhood. The nudes in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, however, were something else. The painters were obviously good craftsmen, but I remember writing home that they were certainly not artists. I must admit that I was disturbed by the amount of nudity, although the titles were always "elevating." These undressed ideals of female beauty—looking so similar, they could all have been sisters—reminded me too much of the nineteenth-century French salon paintings in the large art volumes (which in earlier years I had not been permitted to see) in my grandparents' home.

Another thing I remember about this huge show was that many of the paintings looked like photographs. There was, for example, the translation to canvas of a famous photograph of Hitler and President Paul von Hindenburg, *Der Tag von Potsdam* (Potsdam Day), by Richard Lindmar, which, I later read in the newspaper, took three years to paint. I became aware from the whispered comments around me that people admired works of this type because they depicted "so realistically" what was beautiful and good, which

included quite a number of portraits of Hitler and prominent Nazis and soldiers in various uniforms. I found disturbing the images of farmers (although *Bauer* in Nazi jargon meant something more than "farmer": it carried a near-mystical connotation of man's relationship to the earth). I knew quite well what agricultural and village life was like, as students we had been sent to various farms for several weeks at a time to help with the harvests. From these enjoyable experiences I knew that depictions of farmers as inhabitants of a heroic paradise—Julius Paul Junghanns's *Niederhessisches Weidebild* (Lower Rhenish pastoral) or Fritz Mackensen's *Gottesdienst* (Sunday service) of 1895, for example—were quite removed from reality. As for the other works of art, there were many landscapes, some still lifes and small bronze sculptures, and a large number of realistic watercolors and graphic works, most of which left little impression on me except for their quantity. In short, my walk through the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* was ultimately disappointing and tiring. It was certainly not what I had hoped for or even expected. Was this really the new German art that Hitler had welcomed in his speech?

Only after I left the Haus der Deutschen Kunst did I see tucked into the catalogue of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* a small red card announcing the *Ausstellung "Entartete Kunst."* I didn't know what it was and so postponed my visit till the next day. I stayed at the Jugendherberge (youth hostel), if I'm not mistaken, because I remember a few conversations there with others of my age. Some couldn't have cared less about the exhibitions, a few others had seen the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, and some hadn't liked it (although among the latter there were a few rather graphic references to the many nudes). None had gone to see the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.



I spent the evening looking through the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* and the official Nazi newspaper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, reading about the pageant I had missed. There had been floats with reproductions of the sculptures from the great Bamberg and Naumburg cathedrals, others with enormous figures of *Treue* (Fidelity) and *Glaube* (Faith), and still others presenting periods of Germanic history from the Vikings to contemporary times, the latter represented by units from the army and various Nazi organizations. Hundreds of men and women dressed in different period costumes marched alongside the floats. It was a grand spectacle that emphasized the glory of German accomplishment throughout history. Included was—to my surprise—the huge head of the Greek goddess Athena, carried by people dressed as “Old Germans,” but there were also figures of the Germanic gods and goddesses with the eagle Hresvelða. The other young people with whom I talked who had seen the pageant were all very impressed by this show of German history. For the large number of spectators who had lined the marching route, it was a glorified and idealized review of the past in forms that duplicated much that was on view in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*.

How different was my next day's confrontation with *Entartete Kunst*! Specific details have faded, but the shock, dismay, and sadness I experienced during my visit are as vivid as if it happened just a short while ago. The announcement inserted in the catalogue of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* had stated, “für Jugendliche verboten” (young people prohibited), but nobody asked my age. While I had had to pay an entrance fee at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, this exhibition was free of charge. I was aware from the first that there were more people here than there had been at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* the previous day (much later I learned that *Entartete Kunst* had 2,000,000 visitors to the other exhibition's 420,000). The atmosphere was also quite different. People talked, some loudly, and made comments to one another, even to strangers. I cannot now remember if anyone was there in an official capacity as a “guide,” nor do I recall if the few visitors in Nazi uniform were the ones who made the loud comments. At the time I had the impression that the various remarks were spontaneous.

The rooms were quite narrow, as were the openings from one room to another, and the ceilings much lower than in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst. In some areas people pressed up against one another to see the badly lighted works, the atmosphere was dense (fig. 23). From the types of works selected, their hideous hanging and placement, the graffiti-like inscriptions on the walls, the notations of price, and the use of truncated quotes by museum directors and art historians it was very obvious to me that this exhibition was not intended to introduce people to modern art but to inflame them against these works. It was a blatant attempt to discredit everything on view.

I cannot recall how I entered the exhibition, but I do remember well the impact of the frightening *Kruzifixus* (Crucified Christ) by Ludwig Gies, which filled the wall beside the entrance on the upper level (fig. 28). To me, as shocking as the first impression was, this modern work echoed the pathos of Mathias Grünewald's great sixteenth-century *Isenheim Altar* in Colmar. What had brought tears to my eyes in Colmar could easily have caused a similar reaction here, but the way in which the work was displayed caused it to lose its impact. On the wall beside the sculpture was a very positive critique identifying it as an important document of modern religious expression, the text was partly obliterated, however, by a large question mark. There was also a shorter note explaining that the work had hung as a war memorial in the cathedral of Lübeck and condemning this defamation of the dead soldiers of the First World War. Did no one recognize, I wondered, that here war was likened to Christ's Passion and that the inhumanity of war was paralleled by the inhumanity of the Crucifixion? At the same time I could easily understand that many visitors, if not most, would react negatively, either because they could not accept the unconventional figure of Christ or because they felt that war memorials ought to present only the idealized heroism of those who had died.

In the first room I was overwhelmed by the brilliant colors of several paintings by Emil Nolde, including the nine panels of his *Leben Christi* (Life of Christ, figs. 321–29). Again it was obvious to me that the artist, by his choice of these flaming colors and the deformation of the figures, had tried to remove the events of Christ's life from the standard, accepted depictions and force the viewer to gain a new insight into these events. Nolde's works displayed the same intensity as the *Kruzifixus* at the entrance. I remembered my own confirmation and realized that my good, sensible pastor might not have liked these representations but at least would have recognized the artist's attempt to break away from the sweetness and sentimentality that had been adopted for so much Christian art. There was a text on the wall that included the phrase, “Verhöhnung des Gotteslebens” (mockery of the Divine). I remember some very angry words by visitors in this room, the mildest of which was “blasphemy.” Again, I could understand these reactions, especially since the people around me appeared not to be the type who would normally have gone to museums or exhibitions of modern art (although some of these works had been painted as long as twenty-five years ago) and therefore must have been shocked. I could not understand, however, why Ernst Barlach's *Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John, fig. 158) should have been included in this exhibition. This small, quiet, deeply moving bronze group could not have offended anybody. I had a photograph of it in my room and had always supposed it to be Christ and the doubting Saint Thomas or the prodigal son's return.



Figure 28  
Ludwig Gies, *Kruzifixus* (Crucified Christ), c. 1921, wood, formerly in Lübeck Cathedral, probably destroyed, shown here on the landing in Room 1 of Entartete Kunst

The following rooms were equally disturbing. Paintings were hung very closely together, some above others, some even over the doorways. The strong colors of the paintings, the interfering texts, the large wall panels with quotations from speeches by Hitler and Joseph Goebbels all created a chaotic impression. I felt an overwhelming sense of claustrophobia. The large number of people pushing and ridiculing and proclaiming their dislike for the works of art created the impression of a staged performance intended to promote an atmosphere of aggressiveness and anger. Over and over again people read aloud the purchase prices and laughed, shook their heads, or demanded "their" money back.

I recall vividly one room in which abstract art was displayed. There were no titles, but I knew that some were works by Wassily Kandinsky because my father had talked with me about the absence of recognizable objects in his and other modern paintings. I also recall the reactions of the people around me: they considered the works silly (*dumm*) because there was nothing to be seen, and the remark, "The artists are making fun of us," was frequently heard.

A part of the exhibition I remember especially well was a wall displaying Dada art (figs. 43, 67). I didn't know anything about this movement, but the art looked to me like a lot of fun, and I wondered why it made the viewers so angry. Directly beside the Dada wall was a beautiful picture by Lyonel Feininger (fig. 29) and a large abstraction by Kandinsky. I was upset because these two works simply did not go with the Dada group. Would the many people who were incensed by the Dada artists see the difference, or would they simply walk past, considering these paintings just two more abominations?

Another bewildering issue was raised by paintings by Lovis Corinth, some of which I had seen previously in reproductions (fig. 31). Labels beside them derided the works because they were painted after the artist had had a stroke. I could not understand why this would make the paintings "bad," especially since I could not see anything in them that made this remark meaningful. It was an argument, however, that appeared acceptable to many visitors around me.

It became increasingly clear to me that most people had come to see the exhibition with the intention of disliking everything, an intention that the installation was cleverly designed to encourage. Many who had probably never seen Expressionist works frequently remarked that these so-called artists could neither draw nor paint, and that therefore there must have been a "conspiracy" of art dealers, museum directors, and critics to bamboozle the public. The organizers of *Entartete Kunst* thus promoted the idea that these works were not only badly executed and incomprehensible but evil, that they had been foisted on the public by people who hated anything good and decent and German, like works by Albrecht Dürer or those on view in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. This atmosphere frightened me; I remained very quiet and even avoided looking at those who made loud, angry remarks. Indeed, I never heard anyone speak up for the works or the artists represented or attempt to challenge the condemnations.



Figure 29  
Lyonel Feininger, *Hofgarten*, 1920, oil on canvas, 65.5 x 82.5 cm (25 7/8 x 32 1/2 in.); The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, gift of friends and family in memory of Catharine Roberts Seybold. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 3, NS inventory no. 15980

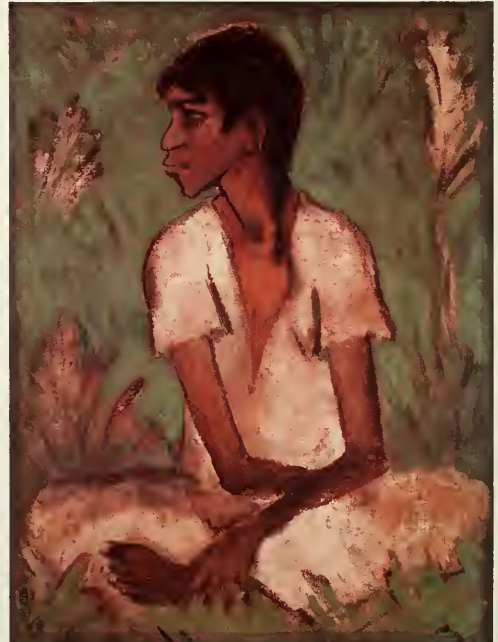


Figure 30  
Otto Mueller, *Zigeunerin* (Gypsy woman), tempera on canvas, 100.5 x 75 cm (39 1/4 x 29 1/2 in.); Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 3, NS inventory no. 15969





Figure 31  
Lovis Corinth, *Ecce Homo*, 1925, oil on canvas, 189 x 148 cm (74 7/8 x 58 3/4 in.),  
Kunstmuseum Basel, Enlartete Kunst, Room 6, NS inventory no. 16151



In retrospect, this was not surprising. Having lived for the last four years under Nazi rule, I myself had learned not to challenge "official" opinions or ask too much or too frequently. One did not question the teachers who continually praised Hitler's accomplishments, especially those who wore the Nazi party swastika in their lapels. And there were further distinctions to be made between those who had joined the party before 1933 and those whom we called *Märzgefallene* (victims of March)—the latter had enrolled, often just to retain their jobs, in March of 1933, the last time new members were accepted. Having to prove their new loyalty, they were frequently more radical than other party members in promoting Nazi ideology.

Some of the art exhibited in *Entartete Kunst* had personal associations for me. Truly poignant were the paintings dealing with the war. There were works by Otto Dix, who had taught at the Akademie in Dresden and had painted a portrait of my father in 1919. The *Kriegskrüppel* (War cripples) were frightening in his caricatured, biting representation. Never before had veterans been depicted in this way; it was the complete antithesis of those heroic representations that filled the rooms in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*. And yet I remembered from my childhood men whose legs had been amputated or with other visible deformities sitting in the streets selling shoelaces and matches. My mother frequently gave me a coin to put into the caps they had placed in front of them. Regardless of the bitter distortions in Dix's work, regardless of the exaggeration, the scene was truthful. Now, however, the picture was interpreted as an insult instead of an indictment of war. Equally forceful was the large picture *Der Schützengraben* (The trench), a horrid scene of human cadavers caught in barbed wire. The whole brutality and inhumanity of war was visible in this painting. In front of these works I heard threats uttered against the painter.

Another group of works that made a lasting impression on me was in the section featuring images of women. I was surprised that some of the brown gypsy girls by Otto Mueller were included as "degenerate" art (fig. 30). I had always loved the color lithograph we had at home. These nudes were far less erotic than some of the pictures in the other exhibition; I didn't understand why these were to be rejected. Later, I saw some of Mueller's lovely watercolors on the lower floor, and I simply could not grasp what could be wrong with these depictions. I do recall, however, that the scorn I had heard expressed in other sections of the exhibition was muted in front of these works.

There were other paintings and graphic works by artists whom my father knew and whom I may have met at one time or another. (Although I don't remember any names, I do recall my mother telling me that she frequently washed the pants and shirts of some of these visitors who were too poor to have their laundry done.) My father had known Oskar Kokoschka when he was recuperating from his war wounds and later teaching in Dresden, and at that time he had acquired a few of his lithographs, which might perhaps have been



Figure 32  
Oskar Kokoschka, *Der Wanderer im Gewitter* (Traveler in a thunderstorm), plate 3 from the portfolio *O Ewigkeit—du Donnerwort, Bachkantate* (O eternity—thou thundering word, Bach cantata), 1914, published 1916, lithograph, 43 x 298 cm (16 7/8 x 11 7/8 in.); Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.168c. *Entartete Kunst*, Room G1, NS inventory nos. 16274–79.

from the beautiful and moving portfolio *O Ewigkeit—du Donnerwort, Bachkantate* (O eternity—thou thundering word, Bach cantata, figs. 32–36), also in *Entartete Kunst*. My father had told me the story of the famous painting *Die Windsbraut* (The tempest, fig. 37), which I saw for the first time in this exhibition; it represented Kokoschka with Alma Mahler, based upon Dante's imagery of the doomed lovers Paolo and Francesca. I thought it a most beautiful depiction and could not understand why it would be hung there to be exposed to derision.

Among the graphic works displayed on the ground floor of the exhibition were prints from published portfolios—one of which my father owned—from the famous Bauhaus school in Weimar. Some of the artists who taught at the Bauhaus had made frequent trips to Dresden and sometimes visited our home. All of them were now declared to be "un-German" as well as "degenerate." One was Gerhard Marcks, the sculptor, who I always thought was one of the truly "classical" artists. His plaster model of the archangel Gabriel and a small bronze of a boy (fig. 294), both exhibited in *Entartete Kunst*, were accessible and lovely forms lacking the distortion that was so bitterly criticized in other works on view. Also in the exhibition were lithographs of a highly abstract face by Alexej von Jawlensky (figs. 234–40). My father, who had once given a lecture at the opening of an exhibition by the artist in Dresden, owned a beautiful picture based on the same form (fig. 38).



Figure 33  
Kokoschka, *Das Weib führt den Mann* (The woman leads the man), plate 4, 392 x 313 cm (15% x 12% in.), M82 288168d



Figure 34  
Kokoschka, *Das letzte Lager* (The last camp), plate 6, 411 x 307 cm (16% x 12% in.), M82 288168f



Figure 35  
Kokoschka, *Furcht und Hoffnung: Der Mann tröstet das Weib* (Fear and hope: The man comforts the woman), plate 7, 385 x 303 cm (15% x 11% in.), M82 288168g



Figure 36  
Kokoschka, *Mann und Weibchen auf dem Sterbepfad* (Man and woman on the road to death), plate 8, 381 x 30 cm (15 x 11% in.), M82 288168h





Figure 37  
Kokoschka, *Die Windbraut* (The tempest), 1914, oil on canvas, 181 x 220 cm  
(71½ x 86¾ in.), Kunstmuseum Basel, *Entartete Kunst*, Room 4, NS inventory  
no. 16021

In short, I was confronted on all sides by images with which I had grown up, which I admired and loved, and which now were labeled “degenerate.” Artists who were spoken of in my parents’ home with respect and admiration were held up to be ridiculed and mocked. I was certainly aware that many people didn’t like modern art; I had experienced this frequently when my schoolmates came for a visit and not only shook their heads at the art hanging on our walls but were sure that there was something wrong with me since I seemed to like it. Certain phrases were well known to me: “That man can’t draw” or “Was this artist colorblind?” But that kind of criticism was also common when we discussed what we liked and disliked in literature, and it was always respected as a matter of personal preference. None of those schoolmates had ever used terms like *degenerate* or made references to writers as foreigners or Jews when we discussed certain poems or novels. It seemed irrelevant (and we probably knew very little, if anything, about the writers’ personal background).

Here in Munich, however, the atmosphere was quite different. On my second visit to *Entartete Kunst*, a man who by his appearance and speech seemed educated argued that any deformation of natural form poisoned the viewer and that abstract works were created primarily by dangerous foreigners and/or Jews. Indeed, the visitors were practically forced by the installation and the accompanying texts to despise the art and the artists. And this reaction was praised as the proper attitude of “true” Germans who should not be misled by those who wanted to destroy “true” art. The uninformed, many of them probably seeing modern art for the first time, were made to believe that they could indeed decide what was and what was not art, that they were the ultimate arbiters because, after all, they knew what they liked.

Nevertheless, I remember that there was a strange difference during my second visit to *Entartete Kunst*. The people were rather quiet, as if attending a “real” exhibition. There were only a few who talked, rather quietly, and it appeared that some of them had seen these works before or even liked them. They would stand in front of a work for longer periods of time than the other visitors, although they hardly ever spoke, even to those who accompanied them. I remember hearing a whispered “Aren’t they lovely?” from a woman standing in front of some graphic works on the lower floor; she then walked quickly away. It was only at this point that I became fully aware of how the design of the exhibition had affected me, that only in some cases had I been able to disregard the “didactic” statements. How sad I was that works I cherished by artists I admired were placed in the pillory. Little did I realize that many, if not most, of the artists represented in *Entartete Kunst* would be forced to emigrate,

would be prohibited from exhibiting or selling their works or even from creating art, thus ending their careers and, in a way, their lives. How well I remember my feelings while standing before certain works; I had wanted to say something in their defense to those who laughed and cursed and derided them, but I was too afraid to do so. I had become frightened watching the reactions of the people around me. What would they do to me—and would it create even greater trouble for my father—if they found out that I didn’t share their disgust? A seventeen-year-old in Germany in 1937 did not challenge the opinions of his elders, especially in the atmosphere of disdain, hostility, and latent anger created by the organizers of *Entartete Kunst*. ■



Figure 38  
Alexej von Jawlensky, *Kopf (Head)*, oil on board,  
254 x 34.6 cm (10 x 13 5/8 in.); private collection,  
Houston





Figure 39  
Adolf Ziegler (at the podium) opens the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* at the Archäologisches Institut, Munich, July 19, 1937, in this view of Room 3 four paintings by Otto Mueller can be seen in the background

# Entartete Kunst, Munich 1937

## A Reconstruction

*We now stand in an exhibition that contains only a fraction of what was bought with the hard-earned savings of the German people and exhibited as art by a large number of museums all over Germany. All around us you see the monstrous offspring of insanity, impudence, ineptitude, and sheer degeneracy. What this exhibition offers inspires horror and disgust in us all!*<sup>1</sup>

**W**ith these words, on July 19, 1937, Adolf Ziegler, the president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts), opened the *Ausstellung "Entartete Kunst"* (fig. 39), the exhibition of contemporary art that was intended as a pendant and contrast—an "exorcism of evil"—to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition), inaugurated by Adolf Hitler on the previous day at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German art) in Munich.<sup>2</sup>

Since 1929 various local groups of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture) had been staging campaigns of denigration of modern art as a "crime against German culture."<sup>3</sup> *Entartete Kunst* was the culmination of the first act of the national, centrally directed "cleansing of the temple." Barely three weeks earlier, on June 30, Ziegler had been given plenipotentiary powers by the Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich minister for national enlightenment and propaganda), Joseph Goebbels, to seize from German museums specializing in the contemporary avant-garde any works of "decadent" art he wanted for the Munich exhibition. Ziegler was assisted by a committee made up of individuals whose opposition to modernism had attracted attention in the past few years, either within the Nazi party or in the wider public arena. Count Klaus von Baudissin, the Nazi-appointed successor to Ernst Gosebruch, the suspended director of the Museum Folkwang in Essen, Wolfgang Willrich, a painter and writer on art, whose pamphlet *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art) had not only given the Nazis the idea for an exhibition of "degenerate" art but had convincingly defined its form,<sup>4</sup> Reich commissioner for artistic design Hans Schweitzer, art theoretician Robert Scholz, and Hamburg drawing teacher and

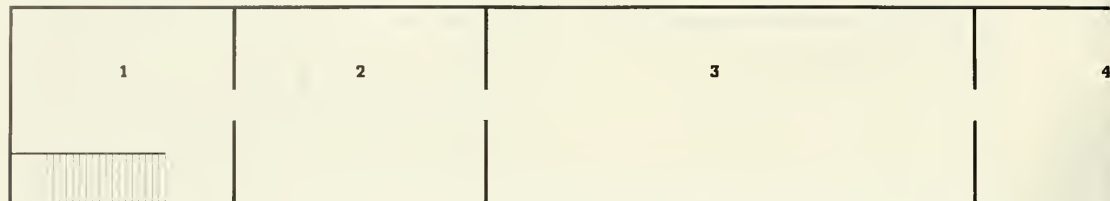
journalist Walter Hansen, another noted author of ideological polemics.<sup>5</sup>

This group traveled around Germany for less than ten days.<sup>6</sup> In haste, and more or less at random, they selected and inventoried works of art and shipped them straight to Munich. The exact number of works seized in this campaign can no longer be established, the total, however, was larger than could be displayed in the confined space of the exhibition rooms in Munich.

In the few days that remained before the opening on July 19 the exhibition was installed with feverish speed in the arcaded Hofgarten wing of the Residenz (at Galeriestrasse 4), in rooms that housed the plaster-cast collection of the Archäologisches Institut. Many books, prints, drawings, photographs, and a few paintings were crowded into glass cases or thumbtacked to the walls of two barrel-vaulted rooms on the ground floor, one longer than the other, but both only four meters (approximately thirteen feet) wide. In seven rooms on the upper floor movable screens were installed to cover the windows, existing murals, and plaster casts, which had been moved aside.<sup>7</sup> Paintings were hung on cords—in some cases without their frames—tightly packed, as high as they could go.

Most works were identified by the artist's name, the title, the museum from which it had been taken, and in many cases the year of acquisition and the price paid, all in large lettering directly on the wall beneath the paintings (fig. 40) or on the plinths of those sculptures that did not stand directly on the floor. The labels were somewhat inaccurate: titles were incorrect or works occasionally ascribed to the wrong artists. The dates given were misleading: they did not refer to the creation of each work but to its acquisition by the museum concerned. Beneath or beside many of the works was a red sticker bearing the words, *Bezahlte von den Steuergroschen des arbeitenden deutschen Volkes* (paid for by the taxes of the German working people), an effective technique of populist, nationalist art criticism, which served the purpose of promoting outrage at the apparent waste of public money by institutions and their directors. (No mention was made of the fact that some of the art had been acquired by the museums during the great inflation of the early 1920s, in these cases the ludicrous amount of the purchase price was calculated to increase the visitors' indignation.<sup>8</sup>) Museum directors were often cited by name or, as in the case of Paul F. Schmidt, the former

## Upper floor



## Ground floor

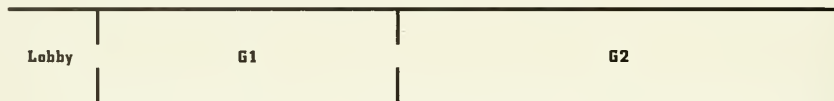


Figure 40  
Walter Dexel, *Lokomotive* (Locomotive), c. 1921, oil on canvas, 70 x 82 cm (27½ x 32½ in.); location unknown. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 3, NS inventory no. unrecorded

director of the Stadtmuseum in Dresden, condemned by the use of out-of-context quotations from their own writings, drawn in every case from Willrich's *Säuberung des Kunsttempels*.<sup>9</sup>

The organizers attempted to bring some iconographic order into the overcrowded exhibition by grouping the works under a series of tendentious signs, labels, and headings. The propaganda purpose was both to relieve the impression of disorder and chaos and to emphasize the themes of degeneracy in art by means of an ostensibly didactic organization. Actually these texts were seldom directly related to the works themselves:

*Insolent mockery of the Dieme under Centrist rule*  
*Revelation of the Jewish racial soul*  
*The cultural Bolsheviks' order of battle*  
*An insult to German womanhood*  
*The ideal—cretin and whore*  
*Deliberate sabotage of national defense*  
*German farmers—a Yiddish view*  
*The Jewish longing for the wilderness reveals itself—in Germany the negro becomes the racial ideal of a degenerate art*  
*Madness becomes method*  
*Crazy at any price*  
*Nature as seen by sick minds*  
*Even museum bigwigs called this "art of the German people"*

Also painted directly on the wall in large letters were the "verdicts" that had been passed by Hitler, Goebbels, and Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg on the outlawed art, the various artistic movements, and their adherents. With great precision these remarks captured the essence of the vilification that covered the walls all around. For example, "It is not the mission of art to wallow in filth for filth's sake, to paint the human being only in a state of putrefaction, to draw cretins as symbols of motherhood, or to present deformed idiots as representatives of manly strength."<sup>10</sup>

These texts were intended to emerge as the "voices of reason" in the midst of the Nazi-contrived atmosphere of visual terrorism. They also provided the organizers with moral and political justification and left the visitor in no possible doubt that the exhibition was necessary

The Nazis regarded modern art as *krankhaft*, "diseased," and this term, as applied to art by Paul Schultze-Naumburg in his pseudo-scientific pamphlet *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race), published as far back as 1928,<sup>11</sup> was synonymous with "racially inferior." Schultze-Naumburg's warped comparisons of Expressionist portraits to photographs of sick and feeble-minded individuals (figs. 3–4), for example, were carried into the political arena by the Nazis, along with the equation of "Bolshevistic" with "anarchistic," and the unifying link in all this defamation, the word *Jewish*.

Modernism, allegedly maintained by an irresponsible cultural elite, had to be unmasked as a palpable fraud calculated to confuse the German people. The modernists' interest in the primitive art of non-European cultures, spontaneous drawings of children, and fantasies of mental patients presented the Nazis with a wide and fertile field for antimodernist propaganda, for they rejected any departure from academic tradition as a "lunatic monstrosity" and "sheer ineptitude."<sup>12</sup> "Art," said Hitler at the opening of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, "that cannot rely on the joyous, heartfelt assent of the broad and healthy mass of the people, but depends on tiny cliques that are self-interested and blasé by turns, is intolerable. It seeks to confuse the sound instinct of the people instead of gladly confirming it."<sup>13</sup>

Before describing the reconstructed exhibition in detail, which will demonstrate not only the extraordinary quality of art on view but also the propaganda methods employed in its presentation, I must first briefly discuss the sources that have made such a reconstruction possible.

First, there are a few documentary photographs, published repeatedly in the literature on the subject, second, alongside the many questionable reviews that appeared in the daily press at the time, there was one surprisingly informative article in which art critic Bruno E. Werner, writing in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of July 24, 1937, supplied a partial list of artists and works that served as a rough guide to the sequence of the installation. Another indispensable source is Paul Ortwin Rave's seminal book *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Art dictatorship in the Third Reich) of 1949, a firsthand account of a state-led crusade—probably unique in recent history—to eradicate an artistic movement. In an appendix Rave gave an almost complete alphabetical list of the artists reviled in Munich and the works exhibited (although prints and drawings were listed without titles only as a presumably estimated total). To these resources must be added numerous hitherto-unpublished photographs, unpublished notes made at the exhibition by Carola Roth,<sup>14</sup> and letters written by Ernst Holzinger, a curator at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, to the director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, Eberhard Hanfstaengl.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the information provided by these sources, which made possible a detailed picture of *Entartete Kunst* for the first time in 1987, on the fiftieth anniversary of the original exhibition,<sup>16</sup> a reading of the surviving portions of the Nazi inventories, in which a number was assigned to each confiscated work, shows that the numbering coincided to some extent with the sequence of works in the exhibition, a connection that was discovered by Andreas Huneke.<sup>17</sup> A few weeks after the opening of the Munich exhibition Goebbels ordered a second, much more extensive "cleansing" of the museums, lasting from August through November, which added to the artists censured in the Munich exhibition a number of others, some of them foreign. The seized works were shipped to a storehouse on



Köpenicker Strasse in Berlin and given inventory numbers. Those responsible for the confiscations then traveled to Munich, probably toward the end of November, to complete their inventory by listing the works that had already been confiscated for the exhibition. They followed the order of the installation, observing a sequence based on medium: first came the paintings on the upper floor, then those on the ground floor, for the most part proceeding clockwise around each room, then the sculptures, and finally the prints, drawings, books, and other material, which were shown on the ground floor either in glass cases or on the walls.

The last inventory number assigned in Berlin, 15392, was given to a portfolio of etchings by Bernhard Kretzschmar that is nowhere recorded as having been in the Munich exhibition. The numbers assigned in Munich begin with 15933, Max Beckmann's *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition) in Room 1 on the upper floor. The sequence established by the inventory gives us, virtually complete, the arrangement and number of works on view in Munich just before closing day. (During the run of the exhibition—July 19 through November 30—particularly during the first few days, some rearrangement and regrouping took place, and this will be discussed in detail later.) There remain, however, some numbers on the list that cannot be assigned to any specific artist or work because of gaps in the source material. Additionally, the number of the last work recorded at the exhibition remains unknown. According to both Roth and Holzinger, the exhibition itinerary ended on the ground floor with a vitrine of books including Gottfried Benn's *Kunst und Macht* (Art and power), assigned number 16485. It can therefore be assumed that the inventory ended between 16485 and 16500, or perhaps a few numbers higher. The next known number in sequence, 16529, was assigned to a work not shown in Munich: it appears on a sticker attached to Franz Marc's *Tierschicksale* (Fate of animals).<sup>18</sup> The numbering of all confiscated artworks ends with 16558, Otto Mueller's watercolor *Akt im Grünen* (Nude in greenery).

These are the sources that have made possible the first reliably documented reconstruction of the Munich exhibition. Not only the paintings mentioned by Werner or Rave but also the prints and drawings that were previously lumped together and the published material that was on view can now be accurately identified and, thanks to the many photographs, at least of the upper floor, their placement almost completely established.

The Munich installation of *Entartete Kunst* is described here following the sequence of the inventory numbers—from 15933 through approximately 16500—that were assigned to the works of art shortly before the exhibition closed on November 30. Photographs taken on various days soon after the opening document not only changes in the installation but also the presence of additional works on view in the early days of the exhibition and subsequently removed from display for one reason or another. Eyewitness accounts have been helpful in those areas that cannot be documented by photographic or other sources.

#### Note to the reader

The tables on the following pages present information on each work of art exactly as it appeared on the wall label in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, with the addition of the inventory number, which was not seen by the visitor but which now serves as an aid to identification and cross-referencing (works that have no recorded inventory number are identified by the artist's name). No attempt has been made to correct errors or inconsistencies in the labels, with two exceptions: in the event that a work was incorrectly attributed to an artist or given the title of another work, the correct artist or title is provided in brackets. For complete information on each work, please consult "The Works of Art in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich 1937" on pages 193–355 of this volume, using the artist's name and the work's inventory number as guides.

A question mark after an inventory number indicates that it is conjectural and has been assigned by the author.

Inventory numbers that appear in white indicate works that have not been identified in any illustration of the exhibition.

Label text in parentheses either was omitted in the exhibition or cannot be confirmed, in such cases—especially with regard to the ground-floor display—the information is taken from the Nazis' inventory.

The quotations and comments written on or attached to the walls have been transcribed from photographs or reconstructed from the recollections of eyewitnesses. Aside from the texts by Hitler or other party dignitaries, all the quotations were taken from Willrich's *Säuberung des Kunsttempels*. Room headings have been provided in German and English. Letter codes have been assigned to all documented wall texts; a letter in white indicates that there is no visual documentation.

Rooms 1 through 7 in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition were located on the upper floor, Rooms G1 and G2 on the ground floor.

# Room 1

The exhibition began on the upper floor, which was reached by a narrow staircase. As they climbed the stairs, visitors were greeted by Ludwig Gies's over-life-sized *Kruzifixus* (Crucified Christ, figs. 28, 41) dominating the upper landing, against a wall hung with red cloth. Beneath the sculpture, which had been so theatrically endowed with a quality of menace, was a cloth-covered plinth onto which was tacked a photograph of the interior of Lübeck Cathedral (fig. 42), showing the work in place after its installation in 1921. After public protests, fearing that the sculpture might be damaged, the artist subsequently placed it on loan to the museum in Lübeck.<sup>19</sup>

In Room 1 of the exhibition were displayed paintings of religious subjects. The derisive comment, "Insolent mockery of the Divine under Centrist rule," inscribed on the wall beside Emil Nolde's monumental *Leben Christi* (Life of Christ, figs. 321–29), was intended as a simultaneous indictment of the art and the church.



Figure 41  
Ludwig Gies, *Kruzifixus* (Crucified Christ), detail, c. 1921, wood, dimensions unknown, probably destroyed. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 1, NS inventory no. 16232?

Room 1 Works of art	Artist, title Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information	
15933	Beckmann, <i>Kreuzabnahme</i>	Figure 164
15934	Nolde, <i>Christus u. die Sünderin</i> Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1929, M 25,000	Figure 142
15935	Nolde, <i>Die hl. 3 Könige</i> Landesmus. Hannover	Figure 134
15936	Beckmann, <i>Christus u. die Ehebrecherin</i> Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1919, M 8,000	Figure 163
	Rauh, <i>Hl. Franziskus</i> Stadt. Gal. München	
15938	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Pharisäer</i> Stadt. Mus. Dresden, RM 3,000	Figure 372
15939	Rohls, <i>Elias</i> Stadt. Mus. Hagen	Figure 103
15940	Lüthy, <i>Madonna</i> Stadt. Galerie Dresden, 1925, RM 6,000	
15941	Nolde, <i>Kreuzigung</i> Folkwang Mus. Essen	Figures 321–29
	Heckrott, <i>Marienkrönung</i> Stadt. Gal. Dresden, 1920, RM 2,000	
15943	Thalheimer, <i>Versuchung des hl. Antonius</i> Stadt. Gal. München	
15944	Nolde, <i>Abendmahl</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1913, RM 5,000	Figure 108
15945	Nolde, <i>Tod der Maria aus Ägypten</i> Folkwangmus. Essen	Figure 137
15946	Nolde, <i>Christus u. die Kinder</i> Kunsthalle Hamburg, 1918, RM 15,000	Figure 136
15947	Nolde, <i>Die klugen und die törichten Jungfrauen</i> Folkwang Mus. Essen	
16232?	Prof. Gies, <i>Christus</i> Dom zu Lübeck	Figures 28, 41
?	Prof. Cesar Klein, <i>(Der neue Vogel/Kopf)</i>	
?	Emil Nolde, <i>Adam und Eva</i>	
?	Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Christus</i>	Figure 105

# Room 1



20



15940

15941

Schmidt-Rottluff Nölde Klein

North wall



15934

15943

15933

15935

15936

15938

15939

West wall



15944  
15945

15946  
15947

Doorway to Room 2



16232?

## East wall

### Wall text

<b>A</b> below 15942	<i>Unter der Herrschaft des Zentrums frecher Verhöhnung des Gotterlebens</i> Insolent mockery of the Divine under Centrist rule
<b>B</b> left of 16232	Marvell The concentrated simplification of all the motifs is not meant as a halting primitivism but is a deliberate effort to convey aesthetic stimuli. The spiritual values too are so profound and individual that they would in themselves make the work one of the richest documents of modern religious experience. It would be hard to find a symbol that would convey to posterity with greater power and depth the significance of the Great War and its fallen heroes.
<b>C</b> below 16232	"Christ" by Prof. Gies, Berlin This horror hung as a war memorial in the cathedral of Lübeck.



Figure 42  
This photograph of Gies's *Kruzifixus* in Lübeck Cathedral (c. 1921/22) was displayed under the sculpture in *Enlartete Kunst*.





Bill Johnson, Assistant Secretary

Chapell, Dorothy. *Experiments in form*. 1967.

Wiederum: feststehende Länge der Kette



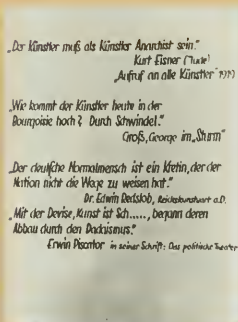
Achtzigste Jahrgang Stadt Kursturmung  
Düsseldorf 1916



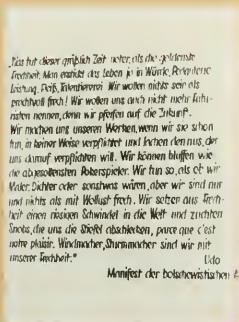
1 Sep

**C**  
15953?

North wall



E



F

The much smaller Room 2 contained only works by Jewish artists, including Jankel Adler, Marc Chagall, and Lasar Segall. These were lumped, regardless of subject, under the heading, "Revelation of the Jewish racial soul" The end walls of the tiny room carried lengthy quotations from Hitler and Rosenberg that proclaimed in no uncertain terms the resolve of the Führer and the man who had been his leading "cultural warrior" since the birth of the "movement" to show no mercy to the "incompetents and charlatans," the "Jews and Marxists" whose works were collected here. On the south wall, opposite the paintings, was an array of comments, quotations, lists of names, and photographs (covered with a curtain on July 24, according to Holzinger), including a list—headed, "The cultural Bolsheviks' order of battle"—of well-known personalities, artists, and architects, each name followed by an explanatory term such as *Jude* (Jew), *Ringarchitekt* (Ring architect),<sup>20</sup> or *Bauhausehrer* (Bauhaus teacher).<sup>21</sup> The words of art historian Edwin Redlsob, who was Reichskunstwart (Reich commissioner of art) before 1933, George Grosz, Kurt Eisner, and the *Manifest der bolschewistischen Aktion* (Manifesto of Bolshevik action) by A. Udo were quoted with hostile intent to expose the thinking of the alleged adversaries and corrupters of German culture. In addition, photographs—as yet untraced—of Rudolf Belling, Max Pechstein, and Moritz Melzer were pinned to the wall.



15955

15956  
15957

15958

15959

15960

## East wall

### Room 2 Works of art

	Artist, title Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information	
15948	Katz, <i>Bildnis</i> Kunsth Karlsruhe, 1921, donation	Figure 252
15949	Chagall, <i>Dorfszene</i> Folkwangmus Essen	Figure 184
15950	Wöllheim, <i>Exotische Landschaft</i> St Kunstlg Düsseldorf, 1932	
15951	Meidner, <i>Selbstbildnis</i> Mus Breslau, 1929, donation	Figure 296
15952	Adler, <i>Katzenzucht</i> Stadt Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf, 1926, M 800	Figure 156
15953?	Adler, <i>Mädchen</i> Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1927, M 800	Figure 157
	(L. Segall, <i>Die ewigen Wanderer</i> ) (Stadt Gal Dresden)	Figure 394
15955	Adler, <i>Musikanten</i> Stadt Kunstsammllg Düsseldorf, 1924, M 1,500	
15956	Chagall, <i>Rabbiner</i> Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1923, M 4,500	Figure 118

15957	Chagall, <i>Winter</i> Städelsch K Inst Frankf	Figure 183
15958	L. Segall, <i>Parimfest</i> Folkwang Mus Essen, 1928, M 2,000	
15959	Feibusch, <i>Schwebende</i> Städtisches Kunstmst Frankfurt a/M, 1932	
15960	L. Segall, <i>Liebende</i> Folkwang Mus Essen	Figure 390

### Wall text

In the field of culture, as elsewhere, the National Socialist movement and government must not permit incompetents and charlatans suddenly to change sides and enlist under the banner of the new state as if nothing had happened. One thing is certain under no circumstances will we allow the representatives of the decadence that lies behind us suddenly to emerge as the standard-bearers of the future.

[From a speech by Adolf Hitler at the session on culture at a NSDAP rally, Nuremberg, September 2, 1933]

continued

<b>B</b> above 15951	<p>Jewish, all too Jewish          With a sense of humor and a practiced talent for sycophancy, even fascist rule can be borne quite well. I ask which of you is unshakably determined that his entire life should be marked by character, forthrightness, manly pride, and adherence to principle?          Ludwig Meidner (<i>Das Kunstblatt</i>, 1929)          Paul Westheim, Editor</p>
<b>C</b> begins above 15953	<p><i>Offenbarung der jüdischen Rassenetete</i>          Revelation of the Jewish racial soul</p> <p>Artists who for fourteen years were duped by Jews and Marxists and accepted laurels from their hands are now being extolled as our revolutionaries by certain individuals lacking in instinct and by specific politically motivated backers. It is high time we stopped being too tolerant.          [Alfred Rosenberg, 1934]</p>
South wall	<p><i>Aufmarschplan der Kulturbolschewisten</i>          The cultural Bolsheviks' order of battle</p>
<b>E</b>	<p>The artist as an artist must be an anarchist          Kurt Eisner (Jew)  <i>Anruf an alle Künstler</i>, 1919</p> <p>How does the artist rise in the bourgeoisie? By cheating.          Grosz, George in <i>Sturm</i></p> <p>The average German is a cretin, and it is not for him to show the nation the way.          Dr Edwin Redslob, retired Reich Curator</p> <p>With the slogan "Art is Sh***" Dada began its destruction.          Erwin Piscator in his book <i>Das politische Theater</i></p>
<b>F</b>	<p>What this horrendous age needs more than anything else is perfect impudence. Life is smothered under layers of dignity, pedantry, achievement, hard work, and talent-mongering. We want no more than to be magnificently impudent! We no longer even want to call ourselves Futurists—we don't give a damn for the future.</p> <p>We take no responsibility whatsoever for our work, if we do anything at all, and we laugh at anyone who wants to make us responsible. We can bluff like the most hardened poker players. We act as if we were painters, poets, or whatever, but what we are is simply and ecstatically impudent. In our impudence we take the world for a ride and train snobs to lick our boots, <i>parce que c'est notre plaisir</i>. We raise the wind, we raise the storm with our impudence.</p> <p>Udo  <i>Manifest der bolschewistischen Aktion</i>          [Die Aktion 1915]</p>

In the third room, which was interrupted halfway along the south wall by a wide projecting partition (presumably to conceal a plaster cast of the *Nike of Samothrace* that stood behind the screen, fig. 43), statements in outsized letters running along the tops of the temporary walls imposed some semblance of iconographic or thematic order. Nudes by Karl Hofer, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Paul Kleinschmidt, and Otto Mueller were headed, "An insult to German womanhood" and "The ideal—cretin and whore." More slogans ("Deliberate sabotage of national defense" and "An insult to the German heroes of the Great War") introduced Kirchner's *Selbstporträt als Soldat* (Self-portrait as a soldier, fig. 264)—the title of which the organizers altered for effect to the more provocative *Soldat mit Dirne* (Soldier with whore)—and Otto Dix's indictments of the horrors of war, *Kriegskrippel* (War cripples) and *Der Schützengraben* (The trench). In a deliberate fabrication, works by Kirchner, Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff were presented under the heading, "German farmers—a Yiddish view." Another group of works by Mueller, Nolde, and Pechstein was dismissed, somewhat enigmatically, with the words, "The Jewish longing for the wilderness reveals itself—in Germany the negro becomes the racial ideal of a degenerate art." Further comments in the same vein, especially the precepts of Hitler and Goebbels, which occupied four sections of the wall, exemplified the logic of the Nazis' antimodernist campaign.

In his "combat" against modernist art Hitler paid particular attention to the Dadaists and their circle. At the 1934 Nuremberg party rally he had thundered "All the artistic and cultural blather of Cubists, Futurists, Dadaists, and the like is neither sound in racial terms nor tolerable in national terms." This passage from his speech was displayed directly opposite the "Dada wall," which was arranged with considerable care. A statement by Grosz, "Take Dada seriously! It's worth it," was blazoned across the wall with deliberate irony. Below, details from compositions by Wassily Kandinsky—who had been quite erroneously classified as a Dadaist—were enlarged and painted on the wall to form a self-contained ensemble in conjunction with a *Merzbild* (Merz picture) and *Ringbild* (Ring picture) by Kurt Schwitters, Paul Klee's *Sumpflegende* (Swamp legend, fig. 273), two issues of the periodical *Der Dada* (figs. 224–25), and an unidentified marble figure by Rudolf Haizmann. The exhibition organizers presumably intended to demonstrate that they themselves or anyone at all could produce Dada art—or compositions by Kandinsky, for that matter—thus demonstrating the worthlessness of such works. A photograph of Hitler standing before the Dada wall at a preview of the exhibition, in the company of the organizers Ziegler, Willrich, Hansen, Heinrich Hoffmann, and others, reveals that the works by Schwitters, Kandinsky, and Klee were originally hung crookedly on the wall (fig. 44); later photographs of the final installation suggest that someone must have vetoed this as too obvious.

During the run of the exhibition the installation in Room 3 underwent a number of changes. Between Kirchner's *Gelbe Tänzerin* (Yellow dancer) and Max Ernst's *Erschaffung der Eva* (Creation of Eve),



Figure 43  
A view of Room 3 in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937, showing the projection along the south wall, including the Dada wall



Figure 44  
Adolf Hitler, visiting *Entartete Kunst* on July 16, 1937, stops at the Dada wall, he is accompanied by commission members Hoffmann, Wöllrich, Hansen, and Ziegler. Paintings by Kandinsky, Klee, and Schwitters have been hung deliberately askew

also called *Belle Jardinière*, on the west wall there originally stood a bronze group by Ernst Barlach, *Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John, fig. 46). Sometime on or after the morning of July 24 this was replaced by another sculpture, which was identified by Holzinger, writing to Hanfstaengl on July 25, as *Der Schauspieler* (The actor, fig. 45), a wood carving dating from 1928–29 by Theo Brün, probably from the Stadtmuseum Hagen, previously on view in Room 7. There is no information as to what happened to the Barlach bronze in the interim, but the inventory number assigned to it—16245—indicates that it was back on view by the end of the exhibition when the list was compiled. No inventory number, on the other hand, can be assigned with certainty to the work by Brün, at some point, therefore, the Brün was probably removed and Barlach's group put back in its original place until the exhibition closed.

Also removed from the exhibition before the inventory was compiled were two sculptures by Belling, *Dreiklang* (Triad, fig. 178) and *Kopf* (Head, fig. 179); their numbers—15029 and 15047, respectively—were in the sequence of those previously assigned in Berlin. The organizers had initially failed to notice that another bronze by Belling, *Der Boxer Schmeling* (The boxer Schmeling), was actually on view across the street at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, which Hitler had promoted as the forum of the "new" German art.<sup>22</sup> Kirchner's wood carving *Badende* (Bather), which had originally been placed next to Ernst's *Belle Jardinière*, was moved to fill the gap.

Two errors require comment: the work entitled *Josef und Potiphar* (Joseph and Potiphar) and ascribed to Christoph Voll, 16233, is actually *Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve) by Eugen Hoffmann, and a Lyonel Feininger, 15980, bears the wrong title: it is not *Tellow*, seized from Berlin (and on view in Room 5 as number 16084), but a view of *Hopfgarten*, confiscated from Leipzig (fig. 29).



# Room 3



For other views of Room 3 see cover, pages 4 and 398, and figures 16, 23, and 66



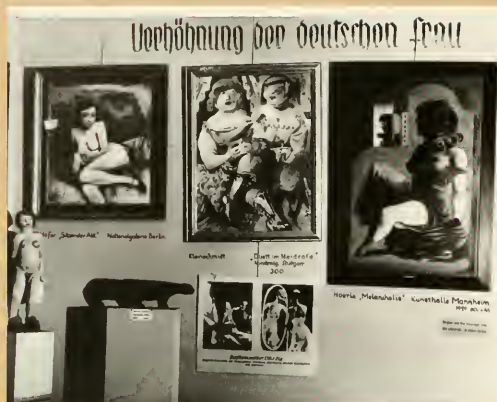
15985

15986

16244

Brun  
[later 16245]

16246



15987

A

15988

Dix

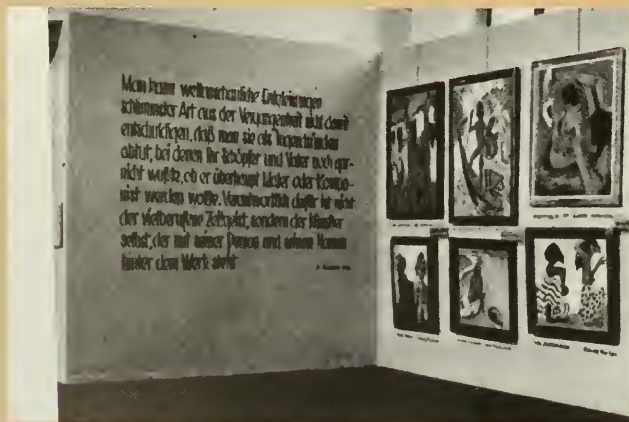
Dix

15989

16247

West wall

North wall



I

15961

15963

15965

15962

15964

15966

15967

15968

15969

16234?

15970

16233

East wall

South wall



15996  
1999

15998  
15999

16000

16001



16003  
16004

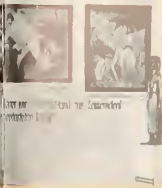
16005  
16009

16006

16008  
16007

162497

East wall



15999

16215

15973

162367

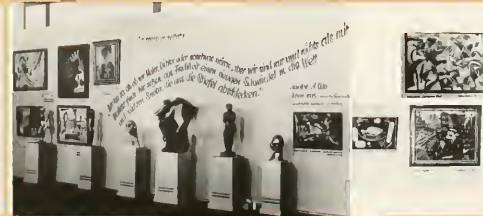
16237

15974

16239

15975

16236



15977

15980

15978

15979

16240

16241

16242

15029

16243

15067

15981

15982

15584

15965

South wall



Figure 45  
Theo Brun, *Der Schaulustige* (The scout)  
1927, wood, height c. 60 cm (23 1/2 in.)  
location unknown



Figure 46  
Ernst Barlach, *Ein Mann und ein Kind*  
1926, bronze, 47.5 x 29 x 14 cm  
(18 3/4 x 11 1/2 x 5 1/2 in.) location unknown  
NS inventory no. 40247



Figure 47  
Ernst Barlach, *Ein Mann und ein Kind*  
1926, plaster, height 90.5 cm  
(35 5/8 in.) location unknown  
NS inventory no. 40248



Figure 48  
Ernst Barlach, *Ein Mann und ein Kind*  
1926, plaster, height 90.5 cm  
(35 5/8 in.) location unknown  
NS inventory no. 40249



Figure 49  
Eugen Hoffmann, *Matthias der Alte* (Male figure)  
1918, wood, height 90.5 cm  
(35 5/8 in.) location unknown  
NS inventory no. 40250



Figure 50  
Hoffmann, *Matthias der Alte* (Male figure)  
1918, wood, height 90.5 cm  
(35 5/8 in.) location unknown  
NS inventory no. 40251

Projection along the south wall

West wall





16022

16023

16024

16025

16026

16027

16028



16029

16030

## East wall



16040

16041

16042

16043

16044

16045\*

16046

16047

16048

16049

16050

16051

16052

## West wall

## Room 4

## Werke als

Artist, info

Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information

16010	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Sommer am Meer</i> Essen Folkwang Museum	
16011	Nolde, <i>Runde</i> Stadt Museum Erfurt	Figure 320
16012	Nolde, <i>Malkenhoff</i> Hannover Landesmus., 1924, RM 2,000	Figure 343
16013	Kirchner, <i>Strassenszene</i> Dresden Stadt. Gal., 1926, RM 9,000	
16014	Otto Müller, <i>Akte in Landschaft</i> Halle, 1924, 3,000	Figure 344
16015	Felsmüller, <i>Mann mit Kind</i> Ruhmeshalle Barmen, 1922, 7,000	
16016	Kirchner, <i>Die Gärten des Künstlers</i> Stadt. Galerie Frankfurt, 1919, 5,000	Figure 266
16017	Heckel, <i>Balade</i> Folkwang Mus. Essen	
16018	K. Höfer, <i>Schlafende Mädchen</i> Stadt. Mus. Dresden, 1920, RM 6,000	Figure 229
16019	Kokoschka, <i>Hedra</i> Stadt. Mus. Dresden, 1920, RM 10,000	Figure 286
16020	Höfer, <i>Der ausweichende Gefangene</i> Städt. Slg. Stuttgart	
16021	Kokoschka, <i>Die Wundbraut</i> Hamburg Kunstshalle, 1924, 13,500	Figure 37
16022	Kokoschka, <i>Alexander</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1926, RM 13,500	Figure 284
16023	Christ, <i>Rehli, Tintaz</i> Halle Moritzburg 1934, donation	
16024	Kirchner, <i>Die Kravde</i> Hannover Landesmus., 1930, RM 2,400	Figure 269
16025	Kirchner, <i>Bildnis des Malers Schlemmer</i> Essen Folkwang Museum	Figure 259
16026	Beckmann, <i>Selbstbildnis</i> Stuttgart, Kunstsammlung, M 3,000	Figure 162
16027	Heckel, <i>Flämische Familie</i> Städtisches Kunstmuseum Frankfurt	
16028	Kirchner, <i>Kartenspieler an Kasse</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1924, RM 3,500	Figure 260
16029	Pechstein, <i>Morgen am Pfaff</i> Hamburg Kunstshalle, 1923, donation	
16030	K. Höfer, <i>Tischgesellschaft</i> Barmen Ruhmeshalle, 1924, RM 2,700	
16031	Beckmann, <i>Der Strand</i> Stadt. Galerie Frankfurt	
16032	Karl Höfer, <i>Isalene</i> Museum Breslau, 1932, donation	

16033	Kokoschka, <i>Bildnis des Herzogs</i> v. Montequino	Figure 126
16034	Rehli, <i>Abstraktion</i> Essen Folkwang Mus.	Figure 362
16035	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Straßende Frau</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1921	
16036	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Freiwilliges</i> Städtisches Kunstmuseum Frankfurt, 1928, M 3,500	Figure 231
16037	K. Höfer, <i>Zwei Freunde</i> Städtisches Kunstmuseum Frankfurt, 1928, M 3,500	
16038	O. Lange, <i>Tuben d. Katzengasse</i> Dresden Stadt. Gal., 1921, RM 2,000	
16039	Kirchner, <i>Väter u. Söhne</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1924, RM 3,500	
16040	Kirchner, <i>Die Aktion des Bruchs</i> Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzenpalais, 1928, M 5,000	Figure 110
16041	Kirchner, <i>Fünf Frauen</i> Essen Folkwang Mus.	Figure 214
16042	Kirchner, <i>Straße</i> Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1920, M 12,000	Figure 255
16043	Kirchner, <i>Russische Tänzerin</i> Breslau Mus., 1929, RM 2,500	Figure 256
16044	Kokoschka, <i>Alter Herr</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1924, M 15,000	Figure 281
16045*	K. Höfer, <i>Freundinnen</i> Hamburg Kunstshalle, 1924, RM 2,500	Figure 230
16046	Tietz, <i>Das Bildnis</i> Stadt. Museum Dresden, 1928, 600	
16047	Heckel, <i>Überholende</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1924, RM 3,500	
16048	Nolde, <i>Die Melancholie</i> Dresden Stadt. Gal., 1920, RM 8,000	Figure 189
16049	Heckel, <i>Stehende Mann</i> Dresden Stadt. Gal., 1920, RM 3,000	
16050	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Bildnis B. R.</i> Hamburg Kunstshalle, 1913, donation	
16051	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Stehende Frau</i> Dresden Stadt. Galerie, 1925, bequest	
16052	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Selbstbildnis</i> Halle Moritzburg, 1924, RM 4,000	Figure 371
16053	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Freiwilliges</i> Halle Moritzburg	
16054	Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Akte</i> Stadt. Mus. Dresden, 1920, RM 350	

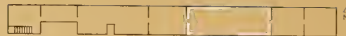


The works in Room 4 were not arranged by theme or artist, nor did the walls bear sneering slogans, comments, or quotations from the Führer's speeches on contemporary art. Here the organizers limited themselves for the most part to indicating artist, title, museum, and purchase price. To judge from the photographs of individual sections of the walls (figs. 51–53), the hanging was—if such words are not out of place in this context—calmer and less emotive. The works shown here were mostly by the artists of *Die Brücke*! (The bridge)—Erich Heckel, Karchner, Nolde, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff—with the addition of Christian Röhrls. The room also contained two other notable paintings, Beckmann's *Der Strand* (The beach) and Oskar Kokoschka's *Die Windsturm* (The tempest, fig. 37).



Figures 51–53  
Views of Room 4 in *Entartete Kunst*

## Room 5



For another view of Room 5 see figure 15



16055

16056



16057

16058

16059

16060

West wall

North wall



16126

16127

16124

16125

16122

16123

16120

16121

East wall

South wall



19002	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 10
19003	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 11
19004	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 12
19005	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 13
19006	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 14
19007	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 15
19008	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 16
19009	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 17
19010	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 18
19011	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 19
19012	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 20
19013	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 21
19014	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 22
19015	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 23
19016	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 24
19017	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 25
19018	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 26
19019	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 27
19020	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 28
19021	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 29
19022	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 30
19023	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 31
19024	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 32
19025	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 33
19026	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 34
19027	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 35
19028	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 36
19029	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 37
19030	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 38
19031	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 39
19032	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 40
19033	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 41
19034	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 42
19035	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 43
19036	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 44
19037	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 45
19038	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 46
19039	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 47
19040	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 48
19041	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 49
19042	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 50
19043	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 51
19044	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 52
19045	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 53
19046	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 54
19047	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 55
19048	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 56
19049	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 57
19050	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 58
19051	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 59
19052	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 60
19053	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 61
19054	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 62
19055	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 63
19056	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 64
19057	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 65
19058	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 66
19059	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 67
19060	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 68
19061	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 69
19062	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 70
19063	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 71
19064	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 72
19065	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 73
19066	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 74
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19072	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 80
19073	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 81
19074	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 82
19075	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 83
19076	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 84
19077	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 85
19078	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 86
19079	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 87
19080	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 88
19081	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 89
19082	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 90
19083	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 91
19084	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 92
19085	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 93
19086	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 94
19087	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 95
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19091	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 99
19092	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 100

19093	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 101
19094	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 102
19095	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 103
19096	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 104
19097	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 105
19098	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 106
19099	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 107
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19101	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 109
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19103	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 111
19104	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 112
19105	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 113
19106	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 114
19107	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 115
19108	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 116
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19117	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 125
19118	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 126
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19123	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 131
19124	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 132
19125	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 133
19126	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 134
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19131	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 139
19132	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 140
19133	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 141
19134	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 142
19135	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 143
19136	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 144
19137	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 145
19138	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 146
19139	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 147
19140	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 148
19141	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 149
19142	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 150
19143	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 151
19144	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 152
19145	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 153
19146	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 154
19147	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 155
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19149	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 157
19150	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 158
19151	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 159
19152	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 160
19153	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 161
19154	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 162
19155	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 163
19156	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 164
19157	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 165
19158	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 166
19159	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 167
19160	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 168
19161	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 169
19162	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 170
19163	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 171
19164	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 172
19165	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 173
19166	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 174
19167	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 175
19168	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 176
19169	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 177
19170	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 178
19171	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 179
19172	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 180
19173	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 181
19174	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 182
19175	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 183
19176	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 184
19177	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 185
19178	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 186
19179	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 187
19180	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 188
19181	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 189
19182	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 190
19183	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 191
19184	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 192
19185	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 193
19186	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 194
19187	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 195
19188	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 196
19189	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 197
19190	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 198
19191	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 199
19192	Schmidt-Berthell: Landscapes on the North Wall, 1924	Figure 200



Figure 54  
Abstract works displayed on the north wall of Room 5 in Estimote Kiosk

In Room 5 the sequence of the installation became "thematic" once more accompanied by commentaries written across the walls. Abstract paintings by Johannes Molzahn were summarily dismissed with the words: "Madness becomes method." A group of impressive watercolor by Kandinsky, seized from Halle and hung in a deliberately absurd step pattern (fig. 54) was labeled "Crazy at any price." The visitor was given the additional information that these were works by Kandinsky, "teacher at the Communist Bauhaus in Dessau until 1933." A watercolor by Klee, *Der Geist des Don X* ("The spirit of Don X") was included and attributed to Kandinsky, "non works by Kandinsky himself, although." Termination fig. 241 and Zoro Kroyler "Two complexes" by 245: both horizontal in format, were "deliberately" presented vertically. It is noteworthy that Kandinsky's was the first artist in the sequence of the installation for whose works titles and provenance were not provided. Examples of abstract art were not presented as individual works but in major, without even the slightest regard for an artist's indication of which way was up.

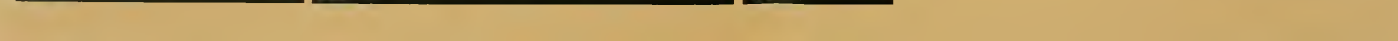
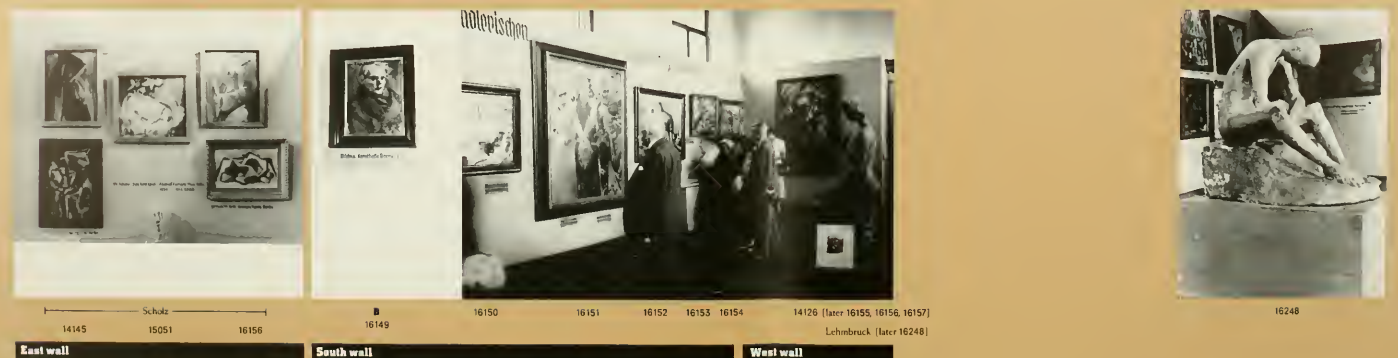
The Kandinsky were followed by seven urban views—of Halle, Wittenberg, Teltow, and other locations—by Feininger. In front of this group was a bust by Johannes Diesner, *Blinde Mann* ("Blind man") from the Schleisches Museum, Breslau. The low inventory number assigned to this work, 8350 suggests that it was removed from the exhibition at an early stage. On the opposite wall a selection of landscapes and still lifes by Schmidt-Berthell and Kirchner was headed "Nature as seen by sick minds." This was intended to illustrate Schultze Naumburg's thesis that Expressionism with all its artistic manifestations was a pathological symptom with a medical explanation. Other works were accompanied by derivation of the custodians of public collections and their purchasing policies: "Even museum budgets called this art of the German people."

The east wall, flanking the entrance to Room 6, carried didactic messages of some sort but for lack of documentary photographs or eyewitness accounts, their content is unknown. No doubt they were more pronouncements on cultural policy by Halber or perhaps Giesebeck.

Room 5 Works on art	Artist, date, acquisition, acquisition price or circumstances	
8350	Thomas Bräuer Min. Breslau 1921, donation	
16055	Kaasmeier Handball Folkwang Mus. Essen 1926, 524	
16056	Kaasmeier Handball Nationalgalerie Berlin 1930	Figure 219
16058	Kandinsky, <i>Impressionen</i> Landesmus. Hannover	
16059	Moll, <i>Black Jacks</i> series Museum Breslau, RM 1,800	
16059	Molzahn, <i>Zentral</i> Museum Breslau 1910, RM 1,400	
16060	Molzahn, <i>Beim Hahnenkamm</i> Folkwang Mus. Essen	
16061	Molzahn, <i>Impressionen</i> Folkwang Museum Essen	
16062	Molzahn, <i>Ein Teil der Flugs</i> Folkwang Museum Essen	
16063	Molzahn, <i>Hintergrund</i> Mus. Breslau 1929, RM 2,100	
16064	Kaasmeier, <i>Trübsal</i> Kunsthalle Mannheim 1927, RM 500	
16065	Molzahn, <i>Ein</i> Mus. Breslau 1920, donation	
16066	Georg Grosse, <i>Die Rose</i> Mus. Breslau 1921, donation	
16067	Kaasmeier, <i>Ein Mensch</i> Nationalgalerie Berlin 1930	
16068	Kaasmeier, <i>Leber Kugel</i> Kunsthalle Karlsruhe 1931, donation	
16069	Schlemmer, <i>Wandbild auf drei Seiten</i> Folkwang Mus. Essen 1930	
16070	Emil Schiele, <i>Komposition</i> Landesmus. Hannover 1921, 291 dollars	
16071	Richter, <i>Feldschmiede</i> Landesmus. Hannover 1921, RM 80	
16072	Molander, <i>Komposition</i> Landesmus. Hannover 1929, RM 420	
16073	Kandinsky	Figure 222
16074	Kandinsky, <i>Klee</i> 1929, 600	
16075	Kandinsky 1929, 710	
16076	Kandinsky 1929, 600	
16077	Kandinsky Halle	Figure 224
16078	Kandinsky 1929, 600	Figure 225
16079	Kandinsky 1927, 500	Figure 226
16080	Kandinsky, 1927, 500 and Kandinsky, 1929, 1,000	
16081	Feininger, <i>Zoo</i> series Halle, Mannheim 1924, RM 7,500	

Room 6 Works on art	Artist, date, acquisition, acquisition price or circumstances	
16126	(Moll, <i>Die Tote der Kasse</i> series) Nationalgalerie Berlin, removed from display 1930	
16145	Schulz, <i>Amphibie</i> Kunsth. Pal. Berlin 1939, acquired by exchange	
16051	Moll, <i>Kaff</i> Teltow	Figure 228
16128	(Reckmann, (Schmiedl)) Kunstsammlungen Berlin 1935, acquired by exchange	Figure 229
16129	Reckmann, (Schmiedl) Kunstsammlungen Berlin 1935, acquired by exchange	Figure 230
16130	Nidde, <i>Reis</i> series Kunstsammlungen Berlin 1935, acquired by exchange	Figure 231
16131	(Moll, <i>Waldhorn</i> ) Frankfurt	Figure 232
16132	Moll, <i>Ein Mensch</i> Kunsthalle Hamburg, removed from display 1930	Figure 233
	Moll, <i>Zwei Kassen</i> Kunsthalle Bremen, removed from display 1937	Figure 234
16134	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Staatsg. München, removed from display 1937	Figure 235
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Walt. Reiz Mus. Köln	Figure 236
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Kunsth. Pal. Berlin, Karl Ebding (Köln)	Figure 237
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 238
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	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 347
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 348
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 349
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 350
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 351
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 352
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 353
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 354
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 355
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 356
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 357
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 358
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 359
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 360
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 361
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 362
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 363
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 364
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 365
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 366
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 367
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 368
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 369
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 370
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 371
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 372
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 373
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 374
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 375
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 376
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 377
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 378
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	Figure 379
	(Reckmann, <i>Reis</i> series) Köln	

## Room 6





The contents and installation of the two remaining rooms on the upper floor were altered shortly after the opening of the exhibition and therefore cannot be established in detail.

The works in Room 6 bore no titles. Only in a few cases was the visitor provided with any information, whole sequences of works were left unlabeled. Where the former collections were named, the emphasis was on the facts of seizure by Ziegler and his committee: "removed from display Staatsgalerie, Munich, 1937" or "removed from display Kunsthalle, Hamburg, 1936." Interestingly, comments such as "acquired by exchange, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1936" or "acquired Cologne 1934" revealed that even after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 and in defiance of the cultural policies proclaimed at a succession of party meetings, the museums had persevered in acquiring contemporary art.

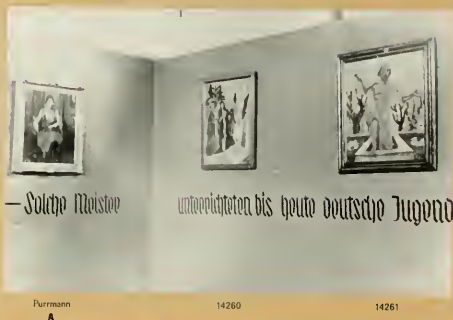
The entire south wall of Room 6 was reserved for works by Louis Corinth, under an inscription reading: "Decadence exploited for literary and commercial purposes." According to Holzinger, the artist's name was originally written alongside the paintings but was erased after the opening or, in one case, as can be seen from a photograph, obliterated by the red sticker proclaiming that it was "paid for by the taxes of the German working people."

Beneath Corinth's Walchensee landscapes was a narrow glass case, installed on July 23, according to Holzinger, containing photographs of works by Corinth and Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Lehmbruck's *Grosse Kniende* (Large kneeling woman, fig. 290), lent by his widow to the Städtische Galerie, Munich, was placed in this room only on July 22 and was removed again one week later for reasons that remain unclear. The work had been badly damaged in transit: "The shards lie on the plinth" (Holzinger). The photograph beneath the *Grosse Kniende* was of Lehmbruck's *Sitzender Jüngling* (Seated youth, fig. 289), this sculpture, which had been seized in Mannheim on July 8, was shipped to Munich on July 29 and set up in the space left vacant by the removal of the *Grosse Kniende*.<sup>21</sup>

On the west wall was a celebrated work, *Turm der blauen Pferde* (Tower of blue horses) by Marc, with the note: "removed from display Kronprinzenpalais, Berlin, 1936." Holzinger's letters to Hanfstaengl and the notes made by Rave after his visit to the exhibition on July 21 or 22<sup>22</sup> describe the changes that centered on this work during the first few days of the exhibition. The painting was removed after the Deutscher Offiziersbund (German officers' federation) sent a note of protest to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste to say that Marc, an officer who had served the Reich and the fatherland with distinction in the Great War, who had won the Iron Cross, First Class, and who had fallen at the siege of Verdun, could not be associated with the infamy of such an exhibition.<sup>23</sup> (Four other works by Marc, which were in Room 7 at the opening and were subsequently moved to Room 6, remained on view, as the inventory



Figure 55  
View in Room 6 in *Entartete Kunst*, in the background is the door to Room 7, which was closed to the general public from the end of July onward



Northwest corner of Room 7

numbers show) *Turm der blauen Pferde* was given the number 14126, which indicates that by the time the inventory was started in Munich with the number 15933, it was no longer in the exhibition, although exactly when it was moved to Berlin is impossible to say.

The vacant wall was filled with two additions to the exhibition, paintings by Corinth and Nolde: *Hofers Stillleben mit Gemüse* (Still life with vegetables), which had previously been hung on the east wall of the same room, was also moved. A triptych by Werner Scholz and a wood carving by Voll along the same stretch of wall were also pulled out of the exhibition before it closed, to judge by their low inventory numbers (14140 and 15031, respectively).

Above the door leading into Room 7 were the words, "They had four years' time" (fig. 55), a reference to the remark with which Hitler concluded his declaration on taking power on February 1, 1933: "Now people of Germany give us just four years, and then judge us!" In this room were paintings by academy professors whose work had incurred the Nazis' displeasure and who had consequently lost their posts, in some cases as early as 1933. Unfortunately, only one photograph of Room 7 has so far been found, so that no more than a tentative reconstruction is possible. Surmounted by the words, "These are the masters who have been teaching German youth," were paintings by, among others, Hans Purmann, still the honorary director of Villa Romana in Florence, Karl Caspar,

dismissed in 1937 as a professor at the Munich Akademie, his wife, Maria Caspar-Fisler, Paul Bindel, Werner Heuser, Heinrich Nauen, and Edwin Scharf, all of the Düsseldorf Akademie, Fritz Burger-Mühlfeld, Hannover Akademie, and Georg Schrimpf, Berlin Akademie. The same room also contained works by Paula Modersohn-Becker and Edvard Munch.<sup>24</sup> It appears that paintings by August Macke were initially shown in Room 7; they were removed after another protest note from the officers.<sup>25</sup> Macke, also a holder of the Iron Cross, First Class, had been killed in battle in Champagne in September of 1914.

According to Rave, a number of labels and comments were whitewashed over, although they remained visible and legible. He commented on the resulting muddle:

These labels clearly show that the exhibition organizers are not concerned with art alone but with making war on the public art administration. They bear a particularly evident grudge against the Reichserziehungsministerium (Reich ministry of education). The numerous changes made in the inscription betray a degree of uncertainty on the part of the exhibition organizers.<sup>26</sup>

## Room 7



From the accounts of Rave and Holzinger, which are not entirely consistent, it is possible to reconstruct the confused situation in Rooms 6 and 7 immediately after the opening of *Entartete Kunst* on Monday, July 19. Room 7 was closed on Monday, opened on Tuesday evening around 6:45, closed on Wednesday, Rooms 6 and 7 were both inaccessible on Thursday (from the early morning onward, according to Rave, from the afternoon onward, according to Holzinger), but were reopened the next day.

The works in the two rooms were rehanging during the July 22–23 closure, but it is unclear which paintings hung opposite the Corinth in Room 6 before the change. We know from both Rave and Holzinger that Kokoschka's *Dolomitenlandschaft Tre Croci* (Landscape in the Dolomites, Tre Croci, fig. 283) and four small paintings by Marc were in Room 7 before being moved to Room 6 during the closure. We may speculate that works by Nolde, Max Peiffer Watenphul, Rohlf, and Scholz, among others, were originally displayed on the walls of Room 6 in a less cramped arrangement than appears in the photographs taken after the reorganization. This might also help to explain the curious arrows painted on the walls that point to the picture titles in Room 6 once the organizers had crammed more works into the room, the hanging no longer coincided with the labeling, and the arrows helped the visitors to get their bearings.

Holzinger gives a full list of the paintings in Room 6 on July 23 that coincides exactly with the inventory drawn up at the end of the exhibition (November 30). Thus, from July 23 at the latest, apart from the removal of *Turm der blauen Pferde* and the replacement of one Lehmbruck sculpture with another, the installation of Room 6 was in its final form.

During the run of the exhibition, from the second week onward, if not before, Room 7 remained closed to the public, and access to it was granted only to journalists and holders of special permits.

Another interesting remark by Rave indicates that "on July 21 numerous works that had not been included were packed into a furniture van and driven away."<sup>24</sup> This would indicate that the content of the exhibition—including the ground-floor section opened to the public only on July 22—had already been determined. The works removed from Rooms 6 and 7, including the Marc painting and the works by the academy professors, all have low, fairly adjacent inventory numbers, which suggests that they were inventoried in Berlin after being sent there in one consignment.

### Room 7 Works of art

Artist, title  
Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information

14260	(Nauen, <i>Altenverrinnen</i> ) (Essen)	
14261	(Nauen, <i>Sonnenblumen</i> ) (Berlin)	
14262	(Nauen, <i>Bildnis Flechtheim</i> ) (Düsseldorfer)	
14263	(Bindel, <i>Martinsjunge</i> ) (Düsseldorfer)	
14264	(Heuser, <i>Taufe</i> ) (Düsseldorfer)	
14265	(Nauen, <i>Kuhweide</i> ) (Essen)	
14266	(Bürger-Mühlfeld, <i>Abstrakte Komposition</i> ) (Hannover)	Figure 191
14267	(Scharf, <i>Pferde an der Tränke</i> ) (Düsseldorfer)	
14268	(Purmann, <i>Bodenstelschaft</i> ) (München)	
14269	(Caspar, <i>Drei Frauen am Grabe Christi</i> ) (München)	
14270	(Caspar, <i>Auferstehung, Ostern</i> ) (München)	Figure 192
14271	(Caspar, <i>Jacob ruft mit den Engeln</i> ) (München)	
14272	(Scharf, <i>Badende Männer</i> ) (Düsseldorfer)	
14273	(Caspar-Filser, <i>Winterlandschaft</i> ) (München)	
14274	(Bürger-Mühlfeld, <i>Abstrakte Komposition</i> ) (München)	
14275	(Nauen, <i>Madonna</i> ) (Barmen)	
?	(Purmann, <i>Damenbildnis</i> ) (Bremen?)	

### Wall text

A  
below Purmann  
and 14260–61  
*Solche Meister unterrichten bis heute deutsche Jugend.*  
These are the masters who have been teaching German youth

## Ground floor

The second section of the exhibition, on the ground floor, comprised a number of oil paintings but mainly watercolors, prints, drawings, photographs, and books and is far more difficult to reconstruct.

On Thursday, July 22, three days after the rest of the exhibition had been inaugurated, the ground-floor rooms were opened to the public. The delay was no doubt caused by sheer lack of time: the organizers had had from June 30, the day when authorization came from Goebbels, until July 19 to assemble the show. On this lower floor the impact of the presentation was even stronger than on the floor above. The walls were densely and chaotically covered with paintings, prints, drawings, and written comments; unframed works on paper, photographs, and books were crammed into the glass cases that stood against the longer sides of the rooms. It looked as if a hasty effort had been made to pack into this part of the exhibition as many as possible of the remaining works that had been shipped to Munich.

From a small lobby—presumably at the foot of the narrow stairway to the upper floor—the exhibition extended through two vaulted rooms. Since the upper floor was supported on the Hofgarten side by an arcade, the ground-floor rooms were that much narrower. The organizers made use of the existing glass-topped vitrines, which were about forty inches deep, leaving only a narrow passage, and there were signs instructing the public to keep to the right as they walked through. Both rooms were lit by windows on the south side.

Unlike the upper floor, the installation on the ground floor showed no attempt at iconographic classification. With few exceptions the works were not individually identified. Here and there the visitor would come across a label covering a group of works by a single artist or a large number of items from a single museum. Sometimes details of provenance had been carelessly chalked onto the frames, as with the works from Dresden on the west wall of the first room, for other works the plates traditionally attached to the frames by museums provided the name of the artist and the title of the work.

Although far more than half of the objects on display in *Entartete Kunst* were crammed into these two catacomblike chambers, there exists neither a press account of this lower section nor any official documentation or listing of the works. The inventory numbers and the notes made by Roth and Holzinger—which convey the general muddle and the visual chaos—are the only sources that afford a chance of reconstructing any of the installation. As on the upper floor, the paintings were listed first on the inventory; they were hung primarily on the end walls and between the windows. Then followed the framed prints and drawings, and finally the unframed works on paper and the books.

A comparison of the numbering system with the surviving photographs suggests that the works in the cases and the prints and drawings on the walls were inventoried in a sequence that began

with the vitrines on the north wall of Room G1 (16252–79), proceeded to the vitrines on the north wall of Room G2 (16280–360), then, working back along the south wall of Room G2 to the south wall of Room G1, the numbering ran in all probability from 16261 through 16528, the last number that could have been assigned in the exhibition. But until all the inventory numbers can be traced and assigned to individual works no definitive reconstruction of this part of the exhibition is possible.

### Ground floor, Lobby

The lobby contained two works, *Schmied von Hagen* (Blacksmith of Hagen), a figure in wood by Kirchner, and *Der neue Mensch* (The new man, fig. 56), a plaster sculpture by Otto Freundlich, which was later featured on the cover of the *Ausstellungsführer Entartete Kunst*, the guide published to accompany the exhibition on tour after it left Munich (fig. 1).<sup>30</sup> No inventory number can be traced for *Der neue Mensch*, which suggests that it was withdrawn from the exhibition early, together with other sculptures including the Kirchner (which has a low inventory number).

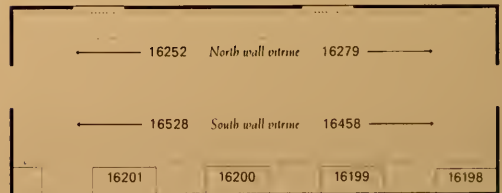
Lobby	
Works of art	Artist, title Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information
(16252–79)	(Kirchner, <i>Schmied von Hagen</i> ) (Essen)
?	Otto Freundlich, <i>Kopf</i> (Hamburg) <span style="float: right;">Figures 1, 56</span>
Wall text	
above Freundlich	"Head" of Otto Freundlich The face of the "new man" of the "new world community," who is heralded by the "new art." The anarchist-Bolshevik Freundlich writes: "Today we stand outside all history; we are ripe for the essence of our world destiny."



Figure 56  
Otto Freundlich, *Der neue Mensch* (The new man), detail, 1912, plaster cast, height 139 cm (54 3/4 in.), location unknown

The first of the two downstairs rooms was about half as long as the second. On the west wall, beside and above the door, hung a group of paintings seized from the Stadtmuseum in Dresden, mainly painted by local artists; these had figured in the *Schreckenskammer* (chamber of horrors) exhibition that opened in Dresden in 1933 and subsequently toured Germany.<sup>11</sup> More paintings were displayed along the north wall above the glass cases, including an impressive sequence of five paintings by Oskar Schlemmer. On the end wall were two paintings by Grosz and two by Dix. On the three piers between the windows on the south side were more paintings, including three by Heinrich Campendonk.

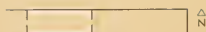
In the glass case on the north wall were, among other works, three portfolios of prints: Kandinsky's *Kleine Welten* (Small worlds, figs 249–51), a portfolio of twelve woodcuts by Feininger (figs 208–9), and Kokoschka's *Bachkantate* (Bach cantata, figs 32–36). The number of works from each portfolio actually on view can be established only in the case of Kokoschka. Presumably a selection was made of prints by Kandinsky and Feininger, but each portfolio was assigned only a single number. The vitrines on the south wall contained some other portfolios—Dix's *Der Krieg* (War, figs 191–97) and Kandinsky's *Klänge* (Sounds, fig 247)—but mainly books from the *Junge Kunst* (Young art) series founded by Georg Biermann and published in Leipzig; these copies were seized from the library of the Schlesisches Museum in Breslau. Much space was also devoted to the books of drawings by Klee and Barlach published by Reinhard Piper Verlag, Munich, which were exhibited with the organizers' comments, some of which were recorded by Holzinger.



This diagram indicates the location of inventoried works for which there is inadequate photographic documentation.



# Room G1

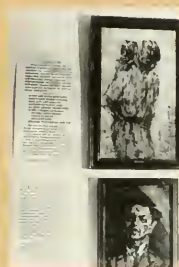


16163  
16162  
16158

**A**

16164  
16165  
16166  
16168  
16169

16167  
16170



**B** 16171  
**C** 16172

16175  
16179

16176  
16182

16177  
16178

16179

## West wall

## Sections of the North wall

**Room G1** Artist, title  
**Works of art** Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information

### West wall

16158	(Dix, <i>Landschaft mit aufgehender Sonne</i> ) Dresden	Figure 198
16159	(Skade, <i>Damenbildnis</i> ) (Dresden)	
16160	(Schubert, <i>Verkündigung</i> ) (Dresden)	
16161	(Johanson, <i>Fabrik</i> ) (Dresden)	
16162	(Mitschke, <i>Collande, Familie</i> ) Dresden	
16163	(Cassel, <i>Bildnis</i> ) Dresden	
16164	(Schubert, <i>Beerndigung</i> ) Dresden	
16165	(Hebert, <i>Bildnis Mein Bruder</i> ) Dresden	
16166	(Skade, <i>Frauenbildnis</i> ) Dresden	

16167	(Grundig, <i>Knabe mit gebrochenem Arm</i> ) Dresden
16168	(Kirchner, <i>Berglandschaft</i> ) Dresden
16169	(Heckel, <i>Zwei Akte im Atelier</i> ) Dresden
16170	(Felixmuller, <i>Das Paar</i> ) Dresden

### North wall

16171	(Rohlfis, <i>Mädchen mit Kind</i> ) (Hagen)
16172	(Hebert, <i>Selbstbildnis</i> ) (Dresden)
16173	(Mondrian, <i>Farbige Aufteilung</i> ) (Essen)
16174	(Schlemmer, <i>Sinnender</i> ) (Stuttgart)
16175	(Schlemmer, <i>Drei Frauen</i> ) (Breslau)



16188 16192 16194 16195 16196  
16189 16190 16191 16193 16197

### East wall

16176	(Schlemmer, <i>Konzentrische Gruppe</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 93
16177	(Schlemmer, <i>Romisches</i> ) (Essen)	Figure 365
16178	(Schlemmer, <i>Frauentreppe</i> ) (Mannheim)	Figure 364
16179	(Bayer, <i>Landschaft im Tessin</i> ) (Essen)	
16180	?	
16181	(Dix, <i>Bildnis Franz Radzueill</i> ) (Dusseldorf)	Figure 200
16182	(Rohls, <i>Blumenschale</i> ) (Hagen)	
16183	(Nolde, <i>Frauenkopf</i> ) (Dresden)	
16184	(Dix, <i>Die Witwe</i> ) (Mannheim)	
16185	(Gleichmann, <i>Die Braut</i> ) (Mannheim)	

16186	(Nolde, <i>Blumengarten X</i> ) (Kiel)	Figure 126
16187	(Kleinschmidt, <i>Stilleben</i> ) (Mannheim)	
16188	(Mueller, <i>Badende Frau</i> ) Barmen	
16189	(Nay, <i>Fischendorf Tejn auf Bornholm</i> ) (Lubeck)	Figure 316
16190	(Kandinsky, <i>Die Kreuzform</i> ) Barmen	Figure 244
16191	(Ernst, <i>Muschelblumen</i> ) (Berlin)	
16192	(Kirchner, <i>Das Wohnzimmer</i> ) Lubeck	Figure 270
16193	(Eberhard, <i>Vision</i> ) Karlsruhe	

## North wall, vitrines

16188	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Landschaft</i> )	
16189	?	
16190	?	
16191	?	
16192	(Hoffmann, <i>Nacktes Weib</i> ) (Dresden)	
16193	(Grosz, <i>Menschen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16194	(Pechstein, <i>Aus Palau</i> ) (Dresden)	
16195	?	
16196	(Grosz, <i>Bild Nr. 22896/I</i> ) (Breslau)	
16197	(Voll, <i>Kopf</i> ) (Dresden)	
16198	(Voll, <i>Fünf Kinder im Freien</i> ) (Berlin)	
16199	(Voll, <i>Sitzender Akt am Ofen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16200	(Haizmann)	
16201	(Haizmann)	
16202	(Dix, <i>Sappenhopf</i> ) (Dresden)	
16203	?	
16204	?	
16205	(Grosz, <i>Strassenszene mit Kruppel</i> ) (Breslau)	
16206	(Mueller, <i>Wäblicher Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16207	(Kandinsky, <i>Kleine Welten</i> ) (Breslau)	Figures 249–51
16208	(Kandinsky, <i>Kleine Welten</i> ) (Breslau?)	
16209	(Feininger, <i>Holzschnitt-Mappe</i> ) (Breslau)	Figures 208–9
16210	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 2</i> ) (Halle)	
16211	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 4</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 33
16212	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 3</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 32
16213	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 6</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 36
16214	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 6</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 34
16215	(Kokoschka, <i>Bachkantate Nr. 7</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 35

## East wall

16194	(Grosz, <i>Grosstadt</i> ) (Mannheim)	Figure 216
16195	Georg Gross, Max Hermann-Nesse (Mannheim)	Figure 213
16196	(Dix, <i>Bildnis des Juweliers Karl Krall</i> ) Berlin	Figure 199
16197	(Dix, <i>Bildnis des Dichters Herbert Eulenberg</i> ) (Düsseldorf)	

## South wall

16216	(Campendonk, <i>Bergziegen</i> ) (Frankfurt)	Figure 181
16217	(Campendonk, <i>Badende Frauen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16218	(Campendonk, <i>Zwei Frauen in einem Teich</i> )	
16219	(Völker, <i>Industrielandschaft</i> ) (Berlin)	

## South wall, vitrines

16220	(Kokoschka, <i>Selbstportrat</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 288
16221	(Junge Kunst 35 With, <i>Chagall</i> ) (Breslau)	
16222	(Junge Kunst 20 Graf, <i>Uhlen</i> ) (Breslau)	
16223	(Junge Kunst 31 Einstein, <i>Kisling</i> ) (Breslau)	
16224	(Junge Kunst 5 Daubler, <i>Klein</i> ) (Breslau)	
16225	(Junge Kunst 18 Kuhn, <i>Roder</i> ) (Breslau)	
16226	(Junge Kunst 41 Wölfradt, <i>Dix</i> ) (Breslau)	
16227	(Junge Kunst 7) (Breslau)	
16228	(Junge Kunst 21 Wölfradt, <i>Grosz</i> ) (Breslau)	
16229	(Junge Kunst 42 Grohmann, <i>Kandinsky</i> ) (Breslau)	
16230	(Junge Kunst 12 Frieg, <i>Morgner</i> ) (Breslau)	
16231	(Junge Kunst 7 Hausenstein, <i>Grossmann</i> ) (Breslau)	
16232	(Junge Kunst 9 Cohn-Wiener, <i>Jackel</i> ) (Breslau)	
16233	(Junge Kunst 13 von Wedderkop, <i>Klein</i> ) (Breslau)	
16234	(Junge Kunst 45 Grohmann, <i>Gutsch</i> ) (Breslau)	
16235	(Junge Kunst 1 Biermann, <i>Pechstein</i> ) (Breslau)	
16236	(Junge Kunst 48 Reifenerg, <i>Hofer</i> ) (Breslau)	
16237	(Junge Kunst 3 Uphoff, <i>Hoetger</i> ) (Breslau)	

# Wall text

## A

below 16164

From the collection of the Stadtmuseum in Dresden.

Dr P. I. Schmidt

This astute museum director with a sure eye for new acquisitions has in a short time brought the Dresden city art collection to a high standard

*Avant* 1920 p. 174

## B

left of 16171

Book review

Merz drawings by Schwitters? Merz poems by Schwitters? Fifteen of each, always with a poem on the left and a drawing on the right. And hith meaningless. Printed words in lines of different lengths, and those are supposed to be poems. Words stamped all over notepaper and childish drawings of coffee grinders, houses, and wheels, and those are supposed to be drawings. Damned if I can make head or tail of them. One goes like this:

Umdumm

So hear glands scream, tormented Morea

Wasall squeal, unlarned you sell sing

Shrill blazing glands equalk being

Like axletrees screaming scream

Blaze tormented bodyhot unlarned gleam

Oh hear! Eh unlarned tormented torment

Hey you Sihaylie splats the moon

Oh see oh sing along

The dragonfly goids Gloyteyah

But tuorment dream chokes off my sing

Now if anyone asks me what all this is supposed to mean I can only laugh in his face, along with the poet and painter himself. Kuwitte, presumably. Art is not there to be "understood", Merz poems are not for professors of philology. Dada—yes, Dada—is there for joining in, for laughing at yourself and the world at large, for being a happy dope. If you don't feel it, you won't ever get it. To think that someone has the courage to kid around in art! A slap in the face to meaning and gravity! To Kurt Schwitters—many thanks.

Paul F. Schmidt

## C

left of 16172

In praise of nonsense

The director of the Stadtmuseum in Dresden, Dr P. F. Schmidt, writes "In the pioneer artists of our time we see an unprecedented struggle for psychic salvation, for them it is all or nothing—not some mere studio problem, some nuance of color and lighting, but the meaning of existence itself. The sacrifice of one's own life counts for little when an image of the universe stands to be revealed. For the sake of a suffering creation these great souls embrace all suffering, and they do so with the joyous conviction of the martyr. This is a truly heroic generation, and its willpower verges on the sublime, for to the outsider, who knows no better, it seems like eccentricity and madness and a vile assault upon the sanctity of tradition."

He is accorded the highest praise

"Schmidt has the rare gift of going to the heart of the matter with a single word—a firm point of view—a secret romanticism."

(F. Roh in Westheim's *Kunstblatt*, 1923)

## D

below 16195

Max Hermann-Neisse painted by Georg Gross

What is art but a moldy fruit from the houseplant of bourgeois romantic reality?

Max Hermann-Neisse

south wall extreme

At least as culturally pernicious as the work of incompetent, malignant or sick "artists" is the irresponsibility of those literary pimps, tenured museum directors and experts—who have looted this perversion on the people and would still cheerfully offer it as art today.

south wall extreme

16450-82

How Professor Biermann has disseminated art-Bolshevism in Germany

south wall extreme

16487-528

A masterpiece of ideological realignment

south wall extreme

16487-528

The State Secret Police intervene—a selection of books confiscated in recent years

(Junge Kunst 4: Brieger, *Madame*)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 5)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 7: Landsberger, *Impressionismus und Expressionismus*)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 7)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 16: Valentiner, *Schmidt-Rottluff*)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 7)  
(Breslau)

(Junge Kunst 8: Schwarz, *Krayn*)  
(Breslau)

(Dix, *Der Krieg*)  
(Berlin) *Figures 191-97*

(Kandinsky, *Klänge*)  
(Breslau) *Figure 247*

(Benn, *Kunst und Macht*)  
(Breslau)

(Meidner, *Septemberschrein*)  
(Breslau) *Figure 297*

missing

Also on display in the vitrines were the following (to which inventory numbers were not assigned):

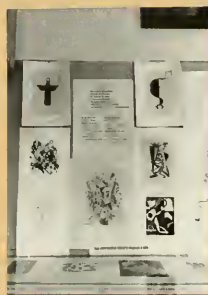
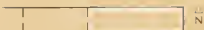
Additional volumes from the Junge Kunst series, on Campendonk, Cézanne, Coubine, Derain, Eberz, Gauguin, van Gogh, Heckendorf, Kubin, Laurencin, Macke, Matisse, Modersohn-Becker, Moll, Nauen, Roeder, Rousseau, Scharif, and De Smet.

Prospectus of the Deutschen Kunst series published by Angelsachsen Verlag.

Piper Verlag publications: Ernst Barlach, *Zeichnungen*, 1936 (on view: *Hexenritt*, 1922, *Fluchende Furie*, 1923, *Der Wartende*, 1922, and *Drei Furim*, 1922); and Paul Klee, *Handzeichnungen*, 1936.



# Room G2



16204  
16205  
16206  
**A**  
16207

16208  
**B**

16211  
16215  
Klee  
**C**

16212  
16213  
Klee  
**D**

16214  
16231  
Klee

16280?  
16281?  
16282?

**E**

16286?  
16287?  
16288?

16289?  
16290?  
16291?

**F**

16315  
16316  
16317

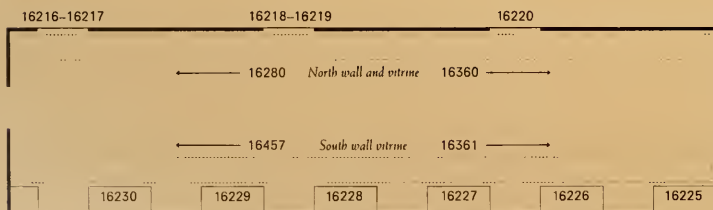
**G**

16318?

16283? 16285?

## West wall

## Sections of the North wall and vitrines



This diagram indicates the location of inventoried works for which there is inadequate photographic documentation



16331	16334	16336	<b>H</b>	16339	16353	16356	16357
16332	16335	16337	16338	16342	16354	16359	16358
				16355	<b>I</b>	16360	

16223	16222	16224	16225
16221		Nolde	

#### East wall

On the entrance wall of Room G2 and on the wall between that and the first window were works by Rohlf and Klee. In this area the connection between the installation sequence and the inventory listing of the works is particularly clear. In the absence of photographs, however, the inventory numbers alone would not have sufficed for an accurate reconstruction. Those who carried out the inventory sometimes failed to draw a distinction between oil paintings and framed watercolors or drawings. On the upper floor the framed works on paper by Kandinsky, Klee, and Schmidt-Rottluff (all seized from Halle) were included among the oil paintings, and the same thing happened on the ground floor with the framed works by Klee. The three watercolors by Klee tacked up on the west wall appeared merely as "sheets" and were given much higher inventory numbers than the other paintings or no inventory numbers at all.

A strip of text can be seen along the north wall in the few available photographs. "We would rather exist unclean than perish clean, we leave it to stubborn individualists and old maids to be inept but respectable; reputation is not our worry." These words, wrenched out of context, had been written by Wieland Herzfelde, the publisher and founder of Malik Verlag, as a polemic against the double standards of bourgeois morality. Further abusive comments were written on cards placed among the items in the vitrines or tacked onto the walls. Even with the accurate information supplied by Holzinger, who noted down the gist of many of these texts, it has not been possible to identify all of them. As in the previous rooms, they were mostly statements by art historians, quoted out of context in accordance with Willrich's tried and tested method. Rather than speculate, we have inserted into the room-by-room reconstruction only those texts whose wording and position is known for certain.

The exhibition ended on the east wall, and visitors had to retrace their steps to reach the exit. On this wall and along the south wall were more paintings, interspersed with prints that can be identified only conjecturally from photographic evidence. The positions of the unframed prints in the glass cases or of the works on paper thumbtacked to the wall cannot be established with any certainty. Holzinger and Roth tell us that the display also included photographs of works of art by, among others, Gies, Cesar Klein, Scharif, and Georg Scholz. None of the available sources, however, indicates that inventory numbers were assigned to photographs; thus, the correspondences that the exhibition organizers certainly intended to emphasize can no longer be ascertained. Books, on the other hand, were clearly inventoried, as can be seen from the list of contents of the vitrines along the south wall of Room G1.

The north wall of Room G2 began with a series of prints from various Bauhaus portfolios (16280–91) seized from the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne. Above the portfolios, in the three cross vaults, were paintings, including works by Dix, Alexej von Jawlensky, and Schmidt-Rottluff. In the sequence of inventory numbers there follows a more or less orderly succession of groups of works taken from the print collections of the museums in Düsseldorf, Berlin, Dresden, Mannheim, Breslau, Essen, and Dresden again. Between the first Dresden and Mannheim groups were works from Hamburg, according to Holzinger. Notable were woodcuts by Schmidt-Rottluff and a small group of watercolors by Mueller at the end of the north wall.

In the cases on the south wall were works from Dresden museums and a large number from the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, with single prints from Essen and Düsseldorf, followed by a conspicuously large consignment from the Schlesisches Museum, Breslau. The sequence of these groups suggests that especially in this part of the exhibition there was no time to orchestrate the effect and that the prints went straight into the vitrines or onto the walls as they were unpacked. This room also affords a particularly high proportion of missing or unattributable inventory numbers.

## Room G2

## Works of art

Artist, title

Owner, date acquired, acquisition price or information

## West wall

16280	(Rohlf's) (Hagen?)	
16281	(Rohlf's, Brauner Mondschein) (Hagen?)	Figure 338
16204	(Rohlf's, Zwei Köpfe) (Hagen?)	
16205	(Rohlf's, Tessier Dorfhauser) (Hagen?)	
16206	(Rohlf's, Landschaft) (Hagen?)	
16207	(Rohlf's, Der Gnom) (Halle)	
16208	(Rohlf's, Junger Wald) (Hagen?)	
16209	(Rohlf's, Halbfigur auf Grün) (Hagen?)	
16210	(Rohlf's, Kopf) (Hagen?)	
16211	(Rohlf's, Topf mit Blumen) (Krefeld)	
16212	(Klee, Rhythmus der Fenster) (Stuttgart)	
16213	(Klee, Mond über der Stadt) (Berlin)	
16214	(Klee, Wintergarten) (Halle)	
16215	(Klee, Wohn?) (Frankfurt)	Figure 271
16231	(Klee, Das Vokalbuch der Kammersängerin Rosa Silber) (Berlin)	Figure 274
?	(Klee, Geisterzimmer)	Figure 278
?	(Klee, Rechner der Greis)	Figure 276
?	(Klee, Zwischenschmaschine)	Figure 117

## North wall, covas

16216	(v. Jawlensky, Sizilianerin) (Mannheim)	
16217	(v. Jawlensky, Kind mit grüner Halskette) (Breslau)	
16218	(Dix, Arbeiter im Sonntagskleid) (Barmen)	
16219	(Dix, Arbeiter vor Fabrik) (Stuttgart)	
16220	(Schmidt-Rottluff, Melancholie) (Lübeck)	



Figure 57  
Room G2 in *Enlartete Kunst*, looking west



## North wall and vitrines

16280?	(Schreyer, <i>Kindersterben</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 389
16281?	(Kandinsky, <i>Komposition</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 248
16282?	(Jawlensky, <i>Kopf</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 234
16283?	(Klee, <i>Die Heilige vom innern Licht</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 275
16284?	(Bauer, <i>Baulama</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 159
16285?	(Itten, <i>Haus des weissen Mannes</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 232
16286?	(Schreyer, <i>Kindersterben</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 388
16287?	(Molzahn, <i>Komposition</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 304
16288?	(Topp, <i>Abstrakte Komposition</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 393
16289?	(Schlemmer, <i>Figur H2</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 366
16290?	(Schlemmer, <i>Figurenplan K1</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 367
16291?	(Baumeister, <i>Abstrakte Sitzfigur</i> ) (Köln)	Figure 161
16292?	(Wöllheim, <i>Schlachtschüssel</i> ) (Düsseldorff)	
16293?	(Adler, <i>Handler</i> ) (Düsseldorff)	
16294?	(Hoerle, <i>Das Paar</i> ) (Düsseldorff)	
16295?	?	
16296?	(Schwitters, <i>Uneben</i> ) (Berlin)	
16297?	(Schwitters, <i>Traum</i> ) (Berlin)	
16298?	(Grosz, <i>Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16299?	(Mueller, <i>Paar</i> ) (Berlin)	
16300?	(Kirchner, <i>Des Künstlers jüngste Tochter beim Tanz</i> ) (Berlin)	
16301?	(Meidner, <i>Die Verückung Pauli</i> ) (Berlin?)	
16302?	(Nolde, <i>Prophet</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 347
16303?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Sich waschende Frau</i> ) (Berlin)	
16304?	(Pechstein, <i>Aus Palau</i> ) (Dresden)	
16305?	(Dix, <i>Sapphenkopf</i> ) (Dresden)	
16306?	(Dix, <i>Mädchen</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 204
16307?	(Meidner, <i>Septembergeschrei</i> ) (Berlin)	
16308?	(Klee, <i>Der Angler</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 272

16309?	(Pechstein, <i>Legender Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16310?	(Pechstein, <i>Sitzender Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16311?	(Gilles, <i>Phantastisches Gebilde</i> ) (Berlin)	
16312?	(Felixmüller, <i>Revolution</i> ) (Berlin)	
16313?	(Beckmann, <i>Enttauschte</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 174
16314?	(Beckmann, <i>Nackttanz</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 176
16315	(Heckel, <i>Kopf</i> ) (Dresden)	
16316	(Kirchner, <i>Strassenecke</i> ) (Dresden)	
16317	(Pechstein, <i>Zwei Frauen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16318?	(Nolde, <i>Diskussion</i> )	Figure 335
16319?	missing (possibly other works from Dresden, Hamburg, and Mannheim)	
16320?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Landschaft im Herbst</i> ) (Mannheim?)	
16321?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Bildnis Flechtbeim</i> ) (Mannheim)	
16322?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Mädchenkopf</i> ) (Mannheim?)	
16331	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Christus mit erobener Hand</i> ) (Mannheim)	Figure 386
16332	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Zwei Akte</i> )	Figure 381
16333?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Bildnis der Mutter</i> [?]) (Breslau)	
16334	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Bildnis der Mutter</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 383
16335	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Sitzender weiblicher Akt</i> ) (Essen)	Figure 387
16336	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Kopf</i> )	Figure 385
16337	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Weiblicher Kopf</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 382
16338	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Christus-Kopf</i> ) (Essen)	Figure 368
16339	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Bildnis G</i> )	Figure 377
16340?	(Schmidt-Rottluff)	
16341?	(Schmidt-Rottluff)	
16342	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Liebende</i> ) (Breslau)	
16343?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Weib am Ofen</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 380
16344?	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Drei Apostel</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 384
16345?	(Segall, <i>Zwei Figuren</i> ) (Dresden)	



Figure 58  
Room G2 in *Enlarte Kunst*, looking east

16349	(Kokoschka, <i>Legendes Mädchen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16350	(Mitschke-Collande, <i>Der begeistertste Weg</i> ) (Dresden)	Figures 298–303
16351	(Pechstein, <i>Badende IV</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 357
16352	(Rohlf, <i>Drei tanzende Männer</i> ) (Dresden)	
16353	(Beckmann, <i>Christus und Thomas</i> [?]) (Dresden)	
16354	(Nolde, <i>Gerie Nr. 584</i> ) (Dresden)	
16355	(Nolde, <i>Zwei Fremdarassige</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 348
16356	(Dix, <i>Dürrenkopf</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 202
16357	(Felixmüller, <i>Mutter und Kind</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 211
16358	(Mueller, <i>Liebespaar</i> ) (Dresden)	
16359	(Mueller, <i>Zwei Mädchen im Grasen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16360	(Mueller, <i>Zwei Mädchen am Baum</i> ) (Dresden)	
16361	(Mueller, <i>Grünes und braunes Mädchen</i> ) (Dresden)	
16362	(Mueller, <i>Nacktes Paar</i> ) (Dresden)	
16363	(Mueller, <i>Drei Akte vor dem Spiegel</i> ) (Dresden)	

#### East wall

16221	(Burchartz, <i>Stilleben mit zwei Kannen</i> ) (Hannover)	
16222	(Heckel, <i>Barbiertube</i> ) (Halle)	Figure 226
16223	(Driesch, <i>Völkfest</i> ) (Lubeck)	
16224	(Nolde, <i>Stilleben mit Maske</i> ) (Lubeck)	
?	(Nolde, <i>Die Heiligen Drei Könige</i> )	Figure 334

#### South wall, piers

16225	(Nolde, <i>Frauenprofil</i> ) (Stuttgart)	
16226	(Beckmann, <i>Maskenball</i> ) (Frankfurt)	Figure 166
16227	(Mueller, <i>Badende in Seelandschaft</i> ) (Stuttgart)	Figure 307
16228	(Drexel, <i>Blumenfrau</i> ) (Berlin)	
16229	(Kokoschka, <i>Die Freunde</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 285
16230	(Kirchner, <i>Tänzerinnen</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 261

#### South wall, vitrines

16231	(Beckmann, <i>Kreuzabnahme</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 171
16232	(Segall, <i>Mann und Weib</i> ) (Dresden)	
16233	(Grosz, <i>Im Cafe</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 219
16234	(Grosz, <i>Nach dem Stablbad</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 222
16235	(Grosz, <i>Der Seiltänzer</i> ) (Dresden)	Figure 221
16236	?	
16237	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Sitzende Frau im Bergland</i> ) (Breslau)	
16238	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Ziegele bei Dardel</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 379
16239	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Sitzender Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16240	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Weiber</i> ) (Berlin)	
16241	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Mann mit Pfeife</i> ) (Berlin)	
16242	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Drei Männer am Tisch</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 378
16243	missing (possibly other works from Berlin)	
16244	(Mueller, <i>Zigeunern</i> ) (Breslau)	
16245	(Schmidt-Rottluff, <i>Knende Frau</i> ) (Dresden)	
16246	(Nolde, <i>Unterhaltung</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 349
16247	(Nolde, <i>Mann und Weibchen</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 346
16248	(Pechstein, <i>Kraft und Herrlichkeit</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 356
16249	(Pechstein, <i>Unser täglich Brot</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 354
16250	(Pechstein, <i>Vater unser</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 353
16251	(Pechstein, <i>Führe uns nicht in Versuchung</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 355
16252	(Rohlf, <i>Weiblicher, kauender Akt</i> ) (Berlin)	
16253	(Rohlf, <i>Frauenbildnis</i> ) (Berlin)	
16254	(Grosz, <i>Grosstadt in USA</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 215
16255	(Grosz, <i>Wildwest</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 220
16256	(Grosz, <i>Am Kai</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 214
16257	(Grosz, <i>Strassenbild mit Mond</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 217
16258	(Grosz, <i>Zechgelage</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 218
16259	(Grosz, <i>Germanenköpfe</i> ) (Berlin)	
16260	?	

1900	(Dix, <i>Lustmord</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 201	(Dix, <i>Springsaal von Brussel</i> ) (Breslau)
1900	(Schlichter, <i>Annäherung</i> ) (Berlin)		(Dix, <i>Schwanger</i> ) (Breslau)
1900	(Beckmann, <i>Umarmung</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 177	(Segal, <i>Mappe mit sechs Blättern</i> ) (Breslau)
1900	(Hofer, <i>Mond und Sonne</i> ) (Berlin)		(Grossmann, <i>Gestalten im Freien</i> ) (Breslau)
1900	(Feininger, <i>Beiz</i> ) (Berlin)		(Kandinsky, <i>Abstrakt Nr. 21796</i> ) (Breslau)
1900	(Nolde, <i>Jünger Fürst und Tänzerinnen</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 350	missing (possibly other works from Breslau and Berlin)
1900	(Grosz, <i>Zwei Akt</i> ) (Berlin)		(Beckmann, <i>Die Bettler</i> ) (Berlin)
1900	(Schlemmer, <i>Abstrakte Komposition in Weiss</i> ) (Berlin)		(Beckmann, <i>Drehorgelmännchen</i> )
1900	(Siebert v. Heister, <i>Weib</i> ) (Düsseldorf)		(Beckmann, <i>Kreuzabnahme</i> ) (Dresden)
1900	missing (possibly other works from Berlin or Düsseldorf)		(Beckmann, <i>Umschlungenes Paar</i> ) (Dresden)
1900	(Grosz, <i>Der Gekreuzigte</i> ) (Berlin)	Figure 223	(Beckmann, <i>Fälschungsszene</i> ) (Dresden)
1900	missing (possibly other works from Berlin and Essen)		(Beckmann, <i>Paar</i> ) (Essen)
1900	(Kirchner, <i>Nackter Mann</i> ) (Essen)		(Beckmann)
1900	(Kirchner, <i>Sitzende Frau</i> ) (Essen)		(Beckmann)
1900	(Wauer, <i>Abstraktes Litho</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 394	(Mueller, <i>Akt im Grünen</i> ) (Berlin)
1900	(van Heemskerck, <i>Abstraktes Litho</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 228	?
1900	(Stuckenberg, <i>Abstraktes Litho</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 392	The following works and photographs were also on view in the ground-floor galleries, however, since no inventory numbers were assigned to them, it is not possible to determine where they were displayed
1900	(Klee, <i>Hoffmanneske Szene</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 277	Robert Genin graphic work
1900	(Muche, <i>Mit Herz und Hand</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 305	Franz Jansen graphic work (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne)
1900	(Itten, <i>Herzen der Liebe</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 233	Cesar Klein four graphic works
1900	(v. Jawlensky, <i>Sechs Köpfe</i> ) (Breslau)	Figures 235–40	Paula Modersohn-Becker <i>Weiblicher Akt mit Hut</i> , sketch
1900	(Grossmann [Grosz], <i>Strassenszene</i> ) (Dresden)		E Minztrick watercolor
1900	(Chagall, <i>Männer mit Kuh</i> ) (Essen)		Pablo Picasso <i>Stilleben</i> , color lithograph
1900	(Feininger, <i>Der Gager</i> ) (Essen)	Figure 210	Fritz Schaeffer watercolor
1900	(Moholy-Nagy, <i>Konstruktion</i> ) (Essen)		Otto Andreas Schreiber woodcut
1900	(Dix, <i>Fleischerladen</i> ) (Breslau)		Wilhelm Philipp lithograph
1900	(Dix, <i>Strasse</i> ) (Breslau)		Otto Pankok <i>Hoto II</i> , lithograph (fig. 351)
1900	(Dix, <i>Kriegskrappel</i> ) (Breslau)	Figure 190	Otto Gleichmann photograph of <i>Die Braut</i> , comparing it to an illustration of the statue of <i>Ulla</i> from Naumburg Cathedral
			Ludwig Gies photographs of his work
			Wolfgang Carlitt photograph of his bedroom, with murals by Cesar Klein and woodcarving by Rudolf Belling
			Walter Kampmann photograph of his art object <i>Diuna im Wasser stehend und schiessend</i> , 1930
			Edwin Scharff photographs of his sculpture <i>Die grossen Pferde</i> for the city of Düsseldorf, in progress



## Wall text

<b>A</b> below 16206	Christian Rohlf's painting instructions Take one meter of canvas, squeeze out the contents of various large tubes of paint all over it, vigorously smear the whole thing, stretch, and place in a frame
<b>B</b> below 16208	So one fine day Christian Rohlf's got to be a professor But he can't help it It's the same way that, one fine day, he got to be seventy years old But they might just as well have made the Old Man of the Mountains, or Robinson Crusoe, or Gulliver, or the Boy Who Wouldn't Eat His Soup a professor instead Karl With, Director of the Museum Folkwang, Essen
<b>C</b> below Klee, Geisterzimmer	Even before the first rocket ship soars beyond the frontiers of earth, the soul of our planet, the way into the cosmos, reveals itself to the painter Paul Klee as he works away in dedicated seclusion Paul Klee has overcome the force of gravity Through an act of the soul An event of epoch-making, profoundly human significance Unerringly, his creative being has left its native spheres far behind and soared among the stars, leaving the temporal accretions of lineage and personal status as an outworn chrysalis behind him Man's progressive loss of contact with his roots—which to those who remain earthbound is a sinister process, a vision of dread—stands revealed, through the radical self-fulfillment of a being totally absorbed in the spirit, as a spurt of growth into supernal regions Rudolf Probst
<b>D</b> below Klee, Zwitscher- maschine	I am not to be comprehended purely in this world's terms my home is with the dead as much as with the unborn Paul Klee
<b>E</b> above 16284	By Lothar Schreyer Virgin Blood sisters me Sprouts shame You yomb You blood Fruit of fruit Scared sickened shamed You by shame, You by yomb Sister You by blood Sturmbrucher XIV Lothar Schreyer dabbles in Christian mystical art appreciation From "Dance" by August Schramm Into the wounds Sounds hop Wallow, burrow Welter, swirl Fall with a giggle Turny and eat each other Couple, couple Impregnate each other Bring forth showers Insanely big! Etc. etc Slyly measured pleasures Days of desire moaning Groaning And Rasping etc This is the kind of poetry that Rudolf Blümner used to recite at Sturm evenings
<b>F</b> north wall	We would rather exist unclean than perish clean, we leave it to stubborn individualists and old maids to be inept but respectable, reputation is not our worry Wieland Herzfelde, Malik Verlag
north wall vitrine, 16295	Guidelines for cultural Bolsheviks At this moment it is the duty of Communist artists to work with all the means at their command to exploit the practical possibilities of gaining for Communism access and comprehension at every level of society As long as the bourgeoisie remains in power, reality must be interpreted in stark and uncompromising terms of class conflict, the opposition's morality and ideology must be discredited, and our own ideas must be promoted Furthermore,

Communist artists must make contact with each other, possibly forming party groups Communist interests first, then artistic In artistic matters, however, not coercion but example, not dictatorship but democracy It goes without saying that the artistic verdicts of any such democratic jury are not to be definitive but provisional and tactical Productive examples need to be set Collectively, artists will give priority to propagandistic issues over technical ones so that Communism, from being a primary political principle, will become a principle of living consciousness  
Wieland Herzfelde

<b>G</b> above 16317	Weimar critics G. Biermann Leipzig L. Benninghoff Hamburg H. Busch Hamburg Dörner Hannover P. Fechter Berlin W. Grohmann Berlin G. Hardlaub Mannheim H. Hildebrandt Stuttgart C. G. Hese Frankfurt Müller-Wulfov Oldenburg W. Niemeyer Hamburg J. Meier-Graefe Berlin F. Mernitz Berlin M. K. Rohe Hamburg K. Scheffler Berlin E. Sander Hamburg P. F. Schmidt Dresden R. Schapire Hamburg H. Sieber Hamburg G. H. Theunissen Berlin H. Walden-Lewin Berlin P. Westheim Berlin W. Wölfradt Berlin W. Hausenstein Munich L. Schreyer Berlin
north wall vitrine 16319–27	Repetition of Udo quote from Room 2 The decline of Böcklin Böcklin has within him the germ of decay All of them—Böcklin, Klinger, Thoma, and the rest, with their cheap, barbaric "anthropomorphism"—succeed only in proving that Böcklin's case is Germany's case What these men lack is culture, and so does Germany [Julius Meier-Graefe]
<b>H</b> above 16338	His stern, masculine art breathes an air of ascetic concentration The landscapes, human figures, and portraits convey a powerful emotive charge, there is much in them that is earth-bound, not in the realist sense but rather in that of Goethe's earth spirit, "weaving the living robe of God" This enabled Schmidt-Rottluff in 1918 to produce images of the life of Jesus that lent a new force and expressive immediacy to events that had been depicted countless times K. Zoege von Manteuffel
<b>I</b> between 16355 and 16360	The drawing, which lightly and summarily traces the clear-cut outlines of youthful limbs and the angular patterns of boughs and leaves, is dominated by a fluid rhythm There is a fairy-tale enchantment in these works, which are like pastoral poems, manifestations of that yearning for nature that has haunted every age of advanced civilization The lithographs of Otto Müller are among the finest things ever done in this technique K. Zoege von Manteuffel
below 16229	Kokoschka appears, and it is no coincidence that it is the music of Bach that has set the tone for one of his magnificent sequences Erwin Redslob
south wall vitrine 16404	Cosmic hurricanes spray out into the void, shatter the space, burst with immeasurable force of the imaginary upon quaking towers Rhomboidal, opalescent, shimmering arches sink upward to unattainable zeniths Tumbled matter encounters vast clefts, the erratic merges with cascading labyrinths Willi Wölfradt

The reconstruction of the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* first appeared under the titles "Deutsche Kunst und Entartete Kunst" Die Münchner Ausstellungen 1937" and "Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst'" in Peter Klaus Schuster ed. *Die Kunststadt München 1937 Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst'* (Munich: Prestel 1987): 83–118 and 120–82, respectively. In contrast to the 1987 publication, the present essay concentrates on the essential facts necessary to follow the sequence of the exhibition. The room-by-room reconstruction includes the texts and comments displayed in each room.

1 Adolf Ziegler, excerpt from a speech at the opening of the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, July 19, 1937, published in Schuster, *Die Kunststadt München*, 217.

2 For the cultural and political background of the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, see Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstskizzen im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann, 1949); Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik der Nationalsozialisten* (Reinbeck: Rowohlt 1963); Karl-Heinz Messner, "Deutsches Volk, gib uns vier Jahre Zeit: Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik 1933–1937," in Jürgen Harten, ed., *Die Axt hat geblüht: Europäische Konflikte der vier Jahre in Erinnerung an die frühe Avantgarde* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1987): 368–75 and Lüttichau, "Deutsche Kunst und Entartete Kunst," 83–101.

3 See Rave, *Kunstskizzen*, the standard text; Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 16–32; Dieter Schmidt, ed., *In letzter Stunde 1933–1945*, vol. 2 of *Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964): 230; Michael Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe: Zur Ausstellung 'Regierungskunst 1918–1933'" in *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900–1950* (exh. cat., Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1981): 102–28, and essays by Stephanie Barron and Christoph Zuschlag in this volume.

4 Wolfgang Willrich, *Sauberein des Kunsttempels: Eine politische Kampfschrift zur Gewerung deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer Art* (Munich: F. F. Lehmann, 1937). This consists mainly of an interminable succession of out-of-context quotations from artists, art critics, and art historians, which Willrich extracted from a number of sources—mostly progressive art periodicals, including *Die Aktion*, *Das Kunstblatt*, *Der Greiner*, *Der Sturm*, *Der Querschnitt*, and *Der Dada*—and strung together with his own smug comments. A number of works by modern artists were illustrated, in some cases in a collage, complete with derivative captions, created by Willrich himself. At the end of this botched mess was an appendix of names that the intended reader would have found uncommonly interesting, including lists of "Sturm group contributors" and "members of the red Novembergruppe," leading art dealers, and publishers who in Willrich's opinion had been "particularly active in the promotion of cultural Bolshevism." The pamphlet came out in March of 1937, by April its publishers were including in their publicity material the information that on April 13 it had been adopted for the National Socialist book list.

5 Among Walter Hansen's publications were "Die Zielsetzung und Wertung in der Deutschen [sic] Kunst des Dritten Reiches," *Hansische Hochschule-Zeitung* 18, no. 1 (May 1, 1936): 2–3, and *Judenkunst in Deutschland: Quellen und Studien zur Judenfrage auf dem Gebiet der bildenden Kunst. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der Verjudung und Entartung deutscher Kunst 1900–1931* (Munich: Nordland, 1942). The latter pamphlet is written very much in Willrich's style and quotes many of the same sources, it was published as late as 1942, when the leading figures in art and cultural life had left Germany or withdrawn into "inner emigration," when the Russian campaign had failed, when the grisly killing machine of Auschwitz was already in motion, and when Germany had withered into a cultural desert.

6 The committee seems to have begun work in Cologne, followed by Hamburg, Hannover (July 5), Essen (July 6), and Berlin (July 7). After Berlin it divided. Willrich visited Halle (July 8), Magdeburg, and Breslau, the rest of the committee visited Mannheim (July 8), Munich (July 9), Stuttgart (July 10), and Lubeck (July 14).

7 I offer my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Heinz Luschey for this information. Professor Luschey, who was born in 1910, was studying archaeology in Munich in 1937 and had to pass through the exhibition to reach his tutorial class.

8 A painting in Room 5, *Farbenordnung* by Hans Richter, was acquired in 1923 for 30 marks, in the same gallery were Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's *Kustelandschaft mit Rettungsskation* and Erich Heckel's *Landschaft mit Mühle*, also acquired in 1923, for 15 million and 1 million marks, respectively.

9 See, for example, texts by and about Paul F. Schmidt on the north wall of Room G1 on the ground floor.

10 Adolf Hitler, excerpt from a speech made at a National Socialist party rally, Nuremberg, September 11, 1935, printed on the east wall of Room 3 in *Entartete Kunst*.

11 When Paul Schultze-Naumburg was appointed to run the Weimarer Vereinigte Werkstätten (Weimar unified craft workshops) in 1930, his first action was to have Oskar Schlemmer's murals hacked off the staircase walls. In 1933 he was among the first to urge Hitler to take action against the modernist works hung in the Kronprinzenpalais, Berlin. See Ludwig Thormaehlen, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1962): 277–78.

12 Ziegler's speech (see note 1), in Schuster, *Die 'Kunststadt' München*, 217–18. See also Walter Grasskamp, *Die unheimliche Moderne: Kunst und Öffentlichkeit* (Munich: Beck, 1989): 80. "Riskante Quellen."

13 Adolf Hitler, excerpt from a speech at the opening of the first *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, Munich, July 18, 1937, published in Schuster, *Die Kunststadt München*, 251.

14 A young woman with a passionate interest in art, Carola Ruth made notes during a number of visits to *Entartete Kunst*. I offer my gratitude to Mrs. Barbara Goppel for allowing me access to these still unpublished notes.

15 Ernst Holzinger went to *Entartete Kunst* several times and reported his impressions to Hans Staengl, who was to remain director of the Nationalgalerie only until July 27. Holzinger's letters, dated July 23, 24, and 25, are now in the estate of Paul Ortwin Rave. My thanks are due to Raves sons, Ian and Ralf Rave, for generously granting me permission to consult these documents.

16 See also Lüttichau, "Deutsche Kunst und Entartete Kunst," 97–103.

17 Lists of the confiscated works exist in the following archives, among others: Berlin, Akademie der bildenden Künste; Georg-Grosz-Archiv, Berlin; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Potsdam; Staatsarchiv, Los Angeles; The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Archives of the History of Art, Wilhelm F. Arntz Papers.

18 Marc's *Tischskizze*, now in the Kunstmuseum Basel, is one of the works that still bear their inventory numbers either written in red crayon on the stretcher or frame or printed on a plain white sticker.

19 Otto Thoma, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie: Bildende Kunst und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1978): 341, and Josef Wüll, *Die bildende Kunst im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gutersloh: Rowohlt, 1963; Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1981): 353, 367, 373.

20 Der Ring (The ring), a society of avant-garde architects formed in Berlin in 1925, disbanded in 1932 under pressure from the Nazis. Its members included Otto Bartning, Peter Behrens, Walter Gropius, Hugo Haring, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Erich Mendelsohn, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Hans Scharoun.

21 The Bauhaus began as the Weimar Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts), founded in 1906, and changed its name in 1926 when it moved to Dessau. Conceived as a working community of artists, designers, and architects, the Bauhaus exerted a great influence on industry, design, and architecture and became internationally famous. It was closed down in 1932 at the insistence of the Nazis. Among the Bauhaus members represented in the Munich exhibition were Herbert Bayer, Lyonel Feininger, Johannes Itten, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Oskar Schlemmer.

22 *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (exh. cat., Munich: Haus der Deutschen Kunst, 1937), cat. no. 43. See also Thoma, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie*, 41, 343.

23 On the seizure of Lehmbruck's works, see the correspondence between Anita Lehmbruck, the widow of the artist (who had died in 1919), and the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste in Berlin, in Schmidt, *In letzter Stunde*, 120–50.

24 Paul Ortwin Rave, "Bericht über den Besuch der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst' in München am 21 und 22. Juli 1937," unpublished memorandum (typescript), estate of Paul Ortwin Rave, Berlin.

25 Alfred Hentzen, "Die Entstehung der Neuen Abteilung der National-Galerie im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 10 (1972): 64.

26 Reinhard Piper, letter to Ernst Barlach, July 28, 1938, published in Ernst Piper, *Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik: Ernst Barlach und die 'entartete Kunst'* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1987): 198.

27 For this information I am indebted to Mrs. Gisela Macke, whose husband, Wolfgang, the son of August Macke, visited the exhibition in Munich. It has proved impossible to confirm it from other sources.

28 Rave, "Bericht."

29 Ibid.

30 The exhibition guide *Ausstellungsführer 'Entartete Kunst'* was compiled by the Amtsleitung Kultur, Reichspropagandaleitung (Cultural office of the Reich propaganda directorate) and published in Berlin by the Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung at the end of 1937. See the facsimile reproduction and translation in this volume, and Lüttichau, "Führer durch die Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Eberhard Roters, ed., *Statuen der Moderne: Kataloge epochaler Ausstellungen in Deutschland 1910–1962: Kommentarband* (Cologne: Walter König, 1988): 151–64.

31 On the various antimodernist propaganda exhibitions in Germany from 1933 onward and their respective itineraries, see the essay in this volume by Christoph Zuschlag.



Figure 59  
Gallery in the Berlin installation of *Entartete Kunst*, Haus der Kunst, 1938, work  
by Beckmann, Dix, Felixmuller, Skade, and others can be seen on the walls

# An "Educational Exhibition"

## The Precursors of *Entartete Kunst* and Its Individual Venues

You ask about the causes and sense of this hatred  
it has neither sense nor cause! Politics—in other  
words, the will to power  
Gerhard Marcks, 1937<sup>1</sup>

**Y**ou should talk quietly, there's a dying man in the room. Dying German culture—within Germany itself it no longer has even catacombs at its disposal. Only chambers of horrors in which it is now to be exposed to the mockery of the rabble; a concentration camp for the general public to visit. Things are becoming more and more insane.<sup>2</sup> These grimly macabre remarks by the Jewish philosopher Ernst Bloch were written in the summer of 1937 following the opening of two exhibitions in Munich, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and *Entartete Kunst* in the arcades of the nearby Hofgarten. Together these exhibitions marked the spectacular climax of National Socialist cultural policy.

*A whole system is being exposed to ridicule here*  
*Berliner Borsenzeitung*, April 12, 1933

### The precursors to "Entartete Kunst"

Systematic and institutionalized attacks on modern art began with a vengeance only a few weeks after the National Socialists' seizure of power.<sup>3</sup> The Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Professional civil service restoration act), which was passed on April 7, 1933, was designed to restore a tenured civil service, thus creating a legal basis on which to dismiss unaccommodating university teachers and museum officials on racial or political grounds. Even before this, leading figures from the German artistic world had been driven from office—and in some cases from the country—and replaced by people more in sympathy with the views of the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei [National Socialist German workers party]).

Largely at the bidding of the new directors of the country's museums, and with the support of local organizations with nationalist leanings, such as the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat

league for German culture), special exhibitions were arranged in various towns in which the local collections of modern art, no matter to which school the artists belonged, were displayed in a defamatory light and offered up to public ridicule. In their political function, ideological thrust, and propagandist aims these exhibitions anticipated *Entartete Kunst*.

Table 1 appended to this essay gives a schematic overview of these pre-1937 exhibitions, which were frequently and popularly described as *Schreckenskammern der Kunst* (chambers of horrors of art) or *Schandausstellungen* (abomination exhibitions).<sup>4</sup> A glance at the names of some of the individual exhibitions—*Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism) in Mannheim, *Regierungskunst 1918–1933* (Government art 1918–1933) in Karlsruhe, and *Novembergeist Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung* (November spirit: Art in the service of subversion) in Stuttgart, to name three—reveals their political character and ideological import. The works of art exhibited were not disparaged for their own sake, but "falsely treated as 'documents of the age of decadence' and used to make a sweeping public condemnation of the cultural policies of the 'Weimar system'."<sup>5</sup> By wreaking vengeance on art the National Socialists sought to settle old scores with the democratic Weimar Republic and thus lend both legitimacy and internal political stability to their own rule. This aim was supported in propagandistically effective fashion by stigmatizing modern art as "Jewish-Bolshevist," which was intended to mobilize preexisting prejudices against modern art and to foment anti-Semitic and anti-Communist sentiment at the same time. Attacks were directed indiscriminately at artists, dealers, and public collections. Prominence was frequently given in every *Schreckenskammer* to acquisitions by the more progressive of those museum directors who had been dismissed from office.

Both programmatically and methodologically the various "chambers of horrors" were conceived along the same lines, although, being independently rather than centrally organized, they differed in their aims, taking their cue for the most part from the contents of the local collections. In Karlsruhe, for example, the main emphasis was placed on German Impressionism, in Stuttgart, by contrast, on the sociocritical realism of the 1920s. Apart from these regional differences, however, "the range of those subjected to public attack" extended "from the Impressionists to the New Objectivity,





Figure 60  
Gallery in the Kunsthalle Mannheim during the defamatory exhibition *Kultur-bolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism), 1933, identifiable work is by Beckmann and Delaunay (see fig. 7 for another view of this gallery)

from Max Liebermann to Otto Dix, George Grosz, and Paul Klee<sup>6</sup>. The *Schandausstellungen* were frequently the spectacular prelude to a thorough "purge" and rehanging of a gallery's holdings; the works that had been on view would then, as a rule, disappear into storage.<sup>7</sup>

It is particularly significant in the present context that the organizers of the *Schreckenskammern* were already developing the essential features of that dynamically exhibitionist dramaturgy that was to be deployed at the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich. By creating an aura of illicitness, the exhibition organizers succeeded in gratifying the "curiosity and love of sensation of a broad cross section of the general public."<sup>8</sup> As a rule, minors were forbidden entry to the exhibitions. In Karlsruhe the reason given was the presence of a "gallery of erotica" with "obscene" drawings. In Bielefeld the exhibition (taken over from Stuttgart) was mounted expressly as an "educational" exhibition, and entrance was limited to teachers, doctors, clerics, judges, and members of the NSDAP;<sup>9</sup> the *Schreckenskammer* in Halle could be seen only by those who paid a special fee and entered their names in a visitors' book (see Table 1).

A further characteristic of these exhibitions was an appeal to popular sentiment. "The population has an opportunity here to form its own opinion" (*Hakenkreuzbanner*, April 3, 1933). This implied freedom turned out to be a propaganda trick, of course, since the acceptable opinion had already been determined in advance and programmed into the exhibition by the way in which the art was presented.<sup>10</sup>

In order to "prove" that the art under attack was degenerate, and in order to make that degeneracy plain to the visitor, the art was crudely contrasted with "healthy, stable art," the latter providing an "instructive" contrasting example. This was done in the Mannheim exhibition, for example, by setting up a "model gallery" that provided the standard of comparison by which all other works were to be judged. When the same exhibition reached Munich, the "degenerate" works were displayed as a "warning" and hung alongside others by the "exemplary" Edmund Steppes, a landscape painter in the

nineteenth-century tradition whose works were regularly represented at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*.<sup>11</sup>

Reviews of the *Schandausstellungen* repeatedly drew comparisons between the imagery of the "degenerate" artists and that produced by the mentally ill. That such infamous discrimination was also given visual expression is clear from reports of the Erlangen exhibition, which had originally opened in Mannheim three months earlier, in April of 1933.<sup>12</sup> The comparison served only one purpose, which was to "unmask" the artists as being mentally ill themselves; thus, it was implied, both the mentally ill and the artists should be excluded from the type of society that the organizers sought to advocate.

By specifying the amount of money paid for each work on view, the organizers planted the thoughts that the museum officials and municipal authorities who were responsible for its purchase had been wasting the taxpayers' money and that the Jewish art dealers were guilty of profiteering. Many of the prices, some of which were extremely high as a result of inflation, were deliberately not converted into reichsmarks (the currency introduced in 1924) so that they would seem even higher.

The language used to revile modern art was not minted by the National Socialists but had evolved around the turn of the century in the wake of arguments over French Impressionism. It was now taken up by middle-class conservatives and radically minded nationalist writers in their war of words on avant-garde art. The irrational polemics against "Jewish-Bolshevist" art (one of the most widely used slogans to characterize "degenerate" art) were a distillation of that National Socialist view of the world that discovered the workings of "international Judaism" everywhere it looked. "The 1918 Revolution was Jewish, as was the whole of the Weimar Republic; Jewish, too, was Marxism and the Soviet 'dictatorship of blood,' and so too, of course, was the international investment capital, the political parties of the left were a 'mercenary force in the pay of the Jews,' and, finally, democracy, parliament, the majority and the League of Nations were Jewish."<sup>13</sup>

The frequent use of specific linguistic stereotypes—"Jewish-Bolshevist art" being an example—led to their lexical ossification.<sup>14</sup> Particularly striking here is the way in which the vocabulary was borrowed (often with contradictory results) from biology, especially parasitology: art, for instance, was either "sick" and "degenerate" or "healthy" (see the essay by George I. Mosse in this volume).

The methods of presentation sketched out here in summary fashion were not all used in every *Schreckenskammer*. There was great variety in the stage-managing of the exhibitions, often influenced by particular local conditions. A significant feature of the Mannheim exhibition (fig. 60) was that the works were "hung close to each other in reckless confusion" (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933), and being exhibited without frames, they were, so to speak, held up naked to ridicule.

The immediate model and actual forerunner of the Munich exhibition of 1937 (not least in terms of its name) was neither the Karlsruhe nor the Mannheim exhibition, as has been previously claimed,<sup>15</sup> but the Dresden exhibition of 1933. Held in the inner courtyard of the Neues Rathaus and conceived by Richard Müller, director of the Dresden Kunstakademie, this *Entartete Kunst* exhibition—more commonly, if erroneously, known as *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art)<sup>16</sup>—subsequently went on tour to at least eight different German cities between 1934 and 1936. It concentrated on works owned by the Stadtmuseum Dresden, giving particular prominence to the Expressionist artists of Die Brücke (The bridge), the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919), and the Assoziation revolutionärer bildender Künstler Deutschlands (Association of revolutionary visual artists of Germany), known as ASSO. The exhibition was presented again in Dresden in August of 1935, when it was clearly intended to provide a contrast to the *Sächsische Kunstausstellung 1935* (Exhibition of Saxon art 1935). Among its prominent visitors were Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels, and Adolf Hitler (fig. 61), who declared that "this unique exhibition ought to be shown in as many German cities as possible" (*Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 17, 1935). A tour was arranged and coordinated from Dresden, and the exhibition's first stop was Nuremberg, where it was shown at the time of the 1935 NSDAP rally. When the exhibition returned to Dresden on September 24, 1935, the Dresden Kulturamt (Office of culture) had already received enquiries from several municipal authorities who wanted to borrow it for themselves. Mayor Ernst Zörner reserved the right to have the final say in the matter. In a letter accompanying the exhibition he outlined its aims: it was intended to show "into what a morass of vulgarity, incompetence, and morbid degeneration German art—previously so lofty, pure, and noble—had sunk in fifteen years of Bolshevik Jewish intellectual domination" (*Frankfurter Kurier*, September 7, 1935).

For the next year, until September of 1936, the Dresden collection toured to Dortmund,<sup>17</sup> Regensburg, Munich (figs. 62–63), Ingolstadt, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt. In July 1937 it was integrated in its entirety into the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich.

What response did these preliminary exhibitions encounter? And what role did they play in the development of National Socialist policy toward the arts? We may start out with the assumption that the majority of the many visitors<sup>18</sup> found themselves in full accord with the tenor of the exhibitions. But in making this assessment we must also take into account their predisposition to sympathize with what they saw. That is why we must ask what level of knowledge and what expectations they brought to the exhibition. With an audience that was essentially uninformed, unfamiliar with the works on



Figure 61  
Page from an article on the 1933–36 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition published in the *Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 17, 1935, above: Dresden mayor Ernst Zörner (left) and Hermann Göring (right) examine Voll's *Schwangere Frau* (Pregnant woman); below: Adolf Hitler visits the exhibition, work by Heckel and Grundig is displayed at right.

exhibition, and handicapped by feelings of resentment toward modern art, the type of propaganda mentioned earlier would clearly have been effective. The way in which the exhibitions were organized defined the target groups at which they were aimed.

Although the press had already been brought to heel, occasional voices were raised in protest, in contrast to the generally enthusiastic approval expressed by National Socialist feature writers. A reviewer of the Mannheim exhibition, for example, explicitly criticized the choice of art and method of presentation and came to the conclusion that "on many points" it was "impossible to give whole-hearted endorsement to the exhibition" (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933). Arguments raged within the very museums and galleries at which the exhibitions were held, indicating that these *Schandausstellungen* were far from enjoying the support and approval of all museum employees.<sup>19</sup> Some of the visitors spoke out in defense of the works being ridiculed, and their protests are said to have caused a scandal. In some cases protesters were even arrested by the police.<sup>20</sup> "Deeply shaken" and "with the urgent request that you order a halt here," Oskar Schlemmer appealed to Goebbels on April 25, 1933, entreating the minister to protest against the *Schreckenskammern*.<sup>21</sup> Criticism was also voiced against this type of exhibition at a very important public demonstration, "Jugend kämpft für deutsche Kunst" (Youth fights for German art), organized by the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students) and held at Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin on June 30, 1933. The Studentenbund was a rallying point for opponents of the National Socialists' policy toward the arts and, as such, belonged to that faction that campaigned for recognition of "Nordic" Expressionism.<sup>22</sup> The argument over Expressionism also reflected differences of opinion within the NSDAP leadership itself concerning the way in which cultural politics should be allowed to develop. The principal disputants were Propagandaminister (Minister of propaganda) Goebbels and the founder of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, Alfred Rosenberg. In spite of Hitler's radical rejection of a more liberal approach to modern art at the NSDAP party rallies in 1933 and 1934, this conflict continued to simmer until 1936 or 1937. It also made it possible for artists who were attacked in the *Schreckenskammern* to continue to exhibit their work at art societies and private galleries. Not until 1937 was the whistle finally blown on the artistic avant-garde in Germany.



Figures 62–63

Two views in the Munich venue of the 1933–36 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, Alte Polizeidirektion, March, 1936, above: Voll's *Schwangere Frau*, below: Dix's *Kriegskruppel* (War cripples) and Eugen Hoffmann's *Weiblicher Akt* (Female nude).



What was so irresistible about National Socialism—was the promise of absolute authority, there was clarity here, a sense of unambiguity  
Fritz Stern, 1984<sup>23</sup>

### The 1937 "Entartete Kunst" exhibition in Munich

The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition that opened in the arcades of the Munich Hofgarten on July 19, 1937 (fig. 64), had been preceded by an initial round of confiscations involving all the country's leading museums and galleries. It occupies a position of central importance in more than one respect. In the first place, it was the final stage in that process of institutional conformism that had begun on March 11, 1933, with the establishment of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich ministry for national enlightenment and propaganda), followed on November 15 by the creation of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture). In the second place, the exhibition was planned as a final, devastating blow to modern art, and through its programmatic contrast to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, which had opened the previous day in the nearby Haus der Deutschen Kunst, it was intended to define the future course of cultural politics in Nazi Germany. At the same time it provided the signal for that "pitiless purge" that Hitler had prophesied in his opening speech at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, a purge that took the form of a second round of confiscations—this time involving thousands of works of art—lasting from August through November of 1937. Unlike the preliminary exhibitions, which had been regionally circumscribed, uncoordinated, and provincially isolated events in terms of the provenance of the works on display and of the impact that was sought,<sup>24</sup> the 1937 exhibition was organized by the state and centrally coordinated.

Over six hundred paintings, sculptures, works of graphic art, and books from thirty-two collections were shown at *Entartete Kunst* in nine narrow rooms (fig. 65). Nearly 120 different artists were represented. The spectrum of artistic styles ranged from German Impressionism to Expressionism, from Dada, Constructivism, Bauhaus, and the New Objectivity to all the different forms of abstract art, but it was the Expressionists, in particular the artists of Die Brücke, who came in for special denunciation. An attempt had been made to structure the exhibition according to theme—religious subjects, representations of women, scenes from rural life, landscapes—but the plan was not consistently carried through.

The layout of the exhibition had been substantially planned by Adolf Ziegler, Wolfgang Willrich, and Walter Hansen<sup>25</sup> and was characterized by a specific form of presentation (fig. 66). An eyewitness account by Paul Ortwin Rave, curator at the Berlin Nationalgalerie since 1934, is worth quoting at length.

*In the relatively narrow rooms trelliswork structures covered with burlap have been erected along the walls. The paintings are attached to the partitions, while the inscriptions are written on the burlap. The paintings hang close to one another, generally in two superimposed rows. The windows, which are immediately above the partitions, and the narrowness of the*



Figure 64

Entrance to the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, Archäologisches Institut, Munich, 1937



Figure 65

Room C2 in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937



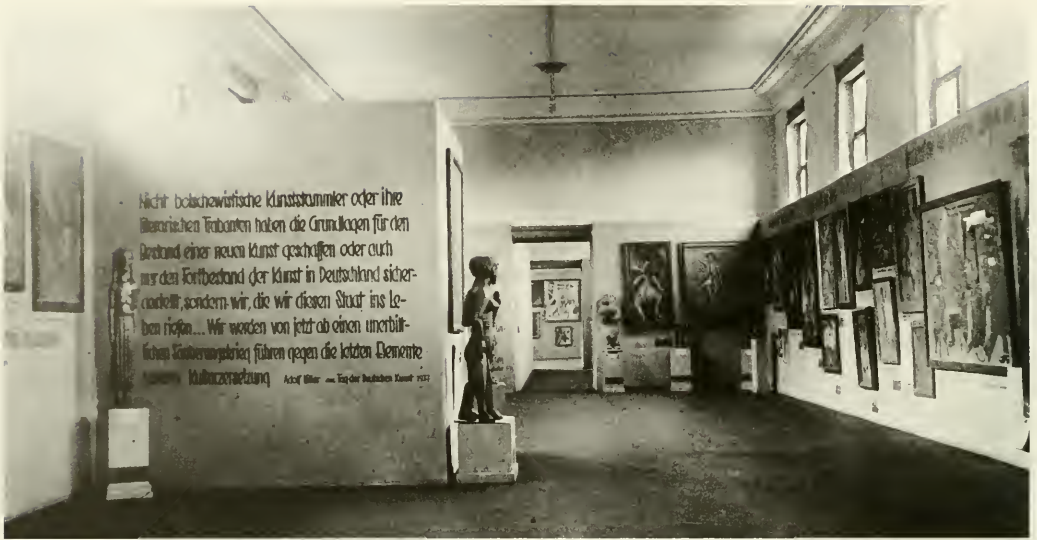


Figure 66  
Room 3 in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937



Figure 67  
Detail of the Dada wall in Room 3, work on view by Hartzmann, Hausmann, Klee, and Schwitters



Figure 68  
Wassily Kandinsky, *Der schwarze Fleck* (The black spot), 1921, oil on canvas, 138 x 120 cm (54½ x 47¼ in.), Kunsthaus Zurich

rooms make it difficult to view the works on display. The propagandist aim of the exhibition seemed to be best served by the numerous inscriptions. The guiding principles are written up in large letters in the individual rooms or on sections of the wall, while some of the individual works had special captions added to them. The guiding principle in the first room, for example, reads "Insolent mockery of the Divine under Centrist rule." If, as in the majority of cases, the purchase price was indicated, a large red label was stuck to the work in question with the message, "Paid for by the taxes of the German working people."<sup>26</sup>

The installation was completed by "explanatory" or "helpful" remarks by Hitler, Goebbels, and Rosenberg, and by comments and statements by artists and art critics who, when their words were taken out of context, seemed to indict themselves and the artists about whom they wrote. This extensive use of extraneous texts represented a departure from the organizational praxis of such exhibitions. A further important feature was the quotation of passages from Wilrich's antimodernist book *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art). These inscriptions were also to be a distinctive criterion of the later stages of the exhibition.

The result of this contextualization was both an impression of chaos and the creation of an associative framework with a powerful, psychologically suggestive impact intended to reduce all the art to the same basic level, to prevent any single work from developing an individual presence or from being perceived in isolation. The psychological effects thus achieved were given a political function.

*Captions and pictures, juxtaposed or arranged in orderless confusion, are intended to stir the viewer's emotions, triggering feelings of repulsion and indignation, these feelings in turn, like the opinions expressed in the captions, are intended to encourage a sense of satisfaction at the demise of this type of art and ultimately to inspire agreement with the "revolutionary" new beginning and political succession.*<sup>27</sup>

The aims and methods of this type of presentation are best exemplified by the most lavishly orchestrated section of the exhibition, the "Dada wall" (fig. 67). Wassily Kandinsky's abstract composition *Der schwarze Fleck* (The black spot, fig. 68) of 1921 was painted on the wall as a background, although significantly simplified (the copy appears to have been based on a reproduction in Will Grohmann's book in the series *Junge Kunst*).<sup>28</sup> Grosz's injunction from a poster at the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (First international Dada fair) of July 1920, "Take Dada seriously! It's worth it," was printed across the upper half of the wall.<sup>29</sup> Hanging below were two works by Kurt Schwitters, *Merzbild* (Merz picture) and *Ringbild* (Ring picture), Klee's *Swamp legend* (fig. 273), two title pages from the magazine *Der Dada* (figs. 224–25) published by Malik Verlag in Berlin, and a label with two quotations, one by and one about Schwitters.<sup>30</sup> In spite of the superficial parallels with the creative methods of Dadaist art—collage, in particular—the Dada wall had as little to do with Dada as did Kandinsky or Klee. Instead, the element of uncertainty that was of fundamental importance for any Dadaist work of art was replaced by the intentional reinforcement of

the visitor's negative attitude. Indeed, the latter was the most important aim behind the installation.<sup>31</sup> It was therefore irrelevant whether the nonsensical notion that Kandinsky and Klee were connected with Dada was the result of intentional falsification, ignorance, or simple negligence. Dada served as a paradigm of "degenerate" art: the organizers were simply out to exploit the material available, and it was certainly not in their own best interest to encourage their visitors to perceive subtleties.

If the installation of the exhibition is interpreted as a semiotic system in which the combination of image and text plays a preponderant role, the reactions of the visitors to the exhibition may be analyzed as constituent parts of that system. "It is not enough to see what's there: the whole way in which the visitors react is bound up with it, too. View and object are a single action. Organizers and visitors are as one, to a degree that is completely lacking at art exhibitions."<sup>32</sup> This consensus was achieved partly by conditioning the visitors to the exhibition by the methods mentioned above (according to Alois Schardt, the organizers' aims were additionally served by hiring actors to play the part of indignant and wildly gesticulating visitors<sup>33</sup>) and partly by their predetermined predisposition. "Whenever one set foot inside the exhibition a great deal of indignation could be heard. It was, in fact, sincere. For, on the whole, [the visitors] had come with the desire and conviction that they would be outraged."<sup>34</sup>

As has been mentioned above, the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was organized programmatically as a parallel event to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, the latter held in the spacious and well-lit rooms of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and distinguished by deliberately generous spacing between the individual exhibits (fig. 26). Here was celebrated the "German" art with which National Socialism planned to supplant "degenerate" art. The pointed contrast between the two exhibitions—which was lost when *Entartete Kunst* went on tour to other towns and cities in Germany and Austria—makes their underlying aims and functions even more transparent.

The denunciation of "degenerate" art was generally intended to call into question the intellectual dimensions of modern art. "For modernism has not only redefined the forms of art in a radical and subversive way, it has also put forward a new liberal plan for the world that uses the individual as a standard by which and a point of reference from which to experience reality."<sup>35</sup> It was this extreme subjectivism, above all, finding expression in artistic freedom and stylistic variety, that could not be reconciled with the aim of a conformist "block community" and therefore had to be resisted. For the Nazis, modernist plans to reform the world and the images of mankind that were visualized by the modernist movement were irritating and disturbing in their radicality and ambiguity. As such, they were nothing more nor less than the expression of a state of chaos that was in turn the product of the "Jewish-Bolshevist subversive will." To triumph over this will was to create an art that, as a visible sign of order, would "rediscover" its former clarity or unambiguity.

### The circulation of the "Entartete Kunst" exhibition, 1938–1941

The following telegram was sent on November 23, 1937, by the Reichspropagandaleitung (Reich propaganda directorate) in Berlin to the organizations responsible for propaganda in each district

*The Entartete Kunst exhibition is being taken over by the Reichspropagandaleitung of the NSDAP, further enlarged, and sent on tour to the largest cities in the Reich with an average run of four weeks in each place. The precondition for receiving the exhibition is a practical interest on the part of the individual towns and any other places that may be considered, an interest that has also been demonstrated by their willingness to provide financial support. The propaganda organizers of each individual district are instructed to discover without delay which towns offer favorable conditions for housing the exhibition. Dates can be assigned by the Reichspropagandaleitung, beginning with February 1, 1938.<sup>36</sup>*

Nothing is known about the response that it provoked, except that sixty-five towns and cities had applied to receive the exhibition by March of 1939, according to a report in the *Thüringer Gauzeitung* of March 23.

It is likely that the decision to send the exhibition on tour throughout the Reich was due to Goebbels's initiative. Several of his diary entries contain expressions of enthusiasm for the "great success" of the Munich exhibition. On July 24, five days after *Entartete Kunst* had opened, he noted, "The 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition is a huge success and a severe blow. It will also come to Berlin in the fall. This is how it must be done. Awaken the people's interest by means of great actions."<sup>37</sup>

The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda (Institute for German cultural and economic propaganda), a subsection of Goebbels's ministry that specialized in propagandistic exhibitions, was given the job of implementing the plans.<sup>38</sup> A twenty-four-year-old Austrian student and SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troop) member, Hartmut Pistorius (figs. 17, 70, 72), who had made a prominent contribution to the installation of *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, was appointed exhibition organizer by the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts).<sup>39</sup>

Between February 1938 and April 1941 the exhibition went to Berlin (February 26–May 8, 1938), Leipzig (May 13–June 6), Düsseldorf (June 18–August 7), Salzburg (September 4–October 2), Hamburg (November 11–December 30), Stettin (now Szczecin, January 11–February 5, 1939), Weimar (March 23–April 24), Vienna (May 6–June 18), Frankfurt am Main (June 30–July 30), Chemnitz (August 11–September 10), Waldenburg in Silesia (now Walbrzych, January–February 1941), and Halle (April 5–20) (see Table 2). Nine of these twelve cities were the capitals of their respective districts, which was clearly an important criterion in their selection. The local leadership of the NSDAP in each district acted as organizer for that stage. In much the same way the local party assumed responsibility for on-the-spot propaganda for the exhibition and for organizing the

opening ceremony, priority booking,<sup>40</sup> special trains, and the like. Why a period of several months was allowed to elapse between some of the venues of the exhibition is not known, but presumably organizational problems were responsible for the delays.

The exhibition was shown in a variety of spaces. In some cities "adult-education" facilities were utilized, but for the most part museums or art galleries were chosen—a paradoxical state of affairs, since "degenerate" art was denied any artistic value, in addition to which the works were practically uninsured.<sup>41</sup>

The exhibition was handed back to the Propagandaministerium (Propaganda ministry) in November of 1941.<sup>42</sup> According to published figures, it had been seen by more than 32 million people.

During the summer months of 1937 the spectacular build-up to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich was widely covered in the German press, but public interest palpably waned once that exhibition was over. While the national dailies still carried reports of the exhibition when it reached Berlin, they took no further notice of any of its subsequent stops. From then on reporting was limited to the local press. As a rule, the opening ceremony, held in the presence of high-ranking party officials, was described in detail, often covering an entire page, accompanied by several illustrations of "degenerate" art and lengthy passages quoted from the opening speeches. Having been made to toe the party line and conform to state ideology, the press was simply required to repeat official accounts. In doing so, it availed itself of the same stereotypes as had the exhibition organizers, and not only on a linguistic level. It was always the same works of art that were reproduced (for example, Eugen Hoffmann's *Mädchen mit blauem Haar* [Girl with blue hair]), often incorrectly captioned or even without captions.

During the four years *Entartete Kunst* toured Germany and Austria its content changed. The first sales of "degenerate" art to foreign buyers began in the summer of 1938, which meant that the more important works were gradually removed from the exhibition and replaced by less significant pieces, especially by examples of graphic art. Works by local artists from regional collections were also added at each of the exhibition's venues in order to give it greater topicality and local character. The few lists that have been previously available<sup>43</sup> and photographs of the exhibition rooms have allowed only a limited reconstruction of the exhibition's individual stages.

The Berlin exhibition (figs. 59, 69–70) differed fundamentally from that in Munich in both the choice of works on display and the plan behind their presentation. The most important changes were outlined in a handout entitled "Informationsmaterial für die Schriftleitungen" (Information sheet for editors), prepared by the Propagandaministerium for the press preview.

*Only a section of the material shown in Munich is exhibited in Berlin. The exhibition has been enlarged and supplemented with paintings and sculptures that could previously be seen in the German capital. In planning the Berlin exhibition . . . the underlying motive . . . has been [decisive]. The material as a whole has therefore been structured around different groups, each of which*





Figure 69  
*Entartete Kunst* at the Haus der Kunst, Berlin, 1938



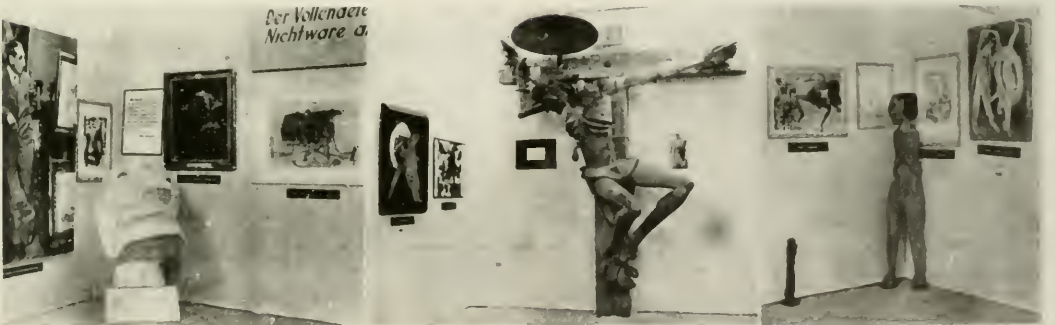
Figure 70  
Joseph Goebbels (center) visits *Entartete Kunst* in Berlin on February 27, 1938, accompanied by Hartmut Pistauer (left), work by Marcks and Nolde can be seen



Figure 71  
*Entartete Kunst* at the Kunstpalastr am Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf, 1938



Figure 72  
Pistauer leads Nazi party officials through *Entartete Kunst*, Düsseldorf, 1938, sculpture by Hoffmann and Niestrath can be seen at right



Figures 73–75  
Gallery views of *Entartete Kunst* at the Landeshaus, Stettin, 1939, at left is the photograph of dealer Alfred Flechtheim, work that can be identified is by Freundlich, Gies, Kirchner, Kurth, Meidner, and Nolde



is covered by an introductory essay in the catalogue. In assembling the visual material special attention was paid to the various specific areas that show the connection between degenerate art and the cultural program of Bolshevism. A large part of the exhibition is taken up by a comparison between degenerate art and those works that were placed at the organizers' disposal by the Psychiatrische Klinik of Heidelberg.<sup>44</sup>

The increased emphasis on the "Bolshevist" character of the vilified works, which is explicitly stressed in this passage, is also revealed by a shift of emphasis in terms of the exhibition's contents whereas it had been the Expressionists who bore the brunt of the attack in Munich, it was the sociocritical, politically committed art of the 1920s that was preponderant in Berlin, especially the work of the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 and ASSO.<sup>45</sup> A more political tone also marked the banners and slogans that accompanied the exhibition (on this occasion they were not lifted from Willrich's book, nor were they painted directly on the walls [fig. 59]). This also influenced the choice of works reproduced in the exhibition guide, a quarter of which clearly demonstrated social criticism. Another striking difference between Munich and Berlin was the link between the order in which the paintings were hung and the layout of the "catalogue," or exhibition guide (see the facsimile and translation in this volume). This guide was written only after preparations for the Berlin exhibition were underway and divided "degenerate art" into nine sections, each of which was defined in terms of its content: "collapse of sensitivity to form and color," religious subjects, "class-struggle" propaganda, "draft-dodging," "moral program of Bolshevism," racial degeneration, mental degeneration, Jewish art, and "sheer insanity." This grouping provided the installation model not only in Berlin but at all subsequent venues, as is clear from the reviews of those exhibitions. Similarly, the comparison between "degenerate" art and works painted by patients at the Psychiatrische Klinik in Heidelberg was emphasized as a special feature in Berlin and later venues. One quarter of the illustration pages in the guide featured reproductions of the work of these psychiatric patients, taken from the famous Prinzhorn Collection. Conversely, works by a number of artists were removed from the Berlin exhibition either because protests had been raised at the way in which they had been attacked—one thinks here of war heroes August Macke and Franz Marc and foreigners Piet Mondrian and Edvard Munch—or because they were regarded as "critical cases." The latter group included prominent Expressionists Ernst Barlach, Käthe Kollwitz, and Wilhelm Lehmbruck, whose acceptance hinged on the outcome of the continuing debate over the legitimacy of Nordic Expressionism, and Impressionist Lovis Corinth, a well-established and highly respected older artist, whose youthful style had been an example of that same "healthy" academic art that was so admired and promoted by the NSDAP.<sup>46</sup> The comments about individual artists and their works that had been written directly on the wall in Munich were indicated in Berlin on tiny black-and-white labels, which were used subsequently at other venues (fig. 76).<sup>47</sup>



Figure 76  
Gallery view of *Entartete Kunst* at the Festspielhaus, Salzburg, 1938, identifiable work is by Haizmann and Molzahn

The corpus of works exhibited in Berlin was taken virtually unchanged at the next two venues, Leipzig and Düsseldorf (figs. 71–72). Whereas there was talk in Leipzig of "large banners with basic personal revelations by the leading art-Bolshevists" (*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, May 14, 1938), these are not in evidence in the few surviving photographs that document the Düsseldorf exhibition. Presumably the organizers in the latter city decided to dispense with this aggressive form of defamation,<sup>48</sup> although their qualms did not extend to the "stone-tablet-like posters" with statements by the Führer" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, February 27, 1938, fig. 72) that had been prepared for the Berlin exhibition. Quotations from Hitler's speeches at NSDAP party rallies and the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst also peppered the pages of the exhibition guide, in addition to being a feature of the installation at each of its venues, as was true of statements by artists and critics and the comparison of "degenerate" art with art by the mentally ill.

One example of the attempt to give each exhibition "local color" was the addition in Düsseldorf of a large photograph of the well-known Jewish art dealer Alfred Flechtheim, who until 1933 had owned modern art galleries in Berlin and Düsseldorf (the photograph remained in the exhibition in Salzburg, Hamburg, Stettin [figs. 73–75], and Weimar).<sup>49</sup> Also in Düsseldorf Pistauer ran "educational courses" in which he gave "a comprehensive survey of the political and cultural background of this pseudoart from the previous system" and explained "the links that existed between the degenerate art produced at that time and the Bolshevist program of subversion" (*Rheinische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde*, July 8, 1938).

An important change occurred in September 1938 during the fifth stop of the exhibition, in Salzburg (fig. 76), the first Austrian venue, where it was shown six months after the annexation of Austria. Seventy-one works were reclaimed and sent back to Berlin, including Max Beckmann's *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-portrait with red scarf, fig. 162), Marc Chagall's *Die Priese (Rabbiner)* (The pinch of snuff [Rabbi]; fig. 118), Dix's *Der Schützengraben* (The trench), Lyonel Feininger's *Teltow*, Erich Heckel's *Sitzender Mann*



Figure 77  
Entartete Kunst at the Schulausstellungsgebäude, Hamburg, 1938



Figure 78  
Pages from an article on Entartete Kunst published in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, November 11, 1938, work illustrated is by Adler, Camensch, Gies, Grosz, Kleinschmidt, and Wöllheim



Figure 79  
Gallery in the exhibition Entartete Musik (Degenerate music) at the Landesmuseum, Weimar, 1939, at right is organizer Hans Severus Ziegler





(Seated man): Karl Hofer's *Die Trunkene* (The drunken woman), Kandinsky's *Gelbgrüne Sichel* (Yellow-green crescent), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Bildnis Oskar Schlemmer* (Portrait of Oskar Schlemmer, fig. 259), Klee's *Um den Fisch* (Around the fish, fig. 280), Oskar Kokoschka's *Die Windsbraut* (The tempest, fig. 37), Otto Mueller's *Drei Frauen* (Three women, fig. 306), Emil Nolde's altarpiece *Das Leben Christi* (The life of Christ, figs. 321–29), Christian Rohlf's *Kapelle in Dinkelsbühl* (Chapel in Dinkelsbühl), and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait, fig. 371) (see note 43). The return of these important works to Berlin was prompted by the establishment of a warehouse at Schloss Niederschönhausen for the assembly of all those works that were "internationally exploitable," in other words, those that could most profitably be sold abroad and converted into foreign currency.<sup>50</sup>

In order to fill the gaps left by the removal of these works 115 more paintings and examples of graphic art, generally of "lesser" quality (that is, lesser value), were removed from the stock of expropriated art in Berlin and added to the exhibition in time for its opening in Hamburg (figs. 77–78).<sup>51</sup> A unique feature of the Hamburg exhibition was deployment of student teachers from the city's schools who organized more than two hundred guided tours of the exhibition (*Hamburger Tageblatt*, December 22, 1938).

In Weimar, the eighth venue, the exhibition was combined with one entitled *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music; figs. 79, 133, 140). The latter exhibition had first been staged in Düsseldorf, the "Reichshauptstadt der Musik" (Reich music capital), from May 24 to June 14, 1938, as part of the *Reichsmusiktag* (Reich music festival).<sup>52</sup> By means of scores, libretti, photographs, stage designs, and musical examples available on headphones the "degenerate tonality" of composers as diverse as Berg, Hindemith, Krenek, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Webern, and Weill was held up to public ridicule. *Entartete Musik* was organized in Düsseldorf primarily by Hans Severus Ziegler, general administrator of the Weimarer Nationaltheater, deputy district leader of the Thuringian branch of the NSDAP, and Reichskulturwart (Reich supervisor of culture). He was almost certainly behind the idea of combining *Entartete Musik* with *Entartete Kunst* in Weimar.

In its combined and expanded form the exhibition traveled to Vienna (figs. 80–81), Frankfurt am Main (figs. 82–83), and Chemnitz, where it closed prematurely after only two weeks,<sup>53</sup> as a result of the onset of the Second World War. At this time *Entartete Kunst* was one of six exhibitions traveling through the Reich under the sponsorship of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspromaganda. On September 6, 1939, the president of the Werberat für Deutsche Wirtschaft (German economic publicity council), which controlled the Institut, issued a general ban on exhibitions.<sup>54</sup> The immediate closing of the exhibitions caused financial problems for the Institut, which ceased its activities until 1941.

In January of that year the Reichspropagandaleitung decided to revive the traveling exhibitions with seven shows, including *Entartete Kunst*. The aim was now to bring the exhibitions to cities that had been considered too small in the past.<sup>55</sup> A much reduced version of *Entartete Kunst*, with only two hundred works and without the *Entartete Musik* section, was installed in Waldenburg, Silesia, as part of an increase in propaganda activities in a region that had been "reunited" with the Reich by Hitler in 1939. In April of 1941 the exhibition was seen in Halle an der Saale.<sup>56</sup>

The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspromaganda returned *Entartete Kunst* to the Propagandaministerium on November 12, 1941. An inventory drawn up at that time (see note 43) records 7 sculptures, about 50 paintings, and approximately 180 works of graphic art. When this list is compared with the inventory of works originally exhibited in Munich, it appears that, of the works returned in 1941, only 8 paintings (by Philipp Bauknecht, Herbert Bayer, Conrad Felixmüller, Otto Gleichmann, Oskar Schlemmer, Werner Scholz, and Friedrich Skade), one sculpture (Ludwig Gies's *Kruzifixus*), and 32 graphic works had been on view in Munich in 1937 and were presumably the only works to have been exhibited at all thirteen venues. ■

#### Notes

This essay was written in conjunction with my dissertation at the University of Heidelberg under the supervision of Professor Dr. Peter Anselm Riedl, whose continuing support I wish to acknowledge. I am grateful for the assistance of the national and municipal archives in the Federal Republic of Germany: the German Democratic Republic, Austria, and Poland. The eyewitnesses whom I interviewed provided valuable information and were generous in sharing it with me. I also wish to thank Dr. Andreas Huneke and Dr. Mario Andreas von Lüttichau for their support. I am especially indebted to Cornelis Bol, Thomas Hafner, Wolfram Tichler, Christmut Prager, Andrea Schmidt, and Wolfgang Schrock-Schmidt for their valuable advice and stimulating discussions.

1. Gerhard Marcks, letter to Oskar Schlemmer, December 12, 1937, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Oskar-Schlemmer-Archiv.

2. Ernst Bloch, "Gauklerfest unter Galgen," in his *Erbschaft der Zeit*, rev. ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985), 80. Bloch had fled from Germany four years earlier and, after passing through Switzerland, Vienna, Paris, and Prague, had settled in the United States, where he was to remain until 1948.

3. For an overview of the history of National Socialist cultural policy and especially of the activities of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur see Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 7–21; Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner. Zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), 27–54; and Stephanie Barron's first essay in this volume.

4. The details presented in Table 1 are based on my own research and on the following literature: Rudiger Jörn, "Wird unser Reich Jahrtausend dauern? — Bielefeld 1933–1945. Kunst und Kunstpolitik im Nationalsozialismus" (exh. cat., Bielefeld: Kunsthalle, 1981); Michael Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe. Zur Ausstellung 'Regierungskunst 1918–1933,'" in *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900–1950* (exh. cat., Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1981), 102–28; Ulrich Weitz, "Das Bild behndet sich in Schutzhaft," in *Stuttgart am Dritten Reich. Anpassung, Widerstand, Verfolgung. Die Jahre von 1933–1939* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Städtische Galerie unterm Turm, 1984), 150–63; Werner Alberg, *Düsseldorfer Kunstszene 1933–1945* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Stadtmuseum, 1987).



47–49, 61, Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, "Die Kunsthalle im Dritten Reich," in *Stilstreit und Führerprinzip. Künstler und Werk in Baden 1930–1945* (exh. cat. edited by Wilfried Rosling, Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1987), 139–63; Hans-Jürgen Buderer, *Entartete Kunst. Beschlagnahmaktion in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Mannheim 1937* (exh. cat., Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1987); Karoline Hille, "Chagall auf dem Handwagen. Die Vorläufer der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner, eds., *Inszenierung der Macht. Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus* (exh. cat., Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1987), 159–68, and Karl Brix, "Moderne Kunst am Pranger. Zur Ausstellung 'Kunst, die nicht aus unserer Seele kam,'" *Karl-Marx-Stadter Almanach* 7 (1988): 64–67.

5 Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe," 102. The political character of the exhibitions was repeatedly stressed by the National Socialists themselves. The Stadtarchiv Dortmund (StADo), for example, contains a letter of October 25, 1935, from the Kulturamt (Office of culture) in Dresden to the mayor of Dortmund indicating that *Entartete Kunst* was not an art exhibition in the sense proclaimed by the president of the Reichskammer der bildende Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) on April 10, 1935, but a political demonstration (StADo, Best 113, Zg. 29/1951, Nr. 116, Bl. 14).

6 Michael Koch, "Kunstpolitik," in Otto Borst, ed., *Das Dritte Reich in Baden und Württemberg* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), 240.

7 One exception to this was Karlsruhe, where the works shown at the exhibition *Regierungskunst 1988–1993* were reintegrated into the gallery's collection when it was rehung, see Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe," 119.

8 Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 41.

9 Jörn, "und unser Reich," 6.

10 One of the reviewers of the Mannheim exhibition (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933) voiced much the same criticism: "It is claimed that people's eyes are now to be opened," and that 'the nation is to be called upon to judge for itself.' But everything possible has been done to confuse and blindfold them."

11 On the principles of contrasting different types of art see Hans-Ernst Mitgig, "München, 50 Jahre nach der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" *Kritische Berichte* 16, no. 2 (1988): 78.

12 *Erlanger Neueste Nachrichten*, July 26, 1933; *Erlanger Tagblatt*, July 28, 1933.

13 Eberhard Jackel, *Hitlers Willensschauung. Entwurf einer Herrschaft*, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1986), 60.

14 Johannes Volmert, "Politische Rhetorik des Nationalsozialismus," in Konrad Ehlich, ed., *Sprache im Faschismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1989), 143.

15 Both Paul Ortwin Rave (*Kunstskulptur im Dritten Reich*, ed. Uwe M. Schneede [Berlin: Argon, 1987], 45) and Hildegard Brenner (*Die Kunstpolitik*, 37–38) attributed a prototypical character to the Karlsruhe exhibition, which they claimed set the tone for all later comparable installations. Their opinion has been taken over by virtually all subsequent writers on the subject. Hille ("Chagall auf dem Handwagen," 165) believes that it was the preliminary exhibition in Mannheim that was the immediate model for the 1937 exhibition.

16 *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art), the title usually given to the Dresden exhibition by many writers on the subject, is based on an article by Richard Müller published in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* of September 23, 1933, and reprinted in Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 175–77, and Dieter Schmidt, ed., *In letzter Stunde, 1933–1945, vol. 2 of Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964), 213–14. The correct title, *Entartete Kunst*, appears in other newspaper reviews of the period, including the *Dresdner Nachrichten*, September 22, 1933, and the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, December 16, 1933, 1713–15, 1742, as well as in artists' memoirs: for example, Hans Grundig, *Zwischen Karneval und Aschermittwoch*, 14th ed. (Berlin: Dietz, 1986), 229, and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Dresden als Holzschnitt und Federzeichnungen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1983), 7.

17 The Stadtarchiv Dortmund contains three files relevant to this exhibition (Best 113, Zg. 29/1951, Nr. 115–116, 126): a series of press cuttings and reports on preparations for the exhibition, with notes on various organizational matters, and two lists of the works exhibited. The first of these is a typewritten "packing list" drawn up in Dresden and dispatched with the crates, the second, which differs from the first only in minor details, is a handwritten list compiled when the crates were unpacked in Dortmund. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the Dresden exhibition by comparing the corpus of works in these two lists with the list of those first exhibited in

Dresden in 1933 (*Dresdner Nachrichten*, September 22, 1933, see Table 1). It emerges that the original number of oil paintings was increased from 42 to 48 for the traveling exhibition, while the number of sculptures was reduced from 10 to 6, and the watercolors and engravings from 155 (43 watercolors and 112 engravings) to a total of 40.

18 The predominantly high attendance figures were derived from the galleries' own statistics and from local press reports (see Table 1).

19 This is illustrated in one instance by a letter dated April 24, 1933, from the curator of the museum in Mannheim, Edmund Strubing, to Alfred Hentzen, a member of the staff of the Berlin Nationalgalerie: "I should like to emphasize expressly that the exhibition [*Kulturbolschevistische Bilder*] has been organized not only against my recommendation and in the face of my repeated objections but without my involvement. Full responsibility for it is to be borne by Mr. Gebele von Waldstein, the commissioner assigned to the Kunsthalle" (archives of the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim, see Hille, "Chagall auf dem Handwagen," 166 n. 14).

20 In Dresden in 1933, for example, "a series of visitors who tried to defend the works on view were arrested" (Fritz Löffler, *Otto Dix 1891–1969. Werke der Gemälde* [Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1981], 46). On the scandal that ensued in Frankfurt in 1936 see the *Frankfurter Volksblatt* of September 9, 1936, and files in the Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main (Magistratsakten, Az. 6022, Bd. 1, Bl. 258–65c).

21 Oskar Schlemmer, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. Tut Schlemmer (Munich: A. Langen/G. Müller, 1958), 308–9.

22 The leaders of the Studententum, Otto Andreas Schreiber and Fritz Hippler, organized an exhibition under the title *Drisung deutsche Künstler* (Thirty German artists) at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin, opening on July 22, 1933. It contained works by, among others, Barlach, Lehmbruck, Macke, Nolde, Rohlfis, and Schmidt-Rottluff. Even before it had opened, the exhibition was violently attacked by nationalist groups associated with Alfred Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, and after only three days it was temporarily closed by the Reichsinnenminister (Reich minister of the interior), Wilhelm Frick. See Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 70–71, and Eberhard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller. Die Geschichte einer Galerie für moderne Kunst in Deutschland 1917–1956* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1984), 303.

23 Fritz Stern, "Der Nationalsozialismus als Versuchung," in Otfried Hofius, ed., *Reflexionen jüdischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), 9.

24 It is particularly noteworthy that none of the major cities or cultural centers—Berlin, the capital of the German Reich, or Munich, the cradle of National Socialism, or Hamburg, the "city of trade"—organized its own *Schandausstellung*. The precursors of *Entartete Kunst* were largely provincial actions, perhaps because a museum-going urban populace familiar with modern art would have been too sophisticated for a chamber-of-horrors approach to be successful.

25 See Mario Andreas von Lütichau's essay in this volume and his article "Entartete Kunst," in *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (exh. cat., Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 289–98.

26 Rave, *Kunstskulptur*, 145–46.

A collection of press clippings about the exhibition, including reviews, is preserved in Munich in the Stadtarchiv (ZA "Entartete Kunst").

27 Georg Bussmann, "Entartete Kunst: Blick auf einen nutzlichen Mythos," in *Deutsche Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert. Malerei und Plastik 1905–1985* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1986), 109.

28 Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky, Junge Kunst*, vol. 42 (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1924), a copy of the book (NS inv. no. 16467) was displayed with others from the Junge Kunst series in the first room on the ground floor of *Entartete Kunst*.

29 See Peter-Klaus Schuster, "München—das Verhängnis einer Kunststadt," in *Die 'Kunststadt' München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst'* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 29–31, figs. 15–16.

30 A photograph printed in *Der Führer*, July 25, 1937, and the *Leipziger Tageszeitung*, May 12, 1938, shows that this label was later removed and stuck to the upper right-hand corner of Schwitter's *Merzbild*.

31 Carl Linfert, "Rückblick auf 'entartete Kunst,'" *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 14, 1937; Schuster, "München," 30, and Andreas Huneke, "Funktionen der Station 'Entartete Kunst,'" in *Stationen der Moderne*, 48.

32 Linfert, "Rückblick."

33 This information comes from an unpublished interview with Magdalen Mary, who worked as a secretary for Alois Schardt in the United States in the 1930s, the interview was conducted by Elfriede Ischinger and William Moritz in Los Angeles in September of 1988. I am grateful to Professor Moritz for drawing it to my attention.

34 Linfert, "Rückblick."

35 Jörn Merkert, "Der Auftrag heisst Gegenwart," in *Museum der Gegenwart: Kunst in öffentlichen Sammlungen bis 1917* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1987–88), 10.

36 Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (ZStA), Best. 5001-743, Bl. 23.

37 *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Samliche Fragmente*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1987), pt. 1, vol. 3, 211; see also entries for August 1 (221), August 20 (214), and September 1, 1937 (251).

38 The director of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda, Waldemar Steinacker, organized the *Grosse antibolschewistische Ausstellung Nürnberg 1937* (Great anti-Bolshevist exhibition Nürnberg 1937, hg. 5). For example: It ran from September 5 to September 29 and was then shown in several other towns and cities, including Berlin (November 6, 1937–January 9, 1938). The Institut was also in charge of the traveling exhibition *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew, fig. 6), which was taken over from the Reichspropagandaleitung (venues of the exhibition: Munich, November 8, 1937–January 31, 1938; Vienna, opening August 2, 1938; Berlin, November 12, 1938–January 14, 1939; Bremen, February 4–March 5, Dresden, until April 23, Magdeburg, May 22–June 11). Works of art were also included among the "documentary material" shown at these exhibitions, see the *Nationalsozialistische Beamtenzeitung*, November 21, 1937, Rave, *Kunstpolitik*, 122, and Joseph Wüll, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 317 n. 2.

39 Berlin Document Center, Best. Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Personalakte Hartmut Pistauer.

40 By order of Hitler himself, visitors to the Munich exhibition were admitted free of charge (see the draft of a letter from Franz Holmann to Joseph Goebbels, March 9, 1938, ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 36). An entrance charge was instituted at each of the subsequent venues, however.

41 Purely as a formality the objects included in the exhibition were insured for a total of 20,000 reichsmarks, since "the only value they have is for instruction and enlightenment." Franz Holmann, letter to Hartmut Pistauer, March 3, 1938, ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 35.

42 ZStA, Best. 5001-1018, Bl. 29–36.

43 These comprise an incomplete list of the contents of the exhibition in the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf in June 1938 (Barbara Lepper, *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunstpolitik im 3. Reich* [exh. cat., Dussburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983], 41–47; document 9), a list of the works sent back to Berlin from Salzburg in September 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 75–76), a list of works added to the Hamburg exhibition in November 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 77–80), and a list of works returned to the Reichspropagandaministerium on November 12, 1941 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1018, Bl. 29–36).

44 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Archiv Hansen.

45 Huneke, "Funktionen der Station 'Entartete Kunst,'" 45–46.

46 Paul Westheim, "Ein Rückzieher: Corinth, Marc, Macke, Lehmbruck, Kollwitz nicht mehr auf der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" originally published in the *Pariser Tageszeitung* of March 27–28, 1938, and reprinted with explanatory notes in Tanja Frank, ed., *Paul Westheim: Kunstskizzen aus dem Exil* (Hanau: Müller & Kiepenhauer, 1985), 80–83, 274–75 n. 81. For Edward Munch see Reinhard Piper's letter to Ernst Barlach, July 28, 1937, published in Ernst Piper, *Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik: Ernst Barlach und die 'Entartete Kunst'* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987), 198.

47 Information about the Berlin exhibition is also provided by a detailed report written by Felix Hartlaub in a letter of February 28, 1938, to his father, Gustav F. Hartlaub, the director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim from 1923 to 1933, see Felix Hartlaub in *seinen Briefen*, eds. Erna Krauss and G. F. Hartlaub (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1958), 159–60.

48 Bernard Schulze, who saw the exhibitions in Berlin and Düsseldorf at the age of 23, confirmed this assumption in an article (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 4, 1987) and a conversation with the author on October 2, 1989.

49 This information came from the reminiscences of a contemporary witness, Carl Lauterbach, published in *Zeit-Magazin*, June 19, 1987.

50 See Andreas Huneke's essay in this volume. At the same time the Propagandaministerium demanded the return of three other works of art, Dix's *Bildnis der Tänzerin Anita Berber* and a sculpture and a relief by Gerhard Marcks, which it had lent to an exhibition, *Europas Schicksalskampf im Osten* (Europe's battle with destiny in the east) held at that year's party rally in Nürnberg (ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 84–86).

51 The list of works added to the exhibition for its Hamburg venue in November 1938 is preserved in Potsdam (ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 77–80).

Information about the Hamburg exhibition is also provided in a detailed report written by Jimmy Ernst, son of Max Ernst, in his memoirs, *A Not-So-Still Life: A Memoir* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 94–96. The Staatsarchiv Hamburg (135-1, I–IV, 5227) contains press clippings, including reviews of the exhibition.

52 See Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Düsseldorf-Ausstellung von 1938, Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion* (Düsseldorf: Kleinherne, 1988), and the essay by Michael Meyer in this volume.

53 *Chemnitzer Tageblatt*, August 27, 1939.

I am grateful to Georg Bruhl, Chemnitz, for his generous gift of an entrance ticket for the Chemnitz exhibition (hg. 91).

54 Hugo Fischer, head of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda, letter to Joseph Goebbels, December 1, 1939 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 55 [Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda]/354, Bl. 95–97).

55 *Unser Wille und Weg*, 1941, no. 2 (February) back cover, and no. 3 (March) 26, 28 (BA, NSD 12/3 1940/41). *Unser Wille und Weg* was the official monthly newsletter of the Reichspropagandaleitung and was edited by Joseph Goebbels. I would like to thank Annette Sprengel of Magdeburg for drawing my attention to this publication.

56 Press clippings, including reviews, for the exhibition in Halle an der Saale are preserved in the Stadtarchiv Halle/Saale (321).

Table 1

# Exhibitions of "degenerate" art preceding the 1937 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition in Munich

Note: Each primary exhibition is followed by a list of the venues to which that exhibition traveled, whether in its entirety or in an altered format. The primary exhibitions are arranged chronologically.

Mannheim, Kunsthalle  
*Kulturholocaustische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism)

April 4–June 5, 1933

Organized by Otto Gebele von Waldstein,  
 "kommunistischer Hilfsreferent"  
 (acting assistant consultant)

20,141 visitors

Adults only

Selected reviews

*Hakenkreuzkammer*, April 3, May 10 and 24, 1933

*Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, April 5 and 13, May 9, 1933

*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, May 27, 1933

*Mannheimer Tageblatt*, April 10, 1933

Works on view comprised sixty-four oils, including paintings by Adler (*Mutter und Tochter*), Baumeister (*Tischgesellschaft*), Beckmann (*Christus und die Ehebrecherin*, among others), Chagall (*Die Priese*, among others), Delaunay, Derain, Dix, Ensor, Fuhr, Gleichmann (*Die Braut*), Grosz (*Metropolis [Blick in die Großstadt]*), Bildnis *Max Hermann-Nesse*), Heckel, Hoerle (*Melancholie*), Hofer, Jawlensky (*Sizilianerin*), Kanoldt, Kirchner, Kleinschmidt (*Stilleben*), Marc, Munch, Nolde, Pechstein, Rohls, Schlemmer (*Frauentreppe*), and Schlichter, two sculptures, by Schreiner (*Sitzendes Mädchen*) and Archipenko (*Zwei Frauen*), and twenty works of graphic art, including works by Adler, Chagall, Delaunay, Grosz, Kirchner, Kokoschka, El Lissitzky, Masereel,

Nolde, Pechstein, and Rohls. A checklist of the exhibition is preserved in the archives of the Stadtsche Kunsthalle Mannheim.

The paintings were exhibited unframed, and the names of the dealers (Cassirer, Flechtheim, and Tannenbaum) and the purchase prices were noted (a proven method of National Socialist artistic criticism utilized in these exhibitions from now on).

There was also a *Masterkabinett* (model gallery) with examples of "good" art by Mannheim-based artists, including Klein, Oertel, Otto, Schindler and Stohner.

## Subsequent venues

Munich, Kunstverein  
*Mannheimer Galerietankwaffe*  
 (Mannheim gallery acquisitions)  
 June 25–July 12, 1933

Selected reviews

*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, June 28, 1933

*München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, June 29, 1933

*Völkischer Beobachter*, June 29, 1933

Thirty-two works from the Mannheim exhibition were contrasted to the paintings in a commemorative exhibition marking Edmund Steppes's sixtieth birthday.

Erlangen, Orangerie (Kunstverein)  
*Mannheimer Schreckenskammer*  
 (Mannheim chamber of horrors)  
 July 23–August 13, 1933

Selected reviews

*Erlanger Neueste Nachrichten*, July 22 and 26, 1933

*Erlanger Tagblatt*, July 22 and 28, 1933

The thirty-two paintings from the Munich venue were contrasted to works of unknown provenance produced by the mentally ill, drawings by children, and a reproduction of a fifteenth-century Russian icon.

Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle  
*Regierungskunst 1918–1933* (Government art 1918–1933)

April 8–30, 1933

Organized by Hans Adolf Buhler, artist and director of the Kunsthalle and Kunstakademie

Adults only

Selected reviews

*Der Führer*, April 8, 1933

*Karlsruher Tagblatt*, April 8, 1933

*Karlsruher Zeitung*, April 10, 1933

The exhibition featured 18 oil paintings by Bizer (*Rehberg I. Rehgarde*), Corinth (*Walchenseelandschaft*), Bildnis *Charlotte Berend-Corinth*), Erbsloh (*Garten*), Fuhr (*Waldekapelle [Kapelle am Wasser]*), Hofer (*Stilleben [Gerätpfand]*), Hauser in Bernau), Kanoldt (*Stilleben mit Gummibaum*), Liebermann (*Gemüsemarkt in Amsterdam*, *Erntefeld*, *Korbflechter*), von Marées (*Familienbild II*), Munch (*The Road to Asgardstrand*), Putzmann (*Blumenstück*), Schlichter (*Bildnis Bertolt Brecht*), and Slevogt (*Geschlachtetes Schwein*, *Fruchtsilleben*), as well as 79 drawings, watercolors, and works of graphic art by Beckmann, Bizer, Campendonk, Dix, Feininger, O. Fischer, R. Grossmann, Grosz, Heckel, Hofer, Kirchner, Kogan, Meidner, Nolde, F. Scharff, T. Schindler, Schmidt-

Rottluft, K. Stohner, artists from the Karlsruhe artists' group known as "Ruh," and teachers dismissed from the Kunstakademie, including Hubbbuch.

Purchase prices were listed, as were the names of the ministers of education and the arts who were in office when the purchases were made.

There was an "Eroisches Kabinett" (gallery of erotica) of drawings by students from the Kunstakademie.

Also exhibited were a list and photographs of art—mostly second-rate old master and nineteenth-century paintings that had been kept in storage—that had been sold by previous museum directors to raise funds for the purchase of modern art.

<p>Nürnberg: Städtische Galerie  <i>Schreckenskammer</i> (Chamber of horrors)  April 17–May 16, 1933  Organized by Emil Stahl, artist and  acting director  10,000 visitors</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Acht Uhr-Blatt</i>, April 8 and 18, 1933  <i>Nürnberger Zeitung</i>, April 18 and 19, 1933  <i>Münchener Neueste Nachrichten</i>, April 20, 1933</p>	<p>The exhibition included paintings by Herend Corinths  <i>Der Boxer</i>, Biernstengel, Bockstiegel, Dix (<i>Bildnis der  Tänzerin Anita Berber</i>), Dohrowsky, Felixmüller, Frisch,  Geiger, Grossmann, Heckrodt, Heinisch, Fleuser,  Holz, Kamps, Neumann, Pascin, Purrmann, Rösler,  Scharl (Prof. Albert Einstein), Schmidt, Rottluff,  Schreiner, Slevogt (<i>Der Hirsberg</i>), and Winkler.  Purchase prices were listed.</p>	
<p>Chemnitz: Städtisches Museum  <i>Kunst, die nicht aus unserer Seele kam</i>  [Art that did not issue from our soul]  May 14–June, 1933  Organized by Wilhelm Radiger, acting director</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Chemnitzer Tageblatt</i>, May 13, 18, and 21, 1933  <i>Chemnitzer Tageszeitung</i>, May 23, 1933</p>	<p>The exhibition included 15 paintings by W. Arnold  <i>Kinden vor dem Fenster</i>, Heckel (<i>Badende</i> [triptych]),  Kirchner, Wohnzimmer, Selbstbildnis, Wisse, Kuh;  Kokoschka, <i>Selbstbildnis mit gebrochenen Armen</i>; Nolde  <i>Christus in Bethanien</i>, <i>Araberkopf</i>; Pechstein, <i>Frauen am  Meer</i>; W. Rudolph, <i>Kuh und Kälbchen</i>; Schmidt, Rottluff  <i>Landschaft im Herbst</i>, <i>Der kranke Junge</i>, <i>Bildnis Lyonel  Feininger</i>, <i>Männer bei Kerze</i>; and Segal (<i>Im Atelier</i>).  3 small-scale sculptures, 120 prints by various artists,</p>	<p>including Beckmann, Dix (from <i>Der Krieg</i>), Gromatte,  Grosz, Heckel, Kirchner, Klee, <i>Die Heilige vom inneren  Licht</i>, Mataré, Schlemmer, <i>Kopf im Profil mit schwarzer  Kontur</i>, Schmidt, Rottluff (approximately 20 works)  and Schreyer, and drawings and watercolors by  Feininger (<i>Turm in Triptow</i>), Kandinsky, <i>Scala</i>,  and others.  Purchase prices were listed.</p>
<p>Stuttgart: Kronprinzenpalais (Graphische Sammlung  der Württembergischen Staatsgalerie)  <i>Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung</i>  (November spirit: Art in the service of subversion)  June 10–c. 24, 1933  Organized by Count Klaus von Baudissin, senior  curator  Adults only</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>NS-Kurier</i>, June 13, 1933  <i>Schwäbischer Merkur</i>, June 14, 1933  <i>Württembergischer Staatsanzeiger</i>, June 22, 1933</p>	<p>The exhibition included one painting: Kleinschmidt's  <i>Duell im Nord-Café</i>; graphic art by Beckmann, Dix  (from <i>Der Krieg</i>, for example), Felixmüller, Grosz  (including the portfolios <i>Im Schatten</i> and <i>Abrechnung  folgt</i>); Meidner, Schwitters, and others; reproductions  of paintings by Dix, Grosz, and Meidner from books  of the Junge Kunst series; the pamphlet <i>An alle Künstler</i>;  Expressionist journals (<i>Die Aktion</i>, <i>Der Sturm</i>); posters,  photographs, and newspaper cuttings, and loans from  the Weltkriegsbucherei (World war library), among  other lenders.</p>	
<p><i>Subsequent venue</i></p>		
<p>Dessau: two display windows in the offices of the  <i>Anhaltische Tageszeitung</i>  July 1933  Organized by Wilhelm F. Loeper, NSDAP district  leader</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Anhaltischer Anzeiger</i>, July 11, 1933 (background  information)</p>	<p>Bielefeld: Städtisches Museum, Geschichtliche  Abteilung  <i>Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung</i>  (November spirit: Art in the service of subversion)  August 20–c. September 18, 1933  Not open to minors or to members of the  general public</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten</i>, August 18 and 22, 1933  <i>Westfälische Zeitung</i>, August 18 and 22, 1933</p>	<p>This exhibition was a reduced version of that in Stutt-  gart; the works that had been loaned to Stuttgart by  the Weltkriegsbucherei were not shown in Bielefeld  but were replaced by work by Archipenko.</p> <p>The exhibition was described as a <i>Schulungs-  ausstellung</i> (educational exhibition) and was open only  to teachers, doctors, clergymen, judges, and NSDAP  officials.</p>
<p>Dessau: two display windows in the offices of the  <i>Anhaltische Tageszeitung</i>  July 1933  Organized by Wilhelm F. Loeper, NSDAP district  leader</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Anhaltischer Anzeiger</i>, July 11, 1933 (background  information)</p>	<p>The exhibition featured works by Bauhaus artists  owned by the municipal authorities and including  Feininger, Kandinsky, Klee, Muche, and Schlemmer.  Purchase prices were listed.</p>	<p>Ul'm: Städtisches Museum, Moderne Galerie  und Kupferstichkabinett  <i>Zehn Jahre Ul'mer Kunstpolitik</i>  (Ten years of arts policy in Ul'm)  August 4–c. September 8, 1933</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Ul'mer Sturm</i>, August 3, 1933  <i>Ul'mer Tagblatt</i>, August 9 (letter from a reader in sup-  port of the exhibition) and 17, 1933</p>
	<p>On view were paintings and graphic works by  Delacroix (oil sketch for <i>Dante und Virgil</i>), Dix,  Faistauer (<i>Gardone di sopra</i>), Grosz, (<i>Marseilles</i>), Haller,  Hoter (<i>Kartenspieler</i>, <i>Trunkene</i>), Jawlensky, Kokoschka  (<i>Genfer See</i>), Laurencin (<i>Portrait of a Girl</i>), Liebermann,  Meunier, Munch, Nolde (<i>Johannes der Täufer</i>), Pellegrini,  Picasso, Renoir, Serusier (<i>Breton Farmhouse</i>), Sisley (<i>Stone  Landscape</i>), Vlaminck (<i>The One at Auvers</i>), and others.  Purchase prices and names of dealers (Abels,  Flechtheim, Goldschmidt, Thannhäuser) were listed.  Also included was a portrait by Gustav Essig  of Emil Schwammberger, mayor of Ul'm during the  Weimar Republic, who had protected and supported  the museum's Jewish director, Julius Baum, in his  purchases of modern art.</p>	



*Illustrierter Beobachter*, December 16, 1933, 1713-15, 1742

### Subsequent venues

Westfälische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde, February 12, 1934  
Westdeutsche Volkszeitung, February 13 and 14, 1934

Völkischer Beobachter, September 10, 1935

*Westfälische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde*, November 12 and 26, 1935

*Die Deutsche Bühne*, April 1936, 6-7

Babelsberg has in its collection about ten minutes of footage of this exhibition

The Stadtische Galerie also organized an anti-Semitic exhibition, *Der Judenspiegel* (The mirror of the Jews), to coincide with this *Entartete Kunst* exhibition

The exhibition contained forty-eight oil paintings, six sculptures, and forty watercolors and works of graphic art, which were compared to paintings and reproductions of works by Caspar David Friedrich, Kobell, Leibl (*Dorfkolpater, Frauen in der Kirche*), von Marées (*Rudeler*), Thoma, and others, a portrait of Hitler, and a *Mergedicht* (Merz poem) by Schwitters. Checklists of the exhibition are preserved in the Stadtarchiv Dortmund (see note 17).

The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund.

The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund



<p>IngoStadt, Neues Schloss (Kunstverein)  <i>Entartete Kunst</i> (Degenerate art)  May 1–June 1, 1936</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>IngoStadter Tagblatt</i>, April 30, May 5, 1936  <i>Donaubote</i>, May 20 and 30, 1936  <i>Deutscher Kunstbericht</i>, no. 6, June 1936</p>	<p>The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund</p>
<p>Darmstadt, Kunsthalle (Kunstverein)  <i>Entartete Kunst</i> (Degenerate art)  Opened June 20, 1936</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Darmstadter Wöchenschau</i>, no. 24, June 2, 1936, 1–4  <i>Darmstadter Tagblatt</i>, June 21 and 23, 1936</p>	<p>The organizers added works by proscribed Darmstadt artists to the Dortmund exhibition</p>
<p>Frankfurt am Main, Volksbildungsheim  <i>Entartete Kunst</i> (Degenerate art)  September 1–30, 1936  Organized by Kraft durch Freude and the Hans-Thoma-Gesellschaft</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Nationalblatt</i>, August 30, 1936  <i>Frankfurter Volksblatt</i>, September 9, 1936  <i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i>, September 9, 1936  <i>Frankfurter Wöchenschau</i>, 1936, no. 36, 10–11</p>	<p>On view were the works from the Dortmund exhibition and contrasting examples of "German" art by H. A. Buhler, Thoma, Scholderer, and others</p>
<p>Breslau (Wrocław), Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste  <i>Kunst der Geistesrichtung 1918–1933</i> (Intellectual art 1918–1933)  Opened December 17, 1933  Organized by Wolf Marx, acting director</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Schlesische Zeitung</i>, December 5 and 16, 1933  <i>Schlesische Illustrierte Zeitung</i>, 1934, no. 2, 2–3</p>	<p>The exhibition included fourteen oil paintings, including works by Adler (<i>Mannergesicht</i>), Dix, Feininger (<i>Grauturm</i>), Grosz (<i>Der neue Mensch</i>), Kokoschka, Meidner (<i>Silbportrat</i>), Oskar Moll (<i>Blick durchs Fenster, Waldsonnere</i>), Molzahn (<i>Zwillinge</i>), Mueller (<i>Esel mit Kind</i>), Pechstein (<i>Ehepaar auf Palau</i>), and Schlemmer (<i>Drei Frauen</i>), three sculptures, including two works in brass by Margarete Moll (<i>Mädchenkopf</i>), <i>Wahliche Figur</i> [<i>Tänzerin</i>]), and sixty watercolors, drawings, and graphic works by Campendonk, Dix (<i>Erinnerung an Spiegeltale von Brüssel, Kriegskruppel</i>), Feininger, Oskar Fischer (<i>Rotendes Paar</i>), Grosz (<i>Da dämmert sie</i>), and others.</p> <p><i>Verschiedene Voraande</i>, Hoetger, Kandinsky (from the <i>Kleine Witten</i> portfolio), Kirchner, Klee (<i>Die Holze vom inneren Licht</i>), Leger (<i>Woman Reading</i>), Oskar Moll, Pechstein, Schlemmer, Schmidt-Rottluff (<i>Liebespaar, Prophetin, Südseinsulanerin</i>), Wusten (<i>Trauerung</i>), and others, and a prose poem by Kandinsky from <i>Klänge</i></p> <p>Purchase prices were listed</p>
<p>Halle an der Saale, Museum Moritzburg  <i>Schreckenskammer</i> (Chamber of horrors)  November 27, 1935–c. July 25, 1937  Organized by Hermann Schiebel, acting director</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung</i>, November 27, 1935</p>	<p>The Halle exhibition was something of an exception, since it was not a temporary exhibition but a permanent installation of the gallery's own modern art collection, including sculptures and oil paintings by Feininger, Kirchner, Kokoschka, Marc, and Nolde and watercolors by Kandinsky</p> <p>The general public was admitted upon payment of a special fee, beginning on October 18, 1936, they were also required to enter their names in a visitors' book (preserved in the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle). Between that date and July 25, 1937, 445 visitors entered their names and addresses in the book</p>
<p>Dessau, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie  <i>Entartete Kunst</i> (Degenerate art)  September 19–October 3, 1937  Over 5,000 visitors by October 1, 1937</p> <p>Selected reviews  <i>Anhalter Anzeiger</i>, September 20, October 2–3, 1937  <i>Der Mitteldeutsche</i>, September 21, 1937  <i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i>, September 22, 1937  <i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i>, September 22, 1937  <i>Volksrecht Beobachter</i>, September 25, 1937</p>	<p>To commemorate the tenth anniversary of its founding the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie mounted two exhibitions: <i>Neuerwerbungen der Anhaltischen Gemäldegalerie aus fünf Jahrhunderten</i> (Recent acquisitions from five centuries by the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie) and <i>Entartete Kunst</i>. For the latter, the works of the Bauhaus artists that had been exhibited in July of 1933 (see above) were put on view again and supplemented by portfolios of drawings and engravings by Bauhaus artists and paintings by Grosz, Jawlensky, and Schmidt-Rottluff</p> <p>Purchase prices were listed</p>

Table 2  
Venues of the  
'Entartete Kunst' exhibition, 1937–1941

Munich, Archäologisches Institut, Hofgarten arcades,  
Galeriestrasse 4, rooms housing the plaster-cast  
collection

July 19–November 30, 1937 (extended)  
2,009,899 visitors

Selected reviews

*Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, July 20, August 20, 1937

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 25, 1937

*Der Führer*, July 25, 1937

*Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 14, 1937

[The only known extant newsreel footage of the exhibition, taken at the Munich venue, has been located in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Julien Bryan Collection, uncatalogued film footage)—S-B]

Berlin, Haus der Kunst, Königsplatz 4

February 26–May 8, 1938 (extended)

500,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Frankfurter Zeitung*, February 25 and 27, 1938

*Der Angriff*, February 26, March 1 and 10, 1938

*Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin edition), February 26  
and 27, 1938

Leipzig, Grassi-Museum

May 13–June 6, 1938

60,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, May 14, 1938

*Leipziger Tageszeitung*, May 14, 1938

Düsseldorf, Kunstpalast, Ehrenhof 5

June 18–August 7, 1938 (extended)

150,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, June 18, 1938

*Rheinische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde*, June 19, 1938

Salzburg, Festspielhaus

September 4–October 2, 1938 (extended)

40,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Salzburger Landeszeitung*, September 5 and 6, 1938

*Salzburger Volksblatt*, September 5 and 6, 1938

Hamburg, Schulausstellungsgebäude, Spitalerstrasse 6

November 11–December 30, 1938

136,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Hamburger Anzeiger*, November 11, 1938

*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, November 11, 1938 (fig. 78)

*Hamburger Tageblatt—Wöchenschau*, November 13, 1938



Figure 86  
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Berlin, 1938



Figure 87  
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Leipzig, 1938, lithograph,  
59 x 84 cm (23½ x 33 in.), Museum für Gestaltung,  
Zürich



Figure 88  
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Chemnitz, 1939,  
lithograph, 473 x 33 cm (18½ x 13 in.), Textil-  
und Kunstgewerbeausstellung Chemnitz



Figure 89  
Poster by Rudolf Hermann for *Entartete Kunst*, Hamburg, 1938, lithograph, 1173 x 823 mm (46 1/4 x 32 1/4 in.). The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California



Figure 90  
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Halle, 1941



Figure 91  
Ticket for *Entartete Kunst*, Chemnitz, 1939, Christoph Zuschlag, Heidelberg

Stettin (Szczecin) Landeshaus

January 11–February 5, 1939

82,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Stettiner Generalanzeiger*, January 2, 11, 12, 19, 21, and 24, February 2, 1939

*Pommersche Zeitung*, January 10, 11, 15, 17, 24, and 28, February 4, 7, and 15, 1939

Weimar, Landesmuseum

March 23–April 24, 1939

50,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Allgemeine Thüringische Landeszeitung Deutschland*, March 23 and 24, 1939

*Thüringer Gauzeitung*, March 23 and 24, 1939

Vienna, Künstlerhaus

May 6–June 18, 1939

147,000 visitors

Selected reviews

*Volksischer Beobachter* (Vienna edition), May 5, 6, 7, June 12, 1939

*Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, May 6, 1939

*Volks-Zeitung*, May 6, 1939

*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, May 7, 1939

*Kunst dem Volk*, May 1939, 36

*Die Pause*, June 1939, 65–68, 85 (figs. 80–81)

Frankfurt am Main, Kunstausstellungshaus

Bockenheimer Landstrasse 8

June 30–July 30, 1939

40,000 visitors as of July 22

Selected reviews

*Frankfurter Volksblatt*, July 1 and 23, 1939

*Rhein-Mainische Sonntags-Zeitung*, July 9, 1939 (fig. 83)

Chemnitz, Kaufmannsches Vereinshaus, Moritzstrasse 1

August 11–September 10, 1939 (closed on August 26)

Selected reviews

*Chemnitzer Neueste Nachrichten*, August 10, 1939

*Chemnitzer Tageblatt*, August 11, 1939

Waldenburg (Walbrzych), Silesia, Gebäude der

Kresleitung der NSDAP, Adol.-Hirler-Aue

January 18–February 2, 1941

Selected reviews

*Mittelschlesische Gebirgszeitung*, January 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, 29, 1941

*Neues Tagblatt*, January 16, 18–19, 20, 31, 1941

Halle an der Saale, Landesanstalt für Volkheitskunde,

Wettiner Platz

April 5–20, 1941

Selected reviews

*Saale-Zeitung*, April 4 and 5–6, 1941

*Halleische Nachrichten*, April 7 and 8, 1941





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Figure 92  
 Gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1930, work later in  
*Entartete Kunst* 1. Baumeister, *Drei Monteure*, 2. Schlemmer, *Konzentrische Gruppe*,  
 3. Metzinger, *Im Kanu*, 4. Belling, *Draklang*, 5. Belling, *Kopf*

# The Fight for Modern Art

## The Berlin Nationalgalerie after 1933

Even before 1933, German museum directors who wanted to buy and exhibit works of modern art not only had to have an intuitive feel for quality, they also had to have the courage to persevere in battle with the opponents of modern art,<sup>1</sup> opponents who were eloquent, influential, and often very powerful, none more so than Adolf Hitler, a man aggressively and radically obsessed with the desire to destroy a whole artistic movement. In the twelve years during which he and his followers wielded power, innumerable works of art from national and municipal collections were removed, sold, exchanged, or destroyed on the grounds that they were "Jewish" or "degenerate" or the "products of cultural Bolshevism." Not even the most pessimistic observers could have predicted the devastation that lay ahead, but the approaching danger was nonetheless perceived as real. As a result, the activities of the Berlin Nationalgalerie after 1933 were concentrated, at least in part, on attempts to protect the *Neue Abteilung*, the modern art collection housed in the former Kronprinzen-Palais, from attack and interference and to prevent this department from being closed altogether.<sup>2</sup> Although it gradually became clear that it was an act of resistance against a superior enemy force, the fight was sustained to the end, with even occasional victories.<sup>3</sup>

The *Neue Abteilung* was only one of several departments of the Nationalgalerie.<sup>4</sup> It had begun to assume a distinctive profile after 1919, when the Kronprinzen-Palais became available after the removal of the imperial family. The contents and appearance of the collection changed repeatedly in the following years, depending on acquisitions and loans, so that gradually it became possible to offer visitors an overall survey of more recent developments in art (figs 92, 104–5).<sup>5</sup> This was a result of the combined efforts of Ludwig Justi, director of the Nationalgalerie since 1909, and his assistants Alfred Hentzen, Walter Kaesbach, Anni Paul-Pescatore, Paul Ortwin Rave, Alois Schardt, and Ludwig Thormahlen.

Early in 1933 an extensive restructuring of the gallery was completed.<sup>6</sup> The chronological divisions were altered: for example, works by the French Impressionists and German Impressionist Max Liebermann were returned to the main building and integrated with nineteenth-century works. Other artists, including Vincent



Figure 93  
Oskar Schlemmer, *Konzentrische Gruppe* (Concentric group), 1925, oil on canvas,  
975 x 62 cm (38 1/4 x 24 1/4 in.), Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, *Enlartete Kunst*, Room G1,  
NS inventory no. 16176

Figure 94  
View of the Beckmann gallery in the Kronprinzen-  
Palais, 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. *Pariser  
Fasnacht*



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van Gogh, Ferdinand Hodler, and Edvard Munch, regarded as the "fathers of modern art," remained in the Kronprinzen-Palais, and their work was seen first by the visitors as they entered the exhibition rooms on the first (ground) floor. Other foreign artists represented in the Neue Abteilung included Georges Braque, Juan Gris, Aristide Maillol, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and a number of Italians, such as Carlo Carrà, Giorgio de Chirico, Amedeo Modigliani, Gino Severini, and Mario Tozzi, whose works had recently been acquired through a series of exchanges. The second-floor rooms contained works by more recent German artists, such as the members of the Berlin Sezession, with a room each for Lovis Corinth and Max Slevogt, while the third floor featured an impressive series of major works by avant-garde artists including Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Rudolf Belling, Otto Dix, Lyonel Feininger, Erich Heckel, Karl Hofer, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Paul Klee, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, August Macke, Franz Marc, Ewald Mataré, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, Christian Rohlf, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (figs. 94, 96–99, 101).<sup>7</sup>

The reopening of the Kronprinzen-Palais in February 1933 occurred at a particularly critical time. Germany was in a state of radical upheaval as the National Socialists sought to consolidate their power, and the gallery immediately found itself in the line of fire. The target was no longer the work of individual artists nor the commitment of a handful of art lovers, but the artists' continuing right to express themselves. The violence of the attack and the unfair means employed were clearly revealed in the libelous and spiteful tone that underlay the criticisms of Justi's plan for the Nationalgalerie and of his work at the gallery as a whole. As early as the summer of 1932 a National Socialist member of the Prussian parliament, Dr M. Löpelmann, had entered the fray with a series of newspaper articles published under the title, "Der Hexenschlaf der deutschen Kunst" (The enchanted sleep of German art), which were directed against

a number of leading employees at the Staatliche Museen (State museums) in Berlin, including Justi himself.<sup>8</sup> A recently founded (and legally registered) society calling itself the Kunstklub (Arts club) also put in an aggressive appearance, organizing an evening discussion in January 1933 at which Adolf Behne, Paul Westheim, and others accused Justi of a policy toward his museum that was "not international, but Germanophile."<sup>9</sup> A third criticism, and especially the correspondence that resulted from it, revealed how dangerous the sworn enemies of the Nationalgalerie had become. Robert Scholz, at that time still arts correspondent for the *Steglitzer Anzeiger* and *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, accused Justi of "courting every fashion"; the Nationalgalerie, he claimed, lacked "a true center." When Thormahlen subsequently described Scholz as an opportunist, Scholz denounced Justi and Thormahlen to the Prussian Kultusministerium (Ministry of education) and demanded a "purge" at the Nationalgalerie. To his indignation he was informed that both the minister, Bernhard Rust, and the political commissioner, Hans Hinkel, considered "any interference by unauthorized persons in unresolved questions of artistic policy" to be "undesirable."<sup>10</sup> In spite of this "wait-and-see" policy on the part of the responsible ministry, the malicious campaign against Justi and others continued in secret. On March 19 an article signed only "R.W.H." appeared in the *Niederlausitzer Neueste Nachrichten* under the title, "Die Juden in den staatlichen Bildergalerien" (The Jews in the state picture galleries). It was a mediocre piece of writing, but its anti-Semitic and defamatory tone fit so well into the program of the new powers-that-be that it was reprinted by several other periodicals, including *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*.<sup>11</sup>

Racial hatred, factional hostilities, "cleaning-up operations," and *Gleichschaltung* (coordination) became the order of the day, even in the small circle of employees at the Nationalgalerie. Immediately after the article by R.W.H. had appeared in print, a group of gallery attendants at the Kronprinzen-Palais—history records that



Figure 95  
Max Beckmann, *Pariser Fastnacht* (Parisian carnival), 1930, oil on canvas,  
214.5 x 100.5 cm (84½ x 39½ in.); Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich  
Entartete Kunst, Room 3, NS inventory no. 16002

their names were Ciba, Dunkels, Fritz, Hoflich, Schröder, Thiermann, Ulrich, and Weiss—complained that they were forced to work in the same room as paintings by “Jewish artists” or “of Jewish provenance.” They submitted a petition to the local NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, National Socialist German workers party) headquarters demanding that Justi and his chief clerk, Perlwitz, be removed from office on the grounds that they had “encouraged Jewish Marxist dealings.” In this case Justi was able to prove his accusers guilty of slander and punish them with a reprimand.<sup>12</sup> What finally decided the future course of events was Hitler’s “highly significant meeting” with a “delegation of leading artists” on June 13, 1933. Hitler “decided that the Kronprinzen-Palais should be purged in the sense outlined in his program, but that the works it contained should not be destroyed but preserved as documents of a somber chapter in German history.”<sup>13</sup>

How deceptive, then, were the hopes aroused by a student demonstration at Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin on June 29, when student speakers decried “reactionaryism in art” and proclaimed their support for the art of Barlach, Heckel, Nolde, and Schmidt-Rottluff. This event appears to have convinced the Nazi authorities that it was now time to introduce draconian measures to carry out their policy. Alfred Rosenberg, the leading Nazi ideologue and founder of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Combat league for German culture), organized a counterdemonstration,<sup>14</sup> the Reichsinnenminister (Minister of the interior), Wilhelm Frick, refused permission for an exhibition prepared by the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students), the group that had organized the demonstration, to open at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin,<sup>15</sup> and Rust, now minister of education for the entire Reich, telephoned Thor-mählen at the Nationalgalerie to announce that its director was to be “sent on indefinite leave, effective immediately.” Schardt, at that time the director of the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Halle an der Saale, was appointed to replace him.<sup>16</sup>

By removing the widely attacked Justi from his exposed position and appointing Schardt, the ministry hoped at least to save the art collection, for essentially Schardt was just as committed a supporter of modern art as Justi had been. Schardt had earlier worked under Justi at the Kronprinzen-Palais as a temporary assistant during the early 1920s, when he had helped to organize a 1923 exhibition of Klee’s work. In Halle, Schardt had continued to build the collection started by Max Sauerlandt, adding works by Feininger, Klee, and Nolde. He had defended Justi at the Kunstklub debate, although he criticized Justi’s “division and evaluation according to naturalistic, historical principles” as being out-of-date. It was Schardt’s view that the “new age” demanded “clear and unambiguous statements, proceeding from characterful philosophical insights.” He believed there were three basic trends in art that had run parallel throughout the





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Figure 96  
View of the gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais containing works by Marc and Lehmbruck, 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst* 1. Lehmbruck, *Grosse Kniende*, 2. Marc, *Turm der blauen Pferde*



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Figures 97–98  
Two views of the gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais devoted to the work of Nolde, 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst* 1. *Christus und die Sünderin*, 2. *Masken IV*

millennia, and which he termed classicistic, naturalistic, and romantic (modern "Expressionism" belonged to the latter).<sup>17</sup> Schardt presented his program, "Was ist deutsche Kunst?" (What is German art?), at a meeting held at the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek (State art library). It was regarded by many listeners as sensationalist and of possible assistance to those who were bent on attacking Expressionist art.<sup>18</sup> Schardt was forced to refuse the many invitations he received to repeat the lecture, since the Kultusminister (Minister of education) had now intervened, forbidding him to make "any written or verbal statement in public until further notice."<sup>19</sup>

It was an unfortunate beginning. Nor was it the only order with which Schardt had to comply. On Justi's desk he found a copy of the "draft declaration" with its notorious paragraph from the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Professional civil service restoration act) of April 7, 1933,<sup>20</sup> which an employee had to sign in order to prove his or her Aryan pedigree. The politicization of life had begun. Schardt had to ensure that "National Socialist ideas were disseminated among the civil service" and that every employee listened to the Prussian prime minister's speech in the Landtag (Provincial assembly) and read Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.<sup>21</sup> He was also required to ensure that "positions in the public service that are free or likely to become free are filled by members of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei,"<sup>22</sup> and, finally, he had to specify the number of employees on the museum's payroll, since plans were being made to build "air-raid shelters in government-owned buildings"<sup>23</sup>—preparations were already being made for war, and it was only 1933.

And what happened to the modern art in the Nationalgalerie? Schardt planned a complete reorganization of all its nineteenth- and twentieth-century holdings. He began by closing almost every building. In the Kronprinzen-Palais no expense was spared, as the exhibition rooms were painted using a process tested in Halle, tours of inspection were made all over Germany to gather information about new artistic trends, and loans were brought in from artists' studios and other museums. By means of all these efforts Schardt planned to satisfy the highest qualitative demands.<sup>24</sup> To preempt any attacks from anti-Semitic quarters he had "genealogical lists" drawn up, setting out the impeccable pedigree of artists such as Barlach, Feininger, Klee, and Marc.<sup>25</sup> Early in November, however, Rust visited the Kronprinzen-Palais, declined to give his permission for the gallery to be reopened, and dismissed Schardt, as he had dismissed Justi, with twenty-four hours' notice.<sup>26</sup> Eberhard Hanfstaengl was immediately summoned from Munich and appointed the new director. As head of the Städtische Kunstsammlungen in Munich, Hanfstaengl had not yet made his presence felt in the field of modern art, and no doubt he came with excellent references thanks to the fact that he was a cousin of Hitler's favorite, Ernst Hanfstaengl.



Figure 99  
View of a gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais containing abstract works, 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. Klee, *Um den Fisch*; 2. Mataré, *Die Kutze*; 3. Klee, *Sumpflgende*; 4. Kandinsky, *Komposition "Ruhe"*.



Figure 100  
Emil Nolde, *Masks IV (Masks IV)*, 1920, oil on canvas, 86 x 66 cm (33 3/4 x 26 in.) private collection. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 3, NS inventory no. 15978.

When Eberhard Hanfstaengl took up his appointment at the Nationalgalerie, the fight for modern art had in fact already been lost, even if very few people realized it at the time.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, he succeeded in the course of the next two years in transforming not only the collection of older art but also the Neue Abteilung. By ignoring or circumventing the orders he received, he was able to prevent a great deal of harm from being done. The personnel files from these years are crammed with memos and express letters from his superiors, often marked "secret" or "confidential," inquiring about intermarriages with Jews<sup>28</sup> or membership in banned parties and organizations<sup>29</sup> or requiring staff to take part in military training exercises.<sup>30</sup> By 1935 air-raid drills were already being carried out,<sup>31</sup> and it was discussed whether it was "necessary to take special organizational measures to protect the museums' irreplaceable works of art from the danger of destruction in the event of an air raid."<sup>32</sup> This was the oppressive atmosphere in which work had to go on at the Nationalgalerie.

One of Hanfstaengl's first actions on taking office was to reopen the Kronprinzen-Palais with a "provisional installation" on December 15, 1933.<sup>33</sup> But, in spite of his good intentions, what a transformation had taken place! More than fifty of the most distinctive works remained in storage, so that the public's perception of modern art was decidedly adulterated: nothing by Willi Baumeister, Wassily Kandinsky, or Oskar Schlemmer, only a single work by Klee, the powerful Beckmann room (fig. 94) completely gone, and only landscapes by Heckel, Kirchner, Nolde, and Schmidt-Rottluff (figs. 101–2).<sup>34</sup>

In spite of the many concessions that had to be made, and even in its reduced form, the installation represented a brave declaration of support for the defamed artists, because a point had now been reached when even those who spoke out in support of such art had to expect reprisals and removal from office. It was a risk that the employees at the Nationalgalerie were prepared to take over and over again. They took pains to find alternative ways of acquiring and exhibiting modern art, even though the opportunities had become extremely limited. In addition, they had difficulty in publishing their collection, because the periodical *Museum der Gegenwart*, which had been edited by Nationalgalerie staff, had ceased publication.<sup>35</sup> Nor was it considered opportune, as it had been before 1933, to publish a catalogue of the gallery's holdings. Nevertheless, abridged inventories of the paintings and sculptures that were placed on public display were still being printed as late as 1934 and 1935.<sup>36</sup>

The Verein "Freunde der Nationalgalerie" (Society of friends of the Nationalgalerie), formed in 1929, which had bought primarily works by foreign artists for the gallery, lost a number of its members in 1933, with the result that the group had less money to spend on paintings; it bought drawings instead. It was also difficult to purchase new works from the gallery's own budget, since it was known in advance that certain works would not be authorized. Whereas Hanfstaengl could buy extremely important art by older masters,<sup>37</sup>

his hands were tied when it came to more recent works. In spite of this he still tried to ensure that the work of modern artists was represented at the Nationalgalerie by arranging exchanges with the artists themselves: works representing the human figure, for example, were replaced by landscapes or still lifes.<sup>38</sup> The most significant addition, however, was an unexpected transfer to the Nationalgalerie of works acquired through the Reichsfinanzminister (Reich minister of finance) from the Dresdner Bank in 1935, including works by Barlach, Marc Chagall, Dix, Alexej von Jawlensky, Oskar Kokoschka, and Pechstein.<sup>39</sup> Somewhat less problematic was the purchase of drawings. These could be bought in secret, since the ministry and general public rarely set eyes on them. In this way the collection was supplemented with works by Barlach, Beckmann, Corinth, Feininger, Werner Gilles, Heckel, Hofer, Otto Mueller, Rohlfis, and Schmidt-Rottluff.

Other works of art found their way into the gallery's depository as a result of confiscations by the Gestapo or Reichsministerium des Innern (Reich ministry of the interior).<sup>40</sup> One such incident deserves particular mention here. An auction was held at Max Perl's establishment in Berlin on February 28, 1935, at which the Nationalgalerie acquired five drawings.<sup>41</sup> After the sale the Gestapo confiscated sixty-four paintings, drawings, and works of graphic art on the grounds that they were "typically Bolshevik manifestations of art" of "pornographic character."<sup>42</sup> In the spring of 1936 these works were transferred to the Nationalgalerie for storage. From these Hanfstaengl selected four oil paintings and a portfolio of ten drawings as "contemporary documents to be preserved under lock and key," while the remainder were burned "in the furnaces of the former Kronprinzen-Palais."<sup>43</sup> How frightened must these people have been, to give and carry out such orders!

Although virtually no new exhibitions were organized by the Nationalgalerie after 1933,<sup>44</sup> the gallery's employees were able to resist interference and outside pressure and draw up plans for a series of exhibitions in the Prinzessinnen-Palais under the innocuous title *Deutsche Kunst seit Dürer* (German art since Dürer), with the collaboration of other departments of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin. By invoking the name of one of Germany's most famous Renaissance artists they were able to "bring together works created in the present day with those from earlier centuries." It required a certain courage on the part of Hanfstaengl and Otto Kummel, general director of the Berlin museums, to state in the introduction of the exhibition catalogue that "works of high art are always of equal standing, whether they were created today or during the time of the Medici, whether they were produced under northern skies or beneath a Grecian sun."<sup>45</sup>



Figure 101  
View of a gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais containing work by Kirchner and Schmidt-Rottluff, 1933, work later in *Entartete Kunst* 1. Schmidt-Rottluff, *Dorf am See*, 2. Schmidt-Rottluff, *Romisches Stilleben mit Karaffe und Citrone*



Figure 102  
Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Dorf am See* (Village by the Lake), 1913, oil on canvas, 76 x 90 cm (29 7/8 x 35 3/8 in.), The Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Morton D. May. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 5, NS inventory no. 16107





Figure 103  
View of the Barlach gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais installed in 1937

But the days when the incorrigible employees at the Nationalgalerie could pursue their work unnoticed were at an end. And once again it was the reopening of refurbished departments that was to blame. Reconstruction had been completed in 1936 in the main building of the Nationalgalerie on the Museumsinsel (the island in the River Spree on which Berlin's main museums were situated),<sup>46</sup> and the gallery's collection of nineteenth-century works, supplemented by some spectacular new acquisitions, had been rearranged. In the Kronprinzen-Palais, too, decisive changes had taken place.<sup>47</sup> Another Barlach room had been installed (fig. 103),<sup>48</sup> as well as a Lehmbruck room and a room with sculptures by young artists. In the case of Kirchner, only his *Bergwald* (Mountain forest), a loan, was on view, while Beckmann was represented only by his *Schneelandschaft* (Snowy landscape) and a still life, *Glaskugel mit Kornähren* (Glass ball with ears of wheat).<sup>49</sup>

In spite of this drastic reduction the Neue Abteilung found itself once again under attack. A long and abusive article appeared on April 2, 1936, in the National Socialist newspaper *Das Schwarze Korps* under the headline "Kronprinzenpalais säuberungsbedürftig" (Kronprinzen-Palais in need of a purge). The anonymous author accused the museum director of "lacking almost all understanding of the cultural aims of the new Reich" and claimed that "under the guise of aesthetics those very things are still being propagated that it appears incumbent upon us to eradicate root and branch." Individual works of art were branded "grotesque daubings from the previous [Weimar] system," and the whole concept was denounced as a "cultural abomination." Nolde and Schmidt-Rottluff were pilloried as "cultural Bolsheviks," Beckmann was their "imitator," and Macke a "second-rate pavement artist."<sup>50</sup>

Although the author's name was not given, the language of the article bore a striking similarity to that of teacher Walter Hansen and painter Wolfgang Willrich,<sup>51</sup> who arrived on the scene in the months that followed as the true precursors of the "entartete Kunst" (degenerate art) campaign. So extreme were their views and tactics that they were hated even by members of their own party. Johann von Leers (known as the "wild anti-Semite") wrote of Hansen that he was "as intellectually sterile as a mule: he is only happy when spying on others, stirring up trouble, collecting material, and engaging in unscrupulous, irresponsible, and yapping witch-hunts"; he was a "terrible product of the age," a "spy, an informer, and a slanderer by profession and inclination."<sup>52</sup> And as a result of his attacks on Gottfried Benn, Willrich was advised by SS leader Heinrich Himmler himself that it would be more prudent for him "to continue painting decent pictures" than to pry into people's pasts and to "persecute them until their very lives were destroyed."<sup>53</sup>

As early as 1934 Hansen had guided members of the Hitler Jugend (Hitler youth) through the Kronprinzen-Palais and hurled abuse at the artists and their works.<sup>54</sup> The material he used on these occasions was published in 1936 as an article entitled "Neue Zielsetzungen und Wertungen in der deutschen Kunst des Dritten Reiches" (New objectives and values in the German art of the Third Reich).<sup>55</sup> Hansen placed other material at Willrich's disposal for his book *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art). According to Leers, Willrich was Hansen's "machine gun, a weapon that the latter, inspired by his morbid urge to slander people, would use to 'shoot them down'."<sup>56</sup> But the purge of the Kronprinzen-Palais, which the anonymous hack writer in *Das Schwarze Korps* had

demanding be carried out before the 1936 Olympic Games were opened in Berlin, was not yet taken in hand. The authorities evidently still felt certain inhibitions in the presence of foreign visitors. Not until October 30 did Rust order the gallery to be closed.<sup>57</sup> Willrich was triumphant.<sup>58</sup> During the months that followed, his book (still in manuscript) passed through the censors' offices, including that of Joseph Goebbels himself, and established Willrich's dubious fame as an "expert" in the field of "degenerate" art. As such he was ordered by Goebbels to collaborate with Hansen on an exhibition entitled, in reference to Hitler's famous admonishment to the German cultural community, *Geh! mir vier Jahre Zeit* (Give me four years' time), held in the spring of 1937. Their brief was to design a display crudely contrasting "degenerate" art to new "German" art. The two "experts" descended with predatory fervor on the Kronprinzen-Palais in Berlin and the galleries in Dresden, making notes on everything they saw. But their spiteful overenthusiasm roused so much opposition that their scheme was boycotted even by employees of Goebbels's Reichspropagandaministerium (Reich ministry of propaganda).<sup>59</sup> Their time, however, was not far off.

On June 30, 1937, the president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts), painter Adolf Ziegler, was instructed to begin preparations for an exhibition in Munich, *Verfallskunst seit 1910* (Decadent art since 1910), and "weeding-out" operations were soon following one other in quick succession. The more sensitive observers at the Nationalgalerie could see the inevitable catastrophe looming. Ziegler's commission reached Hannover on July 5, Essen on the 6th, and arrived at the Kronprinzen-Palais on the 7th. Among its members was Willrich with his infamous lists, inspiring resentment by his "virulent manner" and prompting Ziegler to remark, "half-jokingly," that a museum should be opened based on the "decadent art" exhibition in Munich with Willrich as its director so that he would then be provided for.<sup>60</sup> Hanfstaengl refused to "wield the executioner's axe" and appointed chief curator Rave to accompany the commission. It is to Rave, who chafed bitterly at having to perform this duty, that we owe a detailed account of the macabre spectacle of artists like Willrich and Ziegler, who had suffered an inferiority complex throughout their lives and now found themselves with sufficient power not only to attack the great artists they envied but to ridicule and revile their works with impunity. They were like men possessed, carried along by a heady destructive urge, without any feeling for rights or laws. A total of 141 works fell victim to their zeal at the Nationalgalerie: 64 oils, 4 sculptures, and 73 drawings, including the works impounded by the Gestapo at the Perl auction (these were described as being owned by the Nationalgalerie when they were exhibited in Munich).<sup>61</sup> They were shipped to the Bavarian capital on July 10.<sup>62</sup>

On July 24, five days after the inauguration of *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, Goebbels wrote the following jubilant entry in his diary: "The 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition is a huge success and a severe blow. It will also come to Berlin in the fall. Hanfstaengl must go, too. The old commission must now expropriate all degenerate paintings in the museums. The Führer gives me power to do so."<sup>63</sup> No sooner said than done. Hanfstaengl was "sent on indefinite leave" on July 27, 1937,<sup>64</sup> with the result that the Nationalgalerie now had a second non-functioning director, a comical state of affairs that may explain why a third director was not appointed. Perhaps Count Klaus von Baudissin had his eye on the job (he had played an inglorious role in the fight against modern art in Essen). He was appointed to the Kultusministerium and as director of the section responsible for the arts issued instructions on August 2 for a "further selection of works of degenerate art" to be undertaken in nearly every museum and gallery in Germany.

The commission revisited the Nationalgalerie on three separate days in August and confiscated 72 oil paintings, 24 sculptures, and 251 drawings.<sup>65</sup> (Not until October 15, however, were they moved to a storage facility at Köpenicker Strasse 24 in Berlin, where the works not exhibited in Munich had also been taken.) As with the first round of confiscations, the selection was often completely arbitrary: of almost 40 drawings by Corinth, only 5 were selected, of 70 by Heckel only 20, of 60 by Macke only 11, and so on. A handful of canvases by Heckel, Kirchner, and Lehmbruck were hidden away. The paintings acquired from the Dresdner Bank were also left untouched because they had not been entered in the inventory.<sup>66</sup> (Loans, including works owned by the Verein "Freunde der Nationalgalerie," had already been returned to their owners before the commission arrived.<sup>67</sup>)

The Kronprinzen-Palais stood empty (it was later handed over to the Akademie der Künste), and it was unclear for a time whether the Nationalgalerie would retain the nearby Prinzessinnen-Palais. A portrait exhibition was planned but was dismantled again before the official opening.<sup>68</sup> A "gallery of foreign artists" was then considered, for which the ministry demanded to see lists and photographs.<sup>69</sup> After an official visitation on September 15, 1937, permission to open was refused. A lightning visit by Baudissin and Propagandaministerium official Rolf Hetsch followed, and on November 3 twenty-one "doubtful" works by foreign artists that had been exempted from confiscation the previous August were also taken away to the storage facility on Köpenicker Strasse.<sup>70</sup> Following this third confiscation very little remained of what had originally been an important collection of modern art. Only for a limited number of donated works was the expropriation order reversed and the art returned.<sup>71</sup> Also, a "purge" was carried out at the ministry of culture, and one hundred examples of "decadent Jewish art" were transferred to the Nationalgalerie for "safekeeping."<sup>72</sup>

As a result of the loss of its Neue Abteilung, the Nationalgalerie was effectively prevented from collecting in an entire area of art. The gallery had become a historical institution and was no longer allowed to buy works by living artists. Fortunately, however, Goebbels's plan to turn the Kronprinzen-Palais into a museum of Nazi-approved modern German art using purchases from the annual exhibition in Munich came to nothing.<sup>73</sup> Nor was the gallery profaned by being used for a local variant of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, which was held instead in the Haus der Kunst (House of art) near the Reichstag (Parliament) building in 1938.<sup>74</sup>

By this date (1939) it was not the museums that owned their works of art any longer, but the German Reich. As a result of a law passed in 1938, "confiscation" had become "expropriation." The Nationalgalerie "had no more to do with [its art] than with theistine Madonna"<sup>75</sup> The insurance had to be canceled,<sup>76</sup> and all the entries in the inventory crossed off.<sup>77</sup> Museums were no longer asked for their works of art, loan contracts were no longer signed. The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda (Institute for German cultural and economic propaganda) in Weimar, which organized the circulation of *Entartete Kunst*, inquired after the prices of recent works only because it wished to play this information as its trump card.<sup>78</sup>

It was in September 1938 that Rave first became aware of a confidential list of "internationally exploitable" works, with the details of prices to be charged on the international art market. The list included forty-five oil paintings and eight sculptures from the Nationalgalerie. Their sales value, Rave noted to his consternation, was lower than their insurance value.<sup>79</sup> While works formerly owned by the Verein "Freunde der Nationalgalerie" were sold secretly and directly to dealer Karl Buchholz,<sup>80</sup> the Propagandaministerium concluded a series of official sales and exchange contracts with Buchholz, Hildebrand Gurlitt, Ferdinand Möller, Bernhard A. Boehmer, and the painter Emanuel Fohn (see the essays by Andreas Hüncke and Stephanie Barron in this volume). In all, 237 works from the Nationalgalerie—about half the modern collection—were sold or exchanged,<sup>81</sup> of the profits—money and art—the Nationalgalerie received only a sixth in compensation, although its losses amounted to more than one million reichsmarks.<sup>82</sup>

But the 1937 catastrophe was very soon overtaken by an even greater disaster in the form of the Second World War. In 1939 all the museum buildings were closed and the works of art taken to safety, to the vaults of the Reichsbank, the anti-aircraft towers near the zoo and in the Friedrichshain, or, ultimately, the mines in western Thuringia. The transported art included the handful of works at the Nationalgalerie that had escaped expropriation.<sup>83</sup>

The Nationalgalerie buildings were severely damaged by high-explosive bombs during the final months of the war,<sup>84</sup> but as soon as hostilities were over, the task of rebuilding began with great enthusiasm, in spite of the terrible devastation and lack of even the essentials. People were rid of their fears and full of hope. Although much

had been lost, many of the works of art returned from their places of safekeeping.<sup>85</sup> Justi, appointed general director of Berlin's museums in 1946, organized the first survey of these works in the rooms of the Schlossmuseum. Entitled *Wiederschen mit Museumsgut* (Reunion with museum pieces)<sup>86</sup> or, more aptly, *Von Hatshepsut bis Heckel* (From Hatshepsut to Heckel), it provided visitors with their first opportunity for many years to see works by artists who had long been vilified. The first rooms in the Nationalgalerie were reopened in 1949, and the following year saw the inauguration of a small room given over entirely to twentieth-century works.<sup>87</sup>

The political situation soon deteriorated, however, as a result of the growing hostility between the western allies on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. It was for this reason that the art treasures stored in western Thuringia found their way into a Neue Nationalgalerie founded in the western part of Berlin. In the years that followed, this new museum also reacquired a number of previously expropriated works.<sup>88</sup> The Nationalgalerie on the Museumsinsel in the eastern part of the city was able to reclaim those works in Boehmer's estate that had been confiscated earlier, authorized by the Soviet military administration, who repealed the 1938 expropriation law.<sup>89</sup> Möller, too, was living at this time in the Soviet-occupied zone but fled to West Berlin to escape the threat of dispossession. Only Kirchner's *Interior* (Interior), which Möller had offered for purchase to the museum in Halle, where it had remained, came back to the Nationalgalerie in East Berlin.<sup>90</sup> As the political situation worsened, so too did the position of cultural politics. The Stalinist doctrine of "Socialist realism" became the norm, and war was declared on so-called formalism, a movement to which those artists who had been vilified by the Third Reich belonged.<sup>91</sup> As Viktor Klemperer observed, the very existence of the spirit and language of the Third Reich seemed threatened.<sup>92</sup> The measures taken by the Nationalgalerie to "purge" its collection once again, however, were not as drastic as those undertaken by other museums, protected as it was by Justi's eminence. Great works of modern art were already to be seen there as early as 1954 and (following the famous exhibition of art from the Dresden and Berlin museums sent back from the Soviet Union) from 1958 onward.<sup>93</sup> ■



Figure 104

View of a gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais containing work by Harth, Kirchner, and Picasso, 1929/30, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. Kirchner, *Die Meister der Brücke*, 2. Kirchner, *Strassenszene*



Figure 105

View of a gallery in the Kronprinzen-Palais containing work by Belling and Feininger, 1932/33, work later in *Entartete Kunst*. 1. Feininger, *Teltow II*, 2. Belling, *Kopf*, 3. Belling, *Dreiklang*

## Notes

1 Earlier directors of the Nationalgalerie had been unable to realize their plans to collect modern art in a systematic way. Max Jordan, for example, director from 1874 to 1896, had wanted to add Arnold Böcklin's works to his collection, and Hugo von Tschudi, director from 1896 to 1909, was eager to buy more French Impressionist works. Both directors had to bow to majority decisions by a *Landeskunstkommission* (Provincial art commission) set up by the Prussian Landtag (Provincial assembly), while Tschudi also had to respect the right of veto of Emperor Wilhelm II. Ludwig Justi, appointed in 1909, had a freer hand, especially during the Weimar Republic. Even so, he was accused of "attempting to prevent political change" when, immediately following the upheavals of 1918, he bought works by Barlach, Heckel, and Kokoschka.

2 Even before 1933 National Socialist attacks on modern art had not been taken lying down by the Nationalgalerie. Justi complained, for example about what he called "the Zwickau scandal," when proceedings were initiated against Hildebrand Gurlitt, director of the museum in Zwickau (*Museum der Gegenwart* 1 [1930]: 49–60). He also wanted to condemn the purge at the Weimar Museum in 1930, but the director of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Weimar, Wilhelm Köhler, refused to get involved in a public protest lest it jeopardize plans to transfer the exhibition of modern art to Erfurt; he preferred to treat the incident as a "trifle" (*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentrales Archiv, Nationalgalerie Archiv* [ZANGA], Acta Gen. 19, Bd. 1, Bl. 264). Another Nationalgalerie staff member who spoke out was Alfred Hentzen, who protested against Paul Schulze-Naumburg in *Der Ring* 5, no. 35 (August 26, 1932), writing under the pseudonym "Walter Pennel"; he also supported Ernst Barlach in an open letter to Wilhelm Stapel, the editor of the periodical *Deutsches Volkstum*, published in *Deutsche Zukunft*, December 17, 1933, 6, 10.

3 A more complete account of the activities at the Nationalgalerie during this period may be found in Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann, 1949; ed. Uwe M. Schneede, Berlin: Argon, 1987, all subsequent references are to the 1987 edition), idem, *Die Geschichte der Nationalgalerie Berlin* (Berlin: Nationalgalerie der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1968), Alfred Hentzen, "Das Ende der Neuen Abteilung der National-Galerie im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais," *Jahrbuch Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 8 (1970): 24–89, also published separately under the title, *Die Berliner National-Galerie im Bildersturm* (Cologne: Grote, 1971, all subsequent references are to the 1971 edition), idem, "Die Entstehung der Neuen Abteilung der National-Galerie im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais," *Jahrbuch Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 10 (1972): 9–75, and Annegret Janda, ed., *Das Schicksal einer Sammlung. Aufbau und Zerstörung der Neuen Abteilung der Nationalgalerie im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais Unter den Linden 1918–1945* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1986, Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1988, all subsequent references are to the 1988 edition).

4 Director Ludwig Justi's "artistic empire" (to quote from his obituary by Alfred Hentzen) was made up of several specialist museums in 1933: nineteenth-century art was located in the Nationalgalerie's main building on the Museumsinsel, works by Karl Friedrich Schinkel were in the former Prinzessinnen-Palais, the portrait collection was in Schinkel's Bauakademie, sculptures by Christian Rauch were in the Orangerie at Schloss Charlottenburg, and the collection of models and plaster casts was in the arcades of the metropolitan railway at the Lehrter Station; see Rave, *Die Geschichte der Nationalgalerie*, 69–113.

5 A few photographs have survived in the gallery archives of exhibition rooms at the Kronprinzen-Palais in 1919, 1927, and 1930 (figs. 92, 104). Exhibition catalogues documenting this period are *Verzeichnis der im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais ausgestellten Kunstwerke* (1919, 2d ed. 1920), Ludwig Justi, *Deutsche Malkunst im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1920, rev and enl. ed. 1922), idem, *Deutsche Zeichenkunst im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1919, 2d ed. 1920, 3d ed. 1922), *Verzeichnis der Gemälde und Bildwerke in der National-Galerie zu Berlin* (1921, reissued 1923, 1926, 1928), Justi, *Von Corinth bis Klee* (1931).

6 The gallery archives preserve an invitation to a viewing on February 15, 1933, with a description of the rehung gallery by Ludwig Justi.

7 Thirteen photographs of this installation have survived (see figs. 94, 96–99, 101). A catalogue—*National-Galerie. Verzeichnis der Gemälde und Bildwerke der Neuen Abteilung im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais*—had been prepared, but it was never printed.



(a proof copy has survived in the Nationalgalerie library) Alfred Hentzen characterized the collection as follows: "The Neue Abteilung in the former Kronprinzen-Palais surpassed all the other forty or so museums in Germany that were then collecting modern art in any appreciable quantity, for the majority of them it was a model in terms of both choice and objective. There was nothing comparable in other European countries between the wars, and when Alfred H. Barr founded the Museum of Modern Art in New York he referred explicitly to the examples in Germany, especially to Berlin. It was for this reason that the Kronprinzen-Palais assumed quite a special significance in the light for modern art that began in 1933" (*Die Berliner Nationalgalerie*, 5).

8. Lopelmann's article was published in the *Nationalzeitung* (Essen), August 17, 1932, see also the comments by "g." on Just's (unpublished) rejoinder in *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht* 4 (1933). 15. Just sent a typewritten copy of his remarks to various persons who he hoped would use their influence to help him. One such person was Eberhard Hanfstaengl, at that time director of the Städtische Kunstsammlungen in Munich, who replied on September 5, 1932, that he would inform leading members of the NSDAP of Just's stance "in a suitable way and at a suitable opportunity." He described "such serious misdeeds among those members of the party who are active in the cultural sphere" as "one of the most difficult and also one of the most unfortunate chapters, a state of affairs that has been recognized, at least in part, at the very top" (*ZA/NGA, Klemm-Mappe* "1933," Bl. 1–38).

9. The Kunstklub was a registered society with an address at Meinekestrasse 27, near the Kurfürstendamm. It advertised a discussion evening on Wednesday, April 7, 1933, at which Adolf Behne was to speak on "Nationalgalerie, Kronprinzen-Palais, mal so, mal anders" (Now like this, now like that) (Berlin, Zentrales Archiv, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Nachlass Just). Just's rejoinder appeared in *Deutsches Volkstum* 1 (1933): 1–7, and in his *Memoirs II*, unpublished memoirs (typescript, *ZA/NGA*), 163, see also Felix A. Dargel, *Nacht-Ausgabe* (Berlin), January 5, 1933, Hentzen, "Die Entstehung der Neuen Abteilung," 70, and Janda, *Das Schicksal einer Sammlung*, 61–62.

10. Robert Scholz, "Neuordnung im Kronprinzen-Palais," *Steglitzer Anzeiger* (Berlin), February 15, 1933, for a fuller account of the episode see Josef Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Catersloh: Rowohlt, 1963), 399–403.

11. The article was originally published in the *Niedersächsischer Neueste Nachrichten*, no. 69, March 19, 1933, and reprinted in *New Kres-Zeitung: Nationale Rundschau Kres Liebenwerda* (Bad Liebenwerda), no. 67, March 20, 1933, and in an abridged form in *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht* 6 (1933). 7. The Nationalgalerie's reactions to the claims advanced in this article were not printed (*ZA/NGA, Klemm-Mappe* "1933," Bl. 56–58).

12. "The majority of the employees at the Nationalgalerie" protested against these reproaches in a letter to the minister of culture (*ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers* VI, 602/33). One year later those who had been punished complained to the minister and demanded that the reprimand be lifted. Hanfstaengl's view was that "a lifting of the reprimand by the ministry would merely gratify those officials who wished to harm their superiors by their mendacious claims" and it was therefore "in the interests of discipline to uphold the sentences" (*ZA/NGA, Acta Spec Pers* I, 198/34).

13. Richard Pfeiffer, "Die Entscheidung," *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht* 13 (1933): 7–8, the date of the artists' "audience" with Hitler is given by Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 255 n. 2. See also the somewhat inaccurate version of events in Ludwig Thormaehlen, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1962), 276–78. Thormaehlen had been to see Max von Schilling in order to get him to sign a letter to Hermann Göring in which several prominent figures from the world of art—including Franz Böck, Georg Kolbe, August Kraus, Leo von Koenig, Franz Lenk, and Wilhelm Pinder (*ZA/NGA, Klemm-Mappe* "1933," Bl. 40)—asked for protection for Ludwig Just. According to Thormaehlen, Schilling announced that he was to visit Hitler, and to his dismay he was joined by German Bestelmeyer and Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Schultze-Naumburg allegedly brought "specially prepared material" with him, including an article by Felix A. Dargel in *Der Angriff* supporting modern art and reproducing Erich Heckel's *Madonna von Ostende*, which was on loan to the Kronprinzen-Palais. This material so enraged Hitler that he gave instructions for the "purge" and demanded that "a particularly eager eulogist of this decadent art be dismissed from the party press without delay."

14. Alfred Rosenberg, "Revolution in der bildenden Kunst," *Völkischer Beobachter*, no. 187, July 7, 1933.

15. The following documents relating to the student demonstration have survived in the Nationalgalerie archives: a telegram from student leader Otto Andreas Schreiber to the Nationalgalerie, July 4, 1933, the catalogue of the exhibition in the Galerie Ferdinand Möller, and a letter from Dr. Rudolf Buttmann, department head at the Reichsministerium des Innern (Ministry of the Interior), with minister Wilhelm Frick's permission for the exhibition to open "without the participation of the student organization" (*ZA/NGA, Acta Spec* 20, Bd. 4, 1320/33 and 1326/33). According to Brenner (*Die Kunstpolitik*, 65, 68 n. 14), Just offered to "pay the traveling expenses of any speakers who wanted to speak in other towns as well" (258 n. 8), see also Hentzen, *Die Berliner Nationalgalerie*, 8.

16. Bernhard Rust, letter to Ludwig Just, July 1, 1933 (Berlin, Zentrales Archiv, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Nachlass Just, Nr. 126), see also Thormaehlen, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George*, 279.

17. Alos Schardt, letter to Bernhard Rust, November 9, 1933 (*ZA/NGA, Acta Spec* 53, 2237/33).

18. Criticism of Schardt appeared in, among other places, *Witkunst*, July 16, 1933, and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, August 28, 1933.

19. Schardt to Rust, November 9, 1933 (see note 17). Schardt's book on the same subject was similarly refused publication (it was circulated in manuscript form instead, and among those who were sent copies was Ernst Barlach).

20. *ZA/NGA, Gen Pers* 1190/33, 1304/33. Not only were officials required to sign, so, too, were white- and blue-collar workers and temporary employees.

21. *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers* 1479/33.

22. *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers* 1586/33.

23. *ZA/NGA, Acta Spec* 7, Bd. 4, 2111/33.

24. Schardt to Rust, November 9, 1933 (see note 17). Schardt wanted the Romantic school and Expressionists to be housed in the Kronprinzen-Palais, with contemporary art in the Prinzessinnen-Palais, classical and naturalistic art in the main building, and the Schinkel collection in Schinkel's own Bauakademie. A new museum would be created for history painting. The first building to be refurbished was the Kronprinzen-Palais: on the first floor were works by Blechen, Friedrich, Runge, and others, on the second, Feuerbach, von Mares, and Thoma, and on the third, Barlach, Feininger, Lehmbruck, Macke, Marc, Munch, Nolde, and Rohls. See the descriptions in Rave, *Kunstpolitik*, 33–34, and Hentzen, *Die Berliner Nationalgalerie*, 12, six photographs of the interior have survived.

25. *ZA/NGA, Acta Spec* 19, Bd. 5, 1314/33 (Barlach), 1344/33 (Feininger), 1337/33 (Klee), and the file "Alleen-Listen," containing genealogies of the three artists in question, with copies of letters relating to Marc.

26. Rave, *Kunstpolitik*, 33–34, and Hentzen, *Die Berliner Nationalgalerie*, 12, see also Janda, *Das Schicksal einer Sammlung*, 64–66, n. 28.

27. The extent to which the situation was misunderstood at the time emerges, for example, in Gottfried Benn's letter to Käthe von Porada of August 5, 1933, in which he discussed the closure of the Kronprinzen-Palais: "And now Beckmann! Because he's been taken down! Ah, the good boy, everything must run perfectly smoothly, everything must work, these are heroes and champions! The battle must be worthwhile, guaranteed in advance, no failure at a late hour, ideally insured with the Allianz [an insurance company], genius insured against failure, genius insured against destruction, genius insured against schizophrenia and being taken down from the wall—my dear Frau von Porada, as long as financial values are involved, you'll find respect and silence on my part, but if you come to me with art, I'm pitiless!" (cited in *Gottfried Benn 1886–1956* [exh. cat., Marbach am Neckar: Deutsches Literaturarchiv im Schiller-Nationalmuseum, 1986], 207).

28. *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers*, Bd. 6, 1781/35, 2203/35, similar regulations are found in 1145/36, 2800/36, 72/37, 866/37.

29. *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers* 1504/35, 2103/35, 107/26.

30. *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers*, Bd. 6, 1354/34, 345/35, 369/35, 403/35, 209/35, 617/35, 1851/35, 1269/36, 1710/36, 255/37, 1049/37, 1251/37, 1389/37, 1408/37, 1516/37, also *Acta Gen Pers* 12, Bd. 7, 617/35, 59/36, 943/36.

31. See *ZA/NGA, Acta Gen Pers* references cited in note 30.

32 ZA/NGA, Acta Gen 22, vol. 7, 1851–35. Bernhard Rust wrote to Otto Kummel, general director of the Berlin museums, on October 23, 1935, on the subject of his article in *Gusschutz und Luftschutz* 5, no. 6 (1935).

33 ZA/NGA, Ordner "Nationalgalerie Ausstellungen", the exhibition opened at the same time as special exhibitions of the work of Karl Leppold and the Schinkel collection in the Bauakademie.

34 An inventory of the works in storage is in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," BI 11–13.

35 Only three volumes of *Museum der Gegenwart* had been brought out between 1930 and 1933. A dissertation on the subject by Kurt Winkler (Freie Universität, West Berlin) is currently in preparation.

36 *Verzeichnis der Kunstwerke in der Neuen Abteilung der National-Galerie im ehemaligen Kronprinzen-Palais* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1934; rev. ed. 1935).

37 *National-Galerie. Die wichtigsten Erwerbungen in den Jahren 1933–1937* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1938).

38 In 1934 Barlach's *Der Apostel* was exchanged for *Lesende Monche*, in 1935 Beckmann's *Die Barke* was exchanged for *Ochsenstall und Glaskessel mit Kornähren*, Holer's *Gewitter über Bergkirche und Stilleben mit Gemüse*, and his *Selbstbildnis* of 1928 (for another self-portrait of 1935 and Nolde's *Die Familie der Junge Pferde und Rote Sonnenblumen*).

39 ZA/NGA, Ordner "Dresdner Bank," 1474/35, 283/36, and passim. Chagall's *Vitruv* was given to the collector Dr. Feldhauser in exchange for Kirchner's *Fehmarnküste* (1936).

40 In 1935 Holer's *Berglandschaft* was transferred from the Reichsministerium des Innern, followed in 1937 by Kirchner's *Blick ins Tobel* and Pechstein's *Schneelandschaft*.

41 The auction was advertised in *Wilkunst* on February 10, 1935. The Nationalgalerie purchased drawings by Crodel, Heckel (two), Herbig, and Kleinschmidt (ZA/NGA, Acta Gen 10, Bd 17, 515/35 f. III 2206–10).

42 The confiscation order was announced in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of March 6, 1935, see Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 184, doc. 20.

43 The works selected to be preserved were paintings by Holer, Mueller (two), and Pechstein and drawings by Adler, Dix, Heckel, Mueller, Pechstein, Radziwill, and Schlichter, these were all confiscated and taken to Munich in 1937, where the paintings were exhibited in *Entartete Kunst* as belonging to the Nationalgalerie. The burning of remaining works is attested by Hentzen, building inspector Bahr, and workers Gerdau and Ulrich (the latter was among those who had signed the letter denouncing Lust in 1933), photographs survive of paintings by Kleinschmidt and Schmidt-Rottluff that were destroyed (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd 7, 345/37).

44 See the list of the many exhibitions held under Lust in ZA/NGA, Autographen-Sammlung, Ordner "Geschichte Nationalgalerie Ausstellungen."

45 There were six exhibitions in the series *Die Kunst seit Dürer* at the Prinzessinnen-Palais: 1) *Das Bildnis in der Plastik* (The portrait sculpture), 1934–35, organized and catalogued by Alfred Hentzen and Nels von Holst, including works by Barlach (*Daubler*), Lehmbruck, and Marks; 2) *Der Tanz in der Kunst* (The dance in art), 1934–35, organized and catalogued by Hentzen and Holst, including works by Macke and Minkenberg; 3) *Das Ereignisbild* (The eventful picture), 1935, organized by Hentzen and Holst, catalogued by Anni Paul-Pescatore, 4) *Das Stilleben* (The still life), 1935–36, catalogued by Hentzen, Holst, and Paul-Pescatore, including paintings by Corinth, Heckel, and Slevogt; 5) *Das Stilleben* (Genre painting), 1936–37, organized by Holst, Paul Ortwin Rave, and Wolfgang Schöne, catalogued by Paul-Pescatore, 6) *Grosse Deutsche in Bildnissen ihrer Zeit* (Great Germans in portraits of their age), 1936, organized by Hentzen, Holst, and Rave, catalogued by Adolf Ernst Napp and Paul-Pescatore, including works by Corinth, Lehmbruck, and Macke (no portraits of living persons).

46 The greatest amount of work was done in two large rooms on the second floor that were lit by natural light from above. Dropped ceilings of glass had previously been installed, hiding the nineteenth-century ceilings. After the renovation these rooms were bright and uniform in color (see *Wilkunst*, June 14, 1936).

47 Nineteen photographs have survived from 1936–37 and are preserved in the photograph collection of the Nationalgalerie Archiv.

48 The Barlach installation featured two loans, the huge *Kammerrelief*, from a private collection, and *Der Rache*, owned by the city of Berlin.

49 Paintings by Klee, Kokoschka, and Leininger were hung with works by foreign artists, see Leininger's letter of April 3, 1936, to Dr. Johannes K. Kleinpaul in Dieter Schmidt, ed., *In letzter Stunde. Künstlerbriefe 1911–1945*, vol. 2 of *Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964), 76. The lists of works exhibited before and after the 1936 closure are preserved in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," BI 1–9.

50 The Nationalgalerie wanted to lodge a protest (Hentzen, *Die Berliner Nationalgalerie*, 19), and Hanstaengl asked the Kultusministerium for help in combating these malicious attacks. Although no official denial was issued, a visit by one of the ministry officials ensured that the article was not reprinted in other newspapers. A rejoinder by Paul Fechter appeared in *Deutsche Zukunft*, April 12, 1936.

51 It is particularly significant that Georg Biermann is also criticized in this article since he was repeatedly attacked by Hansen and Willrich. Hansen quotes the article in a note on page 10 of his pamphlet *Neue Zielsetzungen und Wertungen in der Deutschen Kunst des Dritten Reiches* (see note 55), but without mentioning the author's name.

52 Johann von Leers, letter to Georg Biermann, November 28, 1937, cited in Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 358–59. An attack on Leers appears in a document among Willrich's papers in the Hansen Archiv (ZA/NGA) in which Willrich accuses Leers of having been heavily involved in the "student revolts" of 1933. The document is described as an enclosure from a letter to Oberlandwirtschaftsrat (senior agricultural adviser) Hanns Dreyen, to whom Willrich sent copies of all his letters to his employer Reichsbauernführer (Reich farm leader) Richard Walther Darré.

53 Heinrich Himmler, letter to Wolfgang Willrich, September 22, 1937, cited in *Gottfried Benn*, 241–42.

54 Eberhard Hanstaengl, letter to Paul Kleinschmidt, December 19, 1935 (ZA/NGA, Schriftwechsel 1935, BI 305–6), see also Janda, *Das Schicksal einer Sammlung*, 79 n. 155c.

55 Wiedemann [Walter Hansen], "Neue Zielsetzungen und Wertungen in der Deutschen Kunst des Dritten Reiches," *Hansische Hochschule-Zeitung* 18, no. 1 (May 1, 1936) 2–3, reprinted as a pamphlet with footnotes (Hamburg, 1936, preserved in ZA/NGA) and also in *Die SA-Mann*, 1936, no. 32 (August 8), no. 33 (August 15), no. 34 (August 22). This article included the first presentation of the comparison (entirely Hansen's own invention) of a medieval masterpiece, the statue of *Uta* from Naumburg Cathedral, to Werner Scholz's "degenerate" painting *Die Braut*, a comparison that was repeated with photographs in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Another of Hansen's articles, "Schluss mit den kulturellen Falschmünzern: Emil Nolde, ein Kämpfer—gegen den Kulturbolschewismus?" appeared in *Die Bewegung*, no. 15, April 8, 1936. He also planned two essays for the *Schriftenreihe des Kunsthistorischen Archivs*: "Verfallskunst 1918–1933 am Pranger" and "Jüdischer Einfluss im deutschen Kunstschaffen seit 1800."

Hansen started the *Kunsthistorisches Archiv Entartete Kunst* on orders from the Kultusministerium. The archival material was handed over to the Nationalgalerie on December 13, 1938 (ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," BI 236, 2245/38). It contained 194 photographs of works by vilified artists from the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, printed matter, a page from Willrich's papers, and 188 photographs from the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, and has survived virtually intact.

56 Johann von Leers, letter to Georg Biermann, November 28, 1937, cited in Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 358–59.

57 On November 8, 1936, *Wilkunst* reported that the top floor was to be closed. Lists of works exhibited before and after the closure can be found in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," BI 1–2, 11–15.

58 Wolfgang Willrich, letter to Richard Walther Darré, November 1, 1936. "It is typical of the confusion rampant today that last Sunday Rust's ministry was publicly forced to admit that, more than three years after we came to power, the modern wing of the Nationalgalerie with its collection of cultural Bolshevism has not yet been cleaned up in a way that accords with National Socialist philosophy. What a disgrace!" (cited in Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 351).

59 Wolfgang Willrich and Konrad Nonn, letter to Richard Walther Darré, April 30, 1937, cited in Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 313–16. Willrich claimed that "if the minister seriously intends to vilify the leaders of this riffraff by contrasting them to the National Socialist view of art and if I myself am to be appointed consulting expert,

I will not dissociate myself from such a move, although I know that I will incur the personal and mortal enmity of these people. For it goes without saying that I accept full personal responsibility for this choice of material."

60 Rave, *Kunstskizzen*, 144, minutes kept by Rave during the first round of expropriations are published on pages 142–43.

61 Ziegler's list is preserved in ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 1, Bd. 39a, 1447/37, lists of works confiscated from the Nationalgalerie are in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 10, 29–30, 69–77. The numbers assigned to the Nationalgalerie works in the confiscation register of the Propagandaministerium were 14126–45, 14288–320, and 14326, those in *Entartete Kunst* in Munich were assigned numbers between 15934 and 16312.

62 A shipping invoice from the firm of Robert Haberling & Co. is in ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 1, Bd. 39a, 1447/37, insurance premiums are documented on a receipt in the Zentrales Archiv (I Generalverwaltung [ZA I GV] 144, Beleg Nr. 67). The premium receipt contains no mention of the confiscated works from the Reichsministerium des Innern, listed in their place is Dix's portrait of Karl Krall, which is missing from the Nationalgalerie list. The archives (ZA I GV 144, Beleg Nr. 45) also contain shipping invoices for a fifteen-hour period on July 6 and 7, which may relate to loans. Not all the works intended for Munich were in fact exhibited, see Mario-Andreas von Lutichau, "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst' Die Münchner Ausstellung 1937," in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die 'Kunststadt' München 1937 Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst'* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 122–81.

63 *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Samtliche Fragmente*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: G. K. Sauter, 1987), pt. I, vol. 3, 211.

64 ZA/NGA, Acta Pers. Eberhard Hanfstaengl, see also Hentzen, *Die Berliner National-Galerie*, 62–63. Hentzen was also sent on indefinite leave, an absurd situation not least because he had been appointed curator as recently as June 30 and, like Hanfstaengl, had been awarded the Olympia-Erinnerungsmedaille (Olympic commemorative medal) on July 2. He was subsequently transferred to the Gemaldegalerie (ZA/NGA, Acta Gen. Pers. 835/37).

65 Minutes kept by Paul Ortwin Rave during the second round of confiscations are in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 16–19. In the confiscation register of the Propagandaministerium these works were assigned numbers 12069–405. All the other works in the Nationalgalerie were confiscated after these entries were made, in other words, from the second half of October onward. The lists of works are in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 24–49, 85 (under the heading "Munich group," although they were not exhibited there), and accompanying letter (Bl. 66–68). They were shipped to the warehouse at Köpenicker Strasse 24 by the firm of Gustav Knauer on October 14, 1937 (Bl. 78–82, an invoice of October 15 for insuring the shipment is in ZA I GV 144, Beleg Nr. 164). Rave's instructions to the cashier's office of the Staatliche Museen to pay "senior attendant Gadecke, museum attendant Schroder, and employee Ulrich" three marks for a hot meal because they had to work in the drawings department during the confiscations has a farcical ring to it (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 1, Bd. 39a, 1447/37).

66 The only painting affected was Kirchner's *Föhnmarkiste*, which had been exchanged for Chagall's *Vitshik* (from the Dresdner Bank) and was on view in the Kronprinzen-Palais when the expropriation commission arrived (see note 39).

67 ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 7, 1542/37. Nineteen paintings, watercolors, and drawings were entrusted to Eduard von der Heydt at the Thyssen Bank, Behrenstrasse 8, Berlin. The only loan from the Verein "Freunde der Nationalgalerie" impounded by the commission on this occasion was Mataré's *Die Katze*, plaster models of Kathe Kollwitz's *Elternpaar* remained in the main building. The works in the Thyssen Bank were brought back to the gallery on May 4, 1939, and a number of them were sold to Karl Buchholz (see note 80).

68 ZA/NGA, Acta Gen. 44 and Spec. 24, 1660/37, entry at August 24, 1937.

69 See records in ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 59, Bd. 1, 1883/37, 1902/37, 1332/38, 1815/38, and Hentzen, *Die Berliner National-Galerie*, 41.

70 The list for the third round of confiscations is preserved in ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 61–62, 1980/37, see also Bl. 53, 110, 118. A sculpture by Hermann Haller (see note 71), which was not on the list, was not impounded until November 9 and taken away on November 20 (ZA I GV 144, Beleg Nr. 66). The numbers assigned to these works in the confiscation register of the Propagandaministerium were 15662–82.

71 The works of art that were returned were Corinth's *Familie Rumpf*, *Intal-Landschaft*, and *Das trojanische Pferd*, de Fiori's *Marlene Dietrich*, Grauel's *Hockendes Mädchen*, Haller's *Knendes Mädchen*, Host's *November*, Montanari's *Kreuzigung*, Munch's *Snow Shovelers*, Sinteren's *Selbstbildnis*, Sironi's *Komposition*, Sondergaard's *Abend am Meer*, and Tagore's *Brustbild eines Inders*, *Mädchen in rotem Gewand*, and *Zwei Vögel*.

72 On July 12, 1938, there was a transfer of 100 works from the Kultusministerium to the Nationalgalerie "for storage" (ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 180–201, 1302/38), on July 19, 1938, 178 works were transferred from the ministry and 59 from the Deutsche Akademie in Rome (Bl. 189–91, 202–4, 1342/38), and on April 14, 1939, an additional 20 works were transferred (Bl. 258–69, 749/39). Most of this art was lost during the war. Ernst Barlach's *Der Sammler* and Charlotte Berend-Corinth's *Toledo* were saved. In 1939 5 oils and 15 watercolors by Karl A. Lattnier were transferred to the gallery from the psychiatric and neurological clinic at the University of Greifswald (Bl. 245–54, 71/39).

73 As early as 1936 Baudissin had expressed the opinion that Goebbels should prevent museums from buying works by living artists and that "in future the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste should reserve the exclusive right to acquire such works" (letter to Mayor Dr. Resmann-Grone, cited in Paul Vogt, *Das Museum Folkwang Essen. Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet* [Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1965], 116). On February 23, 1937, Hentzen wrote to Wilhelm Fehle that since the closure of the gallery "an unresolved question remains: We do not know whether it is still our job to run the modern art section or not, and until this question is settled, we cannot make our purchases either" (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 7, 679/37). On July 24 of the same year Goebbels noted in his diary: "Kronprinzen-Palais to take a quarter of the works from Munich. From there every year 'Good idea' (*Die Tagebücher*, pt. I, vol. 3, 211). The Nationalgalerie subsequently acquired Ludwig Kaspar's *Sitzende* (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 25, Bd. 1, 1108/37), two drawings by Gerhard Marcks (1131/37), and Clara Westhoff-Rilke's bust of Rainer Maria Rilke for the portrait collection (674/38).

74 According to the list of "Kunstwerke in der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" which was opened in Berlin in March of 1938, there were eighteen oils, ten watercolors, and two sculptures from the Nationalgalerie (ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 94–95).

75 Otto Kummel, letter to the Nationalgalerie, September 28, 1939 (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Beih. 2, 662/38).

76 The insurance coverage was terminated on October 5, 1938 (invoice of October 13, 1938, in ZA I GV 1952, Kap. 155/50/51, Bl. 40).

77 Paul Ortwin Rave, letter to Bernhard Rust on the subject of Otto Kummel, September 13, 1938 (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Beih. 2, 662/38), the minister's consent is dated December 7, 1938 (2155/38), see also Perltz's letter to Rave of February 14, 1939, relating to the form of cancellation in the inventory, with corrections by Rave "Expropriated by Reichsk. d. bild. Künste, therefore to be deleted, see 2155/38."

78 Dr. Ludwig Wang, Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda, Weimar, letter to the Nationalgalerie, March 25, 1939 (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 14, Bd. 4, 618/39).

79 Paul Ortwin Rave, letter to Bernhard Rust, September 13, 1938 (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Beih. 2, 662/38). Campendonk's work was reduced from a valuation of 800–1,000 reichsmarks to 200–400, Heckel's from 4,000–5,000 to 500–800, Kokoschka's from 6,000 and 15,000 to 800 and 900, and Lehmbruck's from 1,500 to 600. A list was enclosed headed, "Beschlagene Werke (international verwerfbar)" (Expropriated works [internationally exploitable]), with prices added by hand and in the case of works from the Nationalgalerie a note of their insurance values. Rave also sent his report to the Finanzminister, Johannes Popitz, for his information (letter of September 14, 1938). A similar list is also preserved in the Arntz archives (Los Angeles, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Archives of the History of Art, Wilhelm F. Arntz Papers, III D, box 26).



80 Entered in the inventory of works owned by the Verein "Freunde der Nationalgalerie." Munch design for a set for Ibsen's *Ghosts*, sold to Buchholz for 2,500 reichsmarks on September 2, 1939. Feininger's *Stadthohe X 34* sold to Buchholz for 800 reichsmarks, Picasso's *Table with Lute and Bowl of Fruit*, sold to Buchholz for 6,000 reichsmarks, Gris's *Bottle of Bordeaux*, already sold to Buchholz in 1937 for 5,100 reichsmarks, Braque's *Still Life*, sold to Buchholz for 700 reichsmarks, Rohlf's *Canna* and Weiss's *Glockenblumen*, sold to Buchholz on October 3, 1939, for 500 reichsmarks, and Nolde's *Sommerblumen* and *Hohen und Wälden* sold to Hans von Hotow for 700 reichsmarks on July 29 (1939?), further inquiries are in ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 29, Beih. 1, Bd. 3, 1826/39, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 10, 625/42.

81 A manuscript on this subject with excerpts and compilations by Andreas Hüneke is in ZA/NGA (from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam, Best. 5001.1015, -1017, -1018, -1019). See also Hüneke's essay in this volume and his article, "Dubiose Händler operieren im Dunst der Macht: Vom Handel mit 'entarteter Kunst,'" in Hans Albert Peters and Stephan von Wiese, eds., *Alfred Flechtner: Sammler, Kunsthändler, Verleger* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum, 1987), 101–7. On Möller see Eberhard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller. Die Geschichte einer Galerie für moderne Kunst in Deutschland 1917–1950* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1984), on Fohn see Annetegret Janda, "Werke von Joseph Anton Koch im Tausch gegen Entartete Kunst," in A. J. Carstens/J. A. Koch (exh. cat., Berlin: Nationalgalerie, 1989), 16–19, and Kurt Martin and Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Siehung Sohe und Emanuel Fohn* (exh. cat., Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, 1965). Copies of exchange contracts are preserved in ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 9, 942/40, 970/41, and photocopies of some of the correspondence are in the Arntz archives (see note 79), box III 1 B and C.

82 "Compensation" to the Nationalgalerie was in three parts (the Nationalgalerie took fourth place behind the Städtische Galerie in Frankfurt am Main, the Folkwang Museum in Essen, and the Städtische Bildergalerie in Wuppertal). 1) The Nationalgalerie received six works of art from various exchange contracts (one Menzel, three drawings by Joseph Anton Koch, one Dreber, and one Oehme (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 9, 970/41). None of the museums was asked about the division and distribution of the art, since endless discussions would have ensued. Only Wuppertal's director, Viktor Dirksen, expressed gratitude for its new Overbeck (ZA/NGA, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 9, 264/42), the other galleries simply confirmed receipt. The total value of these works was 7,530 reichsmarks, 2) On January 24, 1940, Hermann Göring, who had acquired a number of works for himself, had the sum of 165,000 reichsmarks transferred to the gallery in payment for van Gogh's *Daubigny's Garden* (which had cost 250,000 reichsmarks), three paintings by Munch, and one by Signac (ZA/NGA, Ordner "Entartete Kunst I," Bl. 274, 105/40); he still had Franz Marc's *Turm der blauen Pferde* and two other van Goghs, but these were not paid for, 3) A total of 44,490 reichsmarks was handed over in cash (ZA/NGA, General-Etat 265/42).

83 *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, National-Galerie. Gemälde des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie, 1976) and *Die Gemälde der Nationalgalerie. Verzeichnis, Deutsche Malerei vom Klassizismus bis zum Impressionismus, Ausländische Malerei von 1800 bis 1930* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1986).

84 For an account of events during and after the war see Irene Kühnel-Kunze, *Bergung—Evakuierung—Rückführung. Die Berliner Museen in den Jahren 1939–1959* (Jahrbuch Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, special ed. 2 (1984), Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1984).

85 Klee's *Blumenfresser* and Lehmbruck's *Torso* were found to be missing. Lehmbruck's *Die Kneude* and the models for Käthe Kollwitz's *Elternpaar* were destroyed in the Nationalgalerie building.

86 The works on view were Barlach's *Landschaft* (lithograph), Beckmann's *Selbstbildnis* (etching), Heckel's *Frühlingslandschaft* and *Selbstbildnis*, Hoyer's *Zwei Figuren*, Kirchner's *Rheinbrücke* and *Alpenlandschaft* (woodcut), a plaster model of Lehmbruck's *Die Kneude* (loan), Oskar Moll's *Badende*, Mueller's *Frauen unter Bäumen* (lithograph), and Pechstein's *Stilleben*.

87 Ludwig Justi, *Ausstellung in der Nationalgalerie*, 2d ed. (Berlin: Das Neue Berlin Verlagsgesellschaft, 1950), 57–60.

88 *Verzeichnis der vereinigten Kunstsammlungen Nationalgalerie (Preussischer Kulturbesitz). Galerie des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Land Berlin) (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1968).

89 Authorization dated October 8, 1946, by the Kulturabteilung der Sowjetischen Militäradministration (Cultural department of the Soviet military administration) for the Deutsche Verwaltung für Volksbildung in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone (German administration for education in the Soviet-occupied zone). In 1947 Kurt Reutti of the Amt für Rückführung von Kunstgütern (Department for the restoration of works of art) drew up an inventory of the items in Boehmer's estate in Castrów and those held by Möller in Zernitz. The items with a Berlin provenance were given to Justi in July of 1949. Reutti's lists and copies of the relevant correspondence are in box 21 of the Arntz archives (see note 79), which also contains a detailed report by Reutti of his activities in the immediate postwar period. Some of these were first published by Gerhard Strauss, director of the Amt Museen und Sammlungen (Office of museums and collections), in "Dokumente zur 'entarteten Kunst,'" in Adolf Behne and Gerhard Strauss, eds., *Festschrift an Carl Hofer zum 70. Geburtstag* (Potsdam: Eduard Stuchnot, 1948), 53–60.

90 Correspondence relevant to the Kirchner is in the Arntz archives (see note 79) and Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller*.

91 *Gesetzblatt der DDR*, no. 85, July 17, 1951, in the Verordnung über die Errichtung der Staatlichen Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten (Ordinance concerning the establishment of a state commission for artistic matters) of July 12, 1951, it is stipulated (paragraph 3) that the duties of the commission include "ensuring that formalism is defeated in every area of art, that the fight against decadence is resolutely continued, and that a realistic art is developed by picking up the traditions left by the great masters of classical art."

92 It is enough to compare statements about Barlach from 1933 and 1937 with one from 1952. Alfred Rosenberg, *Volksischer Beobachter*, no. 187, July 7, 1933: "Men from the Landsturmmänner (German home guard) [are] depicted as small, half-idiotic mixtures of undefinable types of humanity with Soviet helmets." Wiltgang Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels. Eine kunstpöhlische Kampfschrift zur Gesundung deutscher Kunst im Gistie nordischer Art* (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1937), 146: "dull-witted, manic creatures incapable of active service, indeed, unsuited to any form of activity." Wilhelm Gurnus, *Neues Deutschland*, January 4, 1952: "his creations are a gray, passive, despairing mass, eking out their miserable existence in bestial dull-wittedness and showing not the least spark of a strong, living sense of resistance. Barlach prefers to look for his types among beggars, vagabonds, and tramps, in short, among those passive sections of the lumpenproletariat that lead lives of utter hopelessness."

93 Photographs of the interior have survived from 1954 and 1960. Other museums did not fare so well: pressure was placed on the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Weimar, for example, where the Bauhaus room had to be dismantled in the early 1950s following instructions from the Staatliche Kunstkommision, and in 1949 at the Kulturhistorisches Museum in Rostock. Dr. Freimann planned an exhibition of works confiscated in 1937 from West German museums that had been found in Boehmer's estate and then taken to Rostock, but she was prevented from proceeding with the exhibition and dismissed (see Reutti documentation in the Arntz archives [see note 79], box 21), another exhibition planned toward the end of the 1950s in Rostock was also banned.





Figure 106  
Confiscated works of "degenerate" art stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen, Berlin,  
1937, identifiable work is by Dix, Hofer, Lehmsbruck, and Rohlfis

# On the Trail of Missing Masterpieces

## Modern Art from German Galleries

**F**orty years after the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in Munich in 1937, Robert Scholz, one of the most important and influential art critics of the National Socialist regime wrote:

*There can be no doubt that this demonstration was indefensible as an action, even if it did include, for the most part, examples of the most appalling artistic decadence. It had been preceded by a "clean-up operation" designed to purge the country's museums of all examples of decadent art, and the Munich exhibition included only a portion of the works removed in this way. As later became clear, the instigators of this clean-up operation were benchmen in the pay of individual art dealers who wanted to get their hands on the frozen assets of the different museums, in other words, works such as those of the French modernists that were already internationally recognized. . . . It was well-known modern art dealers who were involved in the sale of expropriated works and who, after 1945, declared they had acted out of their concern for modern art, as a form of resistance. Not even the most prudently spying researchers on contemporary German history have managed to uncover the real facts about this dark chapter in the country's recent past.<sup>1</sup>*

All of us who are involved in the present exhibition and who have contributed to this volume must stand accused of "spying on contemporary German history." But, to tell the truth, in none of the documents that we ourselves have examined have we encountered any reference to the state of affairs referred to by Scholz. What we did repeatedly get wind of was the trail that Scholz left behind in the years between 1933 and 1945. Although this trail is not so important in the present context that we need to follow it in detail, it is one that I will often have occasion to mention, and it will also help to throw light on the "real facts," at least to the extent that these facts have proved ascertainable.

But first let me provide some background. In September of 1932 Scholz numbered the sculptor Richard Haizmann among those "figures who, on their own initiative, have dared to venture into the world of firsthand experience and unhackneyed means of expression"; the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition held in Berlin in 1938, however, in which Haizmann was represented by a number of sculptures, was described by Scholz as an "inferno of cultural Bolshevism." In January 1933 he discovered in the works of Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff "essential elements of a feeling for form and for the

world that may be described as 'German'", by 1938 he had come to think of the art of the first third of the century as "mestizo art: an art that results when the Nordic racial element is eliminated and suppressed." In 1932 he praised the art dealer Ferdinand Möller (one of those dealers who was later to sell impounded works abroad) as someone "for whom the art market is not only a job, but at the same time a matter of innermost conviction"; in 1933, in his memorandum "Reform der staatlichen Kunstpflege" (Reform of the state patronage of the arts), he himself demanded a "purge" of the museums, and in 1977 he claimed that it was the art dealers who were to blame.<sup>2</sup>

Among those who had hailed at modern art even before 1933 was Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder. In March of 1933 she observed in the pages of the *Deutscher Kunstbericht* (German art report), of which she was the editor, that "what German artists expect from the new government" was, among other things,

*that all products of cosmopolitan and Bolshevik purport be removed from German museums and collections. They can first be shown to the public in a heap, people can be told what sums were spent on them, together with the names of the gallery officials and ministers of culture who were responsible for acquiring them, after which these artistic products can have but a single use, which is as fuel to heat public buildings.<sup>3</sup>*

Such defamatory exhibitions were indeed held the same year, and in 1939 a number of the impounded works were burned. Feistel-Rohmeder was only one writer among many who fomented this incendiary mood. In 1933, however, there was still a sizable group of people prepared to defend Expressionism, above all, as German, Nordic art. And they were able to do so because there were differences over the politics of art even among the Nazi leadership. Alfred Rosenberg, one of the most violent opponents of modern art, was appointed "representative of the Führer for the overall philosophical and intellectual training and education of the NSDAP" (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei [National Socialist German workers party]), although he had few administrative powers in this capacity. It was the Kultusminister (Minister of education), Bernhard Rust, who was responsible for the Berlin Akademie der Künste (Academy of arts), the art colleges, and the museums. Initially there were officials employed by his ministry who tried to mediate and mollify, so that Rust had to defend himself more and more against the reproach that he was less than wholly consistent



Figure 107  
Wassily Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28* (second version), 1912, oil on canvas,  
111.4 x 162 cm (43 7/8 x 63 7/8 in.), Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

The Propagandaminister (Minister of propaganda), Joseph Goebbels, creating the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture) as an instrument of power, began by seeking links with a relatively wide circle of intellectuals and artists in the hope of finding famous names to add luster to the Nazi cause, although he was successful in no more than a handful of cases. His own sympathies in the visual arts lay with "Nordic" Expressionism.

An uncertain situation developed in which Nordic Expressionism was vigorously defended by a number of art historians and a group within the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students). The latter group organized an exhibition at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin under the title *Dressig deutsche Künstler* (Thirty German artists), but the exhibition was allowed to go ahead only after the Studentenbund had withdrawn its sponsorship. Among the artists represented were Ernst Barlach, Heckel, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, August Macke, Franz Marc, Gerhard Marcks, Otto Mueller, Emil Nolde, Christian Rohlf, and Schmidt-Rottluff.<sup>4</sup>

The arguments for and against Expressionism were effectively decided by the speech that Adolf Hitler delivered at a conference on culture held during the Nuremberg party congress in September 1933, when he announced, "In the field of culture, as elsewhere, the National Socialist movement and government must not permit incompetents and charlatans suddenly to change sides and enlist under the banner of the new state as if nothing had happened, so

they can once again call all the shots in art and cultural policy. One thing is certain: under no circumstances will we allow the representatives of the decadence that lies behind us suddenly to emerge as the standard-bearers of the future."<sup>5</sup> Even so, arguments about Nordic Expressionism were still being adduced as late as 1937 to justify exhibitions of Expressionist artists at public or private galleries or publications about such artists. Art dealers who succeeded in organizing exhibitions of works by artists who had otherwise been condemned included Aenne Abels in Cologne, Karl Buchholz, Ferdinand Möller, and Karl Nierendorf in Berlin, Günther Franke in Munich, Fritz Carl Valentien in Stuttgart, and Alex Vömel in Düsseldorf. All of them had constant problems with the Nazi authorities, but they gave encouragement to artists depressed by their enforced isolation and contributed directly to the artists' livelihood by selling some of their works to private collectors.

It was in 1935 that policy toward the arts began to harden in Hitler's state. Exhibitions were closed, works of art confiscated, museums sold "degenerate" art in order to rid themselves of these incriminating works. Count Klaus von Baudissin, appointed director of the Museum Folkwang in Essen in 1934, joined forces with Möller the following year to sell modern works from the museum's collection. By July 1936 the situation had reached a point where Baudissin was happy to accept 9,000 reichsmarks for Wassily Kandinsky's *Improvisation 28* (1912; fig. 107). With Kandinsky's approval, Möller acted as intermediary in the sale of several of the artist's works (including this one) to the Guggenheim Museum in New York. Baudissin made propagandist capital out of the sale, penning a newspaper article in which he claimed that "the high price attained could benefit a type of art for which we really care. A decent photograph is quite sufficient as a souvenir of this attempt to Russianize German art."<sup>6</sup> This incident, together with Rust's announcement of a "purge of museum holdings" in a speech delivered to the Akademie der Künste at the beginning of November 1936, had two consequences: there was an increase in demand from art dealers anxious to negotiate the sale of works of art in German museums, and a number of museum directors redoubled their efforts to sell the "degenerate" art in their own collections. At the museum in Halle an der Saale letters of inquiry arrived in quick succession from Vömel's and Abels's galleries. When the Halle director approached the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) about this matter, he was told that there was no objection to his selling works of modern art from his collection to the dealers in question.<sup>7</sup> Early in 1937 works by Otto Dix, Marc, Mueller, Nolde, and Max Pechstein in the Düsseldorf collections were sold to Kunsthändler Bammann, while paintings by Dix, Oskar Kokoschka, Paula Modersohn-Becker, and Nolde went to Möller's gallery.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 108  
Emil Nolde, *Abendmahl* (The Last Supper), 1909, oil on canvas, 86 x 107 cm  
(33 7/8 x 42 1/2 in.), Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen: *Entartete Kunst*,  
Room 1, NS inventory no. 15944

Shortly after the Essen Kandinsky was sold to New York, Baudissin's predecessor in Essen, Ernst Gosebruch, who had been dismissed by the Nazis, had written to Nolde, urging him to safeguard those works that were in jeopardy. In the spring of 1937 Gosebruch offered the Halle town council 30,000 reichsmarks for Nolde's *Abendmahl* (The Last Supper, fig. 108). Although the price was much more attractive than it had been in the case of the Kandinsky, the municipal authorities feared that, if they agreed, "works rejected by the movement" might find their way abroad. They sought assurance from Rosenberg's office and received a reply from Scholz in his capacity as head of the fine arts department to the effect that there were presumably "reasons for the purchase that directly affect National Socialist policy toward the arts." For that reason, he went on, "the material advantages of such a sale must at all costs be secondary to the higher political points of view." On July 2, 1937, the Halle city fathers wrote to Gosebruch declining his offer. Six days later the *Abendmahl* was impounded, together with other oils, watercolors, and drawings in the Halle collection, and taken to Munich in preparation for the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.<sup>9</sup>

The driving force behind this exhibition was Goebbels, who saw it as a chance to strengthen his own power base at the expense of Rust's position. Goebbels was a pragmatist when it came to power, and no conviction carried weight for him unless it served his own particular ends. This explains why there was now no longer any talk of Nordic Expressionism. His diary entry for June 4, 1937, reads, "Pitiful examples of cultural Bolshevism have been submitted to me. But I shall now intervene. And in Berlin I intend to organize an exhibition of decadent art." He read Wolfgang Willrich's recently published *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art) and entrusted the task of preparing the exhibition to Hans Schweitzer, Reich commissioner for artistic design. On June 18 it was decided to hold the exhibition in Munich to mark the "Tag der Deutschen Kunst" (German art day), and at the end of the month—Schweitzer having proved "too uncertain in his judgment"—Goebbels authorized the president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Adolf Ziegler, to impound examples of "Verfallskunst" (decadent art) for the exhibition.<sup>10</sup>



It has so far proved impossible to ascertain exactly how many works of art fell victim to this first round of confiscations. From the lists that have survived in a number of museums it is clear that more than six hundred works were subsequently installed in the exhibition. The art that was not shown or that was removed from the exhibition shortly after it opened was shipped to Berlin soon afterwards and added to the stacks of works that had been impounded during a second round of confiscations.

By the rigorous consistency with which he had material for the exhibition impounded in various museums, Goebbels encroached on Rust's area of competence, with the result that the latter wanted at least to implement a systematic "purge" of the museums himself. Accordingly, he dismissed two officials from his ministry and replaced them with Baudissin. He then invited the directors of German museums to a conference in Berlin on August 2, 1937, when he informed them of a decree issued by Hermann Göring on July 28 that applied actually to Prussia only and was merely a recommendation in other regions of the German Reich. What Rust instructed the directors to do was simply to record and store those examples of "degenerate" art still in their collections, an operation in which they were enjoined to stick to the list of artists represented in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.<sup>11</sup> Most writers on the subject continue to claim that Göring's decree formed the basis for the second round of confiscations, but this is untrue. Goebbels had already obtained an "order from the Führer" on July 27 empowering Ziegler to impound "all those products of the age of decadence" that were "still held by all the museums, galleries, and collections, whether owned by the Reich, the individual regions, or the local communities." This decree was sent out on August 4 and was immediately followed by the arrival of variously constituted confiscation commissions, whose members were all from the Propagandaministerium (Ministry of propaganda) or the Reichskulturkammer. Baudissin himself was therefore not a member but, at best, an observer for the Kultusministerium. Goebbels had completely bypassed Rust; in order not to lose face altogether the minister of education could now only advise the museums to "support Professor Ziegler's work," while orders not to alter anything in the collections by selling or exchanging art came from the Propagandaministerium itself, which also kept a tight control on the entire process of "disposal" of the works that had been impounded.<sup>12</sup>

The confiscation commissions set about their task with alacrity, going far beyond the circle of artists who had been represented in *Entartete Kunst*. It is difficult to define the boundaries of what was described as "degenerate." "Distortion" of natural form, particularly of the human figure, and "unnatural" colors were the most crucial arguments. Sometimes it was the identity of the artist that was decisive, especially if he or she belonged to the Novembergruppe (November group), for example, or to similar left-wing associations. Conversely, an early work by one of the Nazi's favorite sculptors,

Arno Breker, was also confiscated. Lehmbruck's sculptures were spared in Halle, whereas in Dresden, by contrast, a number of impressively realistic works by the painter Robert Sterl were impounded. Approximately seventeen thousand works by more than a thousand artists fell victim to this operation.<sup>13</sup> A handful of "degenerate" works in various collections escaped the commissioners' attention, or else they mysteriously remained *in situ* in spite of appearing on lists of works to be confiscated. And sometimes there was an opportunity, especially in the case of works of graphic art, to remove them surreptitiously from the group to be shipped off and to replace them with less important works, a ploy used by Willy Kurth, the curator of the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.<sup>14</sup> In principle, however, between the months of August and October of 1937 German museums were despoiled of their entire holdings of modern art.

The impounded works were taken to Berlin, where Walter Hoffmann, general secretary of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, was initially responsible for their safekeeping. During the second half of September he was able to rent a warehouse on Köpenicker Strasse owned by the Berliner Hafen- und Lagerhaus. He proposed insuring the works, but Goebbels considered such a move to be "unnecessary." In October 1937 Goebbels appointed Franz Hofmann, until then director of the Städtische Galerie in Munich, to the Propagandaministerium,<sup>15</sup> and it became his job to deal with the impounded works. Hofmann's consultant, ministry official Rolf Hetsch, began by drawing up an inventory. Hetsch had published a *Buch der Freundschaft* (friendship book) for Paula Modersohn-Becker in 1932 and had planned to publish a book on Ernst Barlach, modern art was therefore by no means unfamiliar to him, a point that would be important at a later date when the works of art were to be disposed of. But well before any decision had been made about the disposition of the works of art, Ziegler, acting on behalf of the Schlesisches Museum in Breslau, turned over a portrait of a man by Edvard Munch (which had been impounded from Breslau) to the Nasjonalgalleriet in Oslo, exchanging it for a landscape by Caspar David Friedrich depicting the Sudeten Mountains.<sup>16</sup> This is the only known instance of such a transaction.

Goebbels visited the warehouse on Köpenicker Strasse in early November, and on January 13, 1938, he showed the impounded material to Hitler, noting in his diary: "The result is devastating. Not a single picture finds favor. Some of them we intend to exchange for decent masters abroad."<sup>17</sup> Expropriation was now decided on, and a "law effecting the confiscation of products of degenerate art" was passed on May 31, 1938.<sup>18</sup> It related specifically to works already impounded during the summer and autumn of the previous year and contained hardship clauses allowing for special provisions in individual cases. Two weeks earlier Göring had expressed the idea not only of exchanging works but also of selling them abroad in return for



Figure 109  
Paintings stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen, identifiable work is by Chagall, Delaunay, Ensor, and Picasso



Figure 110  
Art stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen, Barlach's Magdeburg Cathedral war memorial is in the background and a version of his *Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John) is at right

foreign currency, an idea that met with Goebbels's approval. "We hope at least to make some money from this garbage."<sup>19</sup> A commission was set up, under Goebbels's nominal chairmanship, "to dispose of the products of degenerate art." The members were Hofmann, Scholz (at the time head of the fine arts department in the "Rosenberg bureau"), Schweitzer, and Ziegler, Heinrich Hoffmann, the Reich's photographic reporter, Carl Meder, consultant from the art trade in the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, art dealer Karl Haberstock, and antiques dealer Max Taeuber. At the same time Hetsch drew up a list of "internationally disposable" works, and the first task awaiting the commission members when they met in June of 1938 was to look through this list and make whatever additions they felt were necessary.<sup>20</sup> That month Göring selected thirteen paintings from the collection—four each by Vincent van Gogh and Munch, three by Marc, and one each by Paul Cézanne and Paul Signac—which he appears to have instructed the art dealer Angerer to sell on his account.<sup>21</sup> A painting by Paul Gauguin was appropriated by Haberstock, who pocketed most of the foreign currency earnings by exchanging it for a Rubens that had been supplied to Hitler, although it had been stipulated that members of the commission should "avoid even the semblance of private dealings on the art market in order to obviate all harmful propaganda that foreign countries might use against Germany."<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile Hofmann began preparations for the sales campaign in collaboration with Hetsch. One of their main tasks was to move the "exploitable" stock from Köpenicker Strasse to a place where it could more easily be kept under surveillance. Accordingly, 780 paintings and sculptures and 3,500 watercolors, drawings, and graphic works were transferred to Schloss Niederschönhausen the following August (figs. 106, 109–13, 119–20).<sup>23</sup> On September 12 a painting and two sculptures that had been denounced in an exhibition entitled *Europas Schicksalskampf im Osten* (Europe's fateful struggle in the east), held to mark the NSDAP party congress in Nuremberg, were demanded in Berlin by Hofmann,<sup>24</sup> as (apparently) were a considerable number of works from the version of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition currently on view in Salzburg. 71 paintings, watercolors, and sculptures were withdrawn for sale and shipped to Berlin.<sup>25</sup>

Preparations were completed by September 17, 1938.<sup>26</sup> By this date several offers had already been received from foreign dealers, although the loss of records prevents us from reconstructing these offers in detail. Among the galleries that appear to have inquired after possible purchases were the Galerie Zak in Paris and the Colnaghi Gallery in London. Certainly, the former later acquired a number of canvases, while the latter offered to take the entire collection, writing subsequently to Hitler:

*We should like to add that we are probably the only English firm of any size that has never shown degenerate art from any country nor recommended it to any of our clients, since the whole of this trend in all its vulgar dishonesty is heartily repugnant to us. Only after our return did word*



Figure 111  
Sculpture by Lehmbruck and other art stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen





Figure 112  
The central panel of Emil Nolde's confiscated altarpiece *Leben Christi* (Life of Christ, figs. 321–29) is taken to Schloss Niederschönhausen for storage, 1937



Figure 113  
Art stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen

reach us from Paris that somebody in Berlin . . . had invited two Jewish firms from Paris, Wildenstein & Co. and Seligmann & Co., but they were most certainly not acting as you would have wished. Your stance towards this humbug art is beginning to find such widespread approval abroad that, in spite of efforts by Jewish dealers, the international market for such products may start to give way at any moment.<sup>27</sup>

This offer was rejected, as was a similar one from the Zurich trust company Fides.

Contact had already been established at this time between Buchholz and the Oslo dealer Harald Halvorsen, who early in 1939 auctioned fourteen paintings by Munch that had been impounded in Germany; the appraisal was £6,350.<sup>28</sup> Buchholz had written to the Propagandaministerium on August 8, 1938:

*I have received a request from the director of a major American institution for paintings by Kokoschka. I would most humbly entreat you to let me know if the pieces formerly in museum ownership come up for sale. Over and above this inquiry, I would also be interested in an inventory of the entire stock, since my work as a modern art dealer means that I know interested parties abroad who would be prepared to buy works of this kind.<sup>29</sup>*

Early in October he wrote to the various museums, asking for photographs of the impounded works from their collections. By now he was able to add the sentence, "I take the liberty of expressing this wish since I have been commissioned by the Propagandaministerium to help with efforts to sell these pictures abroad."<sup>30</sup>

While Buchholz was still concluding initial sale agreements, other dealers wrote to express their own interest in the sale. Curlitt asked about paintings by Munch and subsequently reached agreements for more extensive purchases in personal conversations with Hetsch.<sup>31</sup> Until 1930 Curlitt had been director of the museum in Zwickau in Saxony, where he had begun to build up an impressive collection of modern art before being dismissed from his post. He was then appointed chairman of the Hamburg Kunstverein (Art association), finally establishing himself in that city as an art dealer. At the beginning of November Möller wrote to the wife of the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, following a report that a decision was about to be made at one of the commission's meetings concerning a sale of "degenerate" art in Lucerne:

*Although I cannot imagine that permission will be granted, I should nonetheless like to point out how unfavorable an impression would arise if this auction were to be allowed to go ahead. After all, these are works by artists who are world-famous and who are not Jewish. From the point of view of foreign policy, this auction could be felt as an insult to those states to which the artists in question belong. . . . If it should prove impossible to avoid disposing of these things, the German art dealers could still be entrusted with the task of selling the things to foreign collectors on their own initiative, without causing too much of a sensation, and of handing over the whole of the foreign currency that they receive for them.<sup>32</sup>*

Thanks to Ribbentrop's mediation, Möller was then promoted into the ranks of those dealers who were actively involved in this matter.



The meeting that concerned Möller took place on November 17, 1938, and was the first to be held by the "Verwertungskommission" (Disposal commission), as it was known. By then, however, it was no longer a question of giving permission for the firm of Fischer to go ahead with the auction in Lucerne, but simply of listing the works set aside for the auction and specifying their reserve prices. Paintings by Munch and sculptures by Ernesto de Fiori, for example, were removed from the list for political reasons. Similar considerations persuaded Scholz to propose that Munch's works in general should not be described as "degenerate" art. The commission planned to draw up a press statement to that effect, although, as noted above, it still gave permission for fourteen of Munch's paintings to be sold by Halvorsen.<sup>33</sup>

The contract with the Galerie Fischer was ready to be signed by the end of November. Hofmann wrote to Goebbels to inform him of developments, adding that the warehouse on Köpenicker Strasse containing the "undisposable remainder" of the paintings was needed to store grain and therefore had to be cleared. "I would suggest, therefore, that the rest be burned in a bonfire as a symbolic propaganda action. I myself would be happy to deliver a suitably caustic funeral oration."<sup>34</sup> Although Goebbels had already considered the possibility of destroying the remaining paintings as early as December 12, 1938, it was not until the end of February 1939 that Hofmann received permission to burn them. Of the members of the commission, Haberstock, Scholz, and Taeuber had in vain raised doubts about the propriety of such an act of destruction, and at least Haberstock and Scholz asked to be released from all responsibility in this matter.<sup>35</sup> On March 20 five thousand works of art were burned in the courtyard of Berlin's main fire station, albeit without the propagandist spectacle that Hofmann had hoped to provide.<sup>36</sup> That more works were not involved is due principally to Buchholz and dealer Bernhard A. Boehmer, each of whom had removed a considerable number of works from the Köpenicker Strasse warehouse shortly before for sale on a commission basis. In doing so they were working in close collaboration with Hetsch (it was probably Hetsch who drew Boehmer into the scheme, since the two men were on good terms).<sup>37</sup> Boehmer had been a friend and pupil of Barlach and lived on the latter's estates in the town of Güstrow in Mecklenburg. Surviving photographs taken either in or outside Barlach's studio show works removed for sale,<sup>38</sup> including a group of paintings by Wilhelm Morgner (fig. 114), Max Peiffer Watenphul's *Blumenstilleben* (Still life with flowers), Dix's *Der Schützengraben* (The trench, bought in January 1940 for \$200 by Boehmer<sup>39</sup> and not burned in 1939, as has been repeatedly claimed), and Marc's *Rote Rebe* (fig. 115, described as a "borderline case" and handed back to the Staatsgalerie in Munich in March of 1940<sup>40</sup>). Buchholz had stored some of the works from the Köpenicker Strasse warehouse in his rooms on Leipziger Strasse in Berlin, while others appear to have been housed in a warehouse on Wilhelmstrasse, where works by Oskar Schlemmer and Georg Schrimpf, among others, were found.<sup>41</sup>



Figure 114  
Painting by Wilhelm Morgner photographed on the grounds of Barlach's studio in Güstrow

After a series of delays the contract with the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne was finally signed in March of 1939. The auction, involving some 125 works, took place on June 30. While preparations were still underway, both Buchholz and Gurlitt had made contact with the director of the Kunstmuseum Basel, Georg Schmidt, in order to negotiate a sale of works of art other than those to be available at the auction. From Gurlitt, Schmidt acquired Marc's *Tierschicksale* (Fate of animals) and from Buchholz a number of other important works, including Lovis Corinth's *Ecce Homo* (fig. 31) and Kokoschka's *Die Windbraut* (The tempest, fig. 37). Schmidt also had to handle the Berlin art dealer Wolfgang Gurlitt, who was trying to interfere in the deal currently being transacted with Buchholz and Hildebrand Gurlitt.<sup>42</sup> Like Valentien in Stuttgart, Wolfgang Gurlitt negotiated only a handful of sales: the only transactions he is known to have arranged were for two paintings by Corinth in 1940 and one by Henri-Edmond Cross in 1941.<sup>43</sup> Something of a special case were the three exchange contracts negotiated by the Austrian-born, Italian-based painter Emanuel Fohn with the Propagandaministerium in Berlin in 1939. He offered a handful of paintings and drawings by Romantic artists and received in return a respectable collection of modern art.<sup>44</sup>

The vast majority of the works were handled by the four dealers: Boehmer, Buchholz, Hildebrand Gurlitt, and Möller. Works had to be sold abroad in return for foreign currency, sales to interested parties in Germany were expressly forbidden. Nevertheless, all four dealers sold "degenerate" art to German collectors and private galleries as well as to foreign customers; in some cases they kept the works for themselves. Details of provenance and the number corresponding to each work's entry in the confiscation register (generally stamped on a small label or written on the canvas stretcher in blue crayon) were to be removed before the sale (although this was often



Figure 115  
Franz Marc's *Rote Rehe* (Red deer) in Barlach's studio

not done, so that the numbers are of use to us today in identifying the works and determining their provenance.) The dealers received their commission in reichsmarks—between 10 and 20 percent—once the foreign currency had been received. Only for those works from the Köpenicker Strasse warehouse that were more difficult to sell did they receive 25 percent.<sup>45</sup> There may have been the occasional “trick,” however, as when Hildebrand Gurlitt asked Basel to pay his commission on the 6,000 Swiss francs for Marc's *Tierschicksale* to an intermediary in Switzerland, even though the sale price already included a commission of 1,000 Swiss francs, which Gurlitt demanded all over again in reichsmarks.<sup>46</sup>

When the Nazis declared war in September of 1939 the Propagandaministerium questioned whether the sales should be called off. But Hofmann insisted:

*The question as to how the remainder of the collection in Schloss Schönhausen should be disposed of has now become particularly acute in view of the need to obtain the foreign currency that can be raised by this means. The business negotiations between our German intermediaries and interested parties abroad, which began to falter for a time during the early days of the war, have been taken up again in the meantime, in some cases directly, while in other cases new ways are being sought to sell to American, Norwegian, Swiss, and Dutch customers above all.<sup>47</sup>*

But it now became increasingly difficult to obtain foreign currency. As a result, the four dealers hit on the idea of exchanging twentieth-century works for nineteenth-century art. Sixteen such exchange contracts have survived from the period between November 1939 and March 1941. The most drastic was concluded with Boehmer on July 16, 1940, when a relatively weak painting by Carl Gustav Carus, *Heimkehr der Mönche ins Kloster* (Monks returning to the monastery; now in the Museum Folkwang in Essen), was exchanged for six

works by Karl Hofer, five by Heckel, four each by Lyonel Feininger and Mueller, three by Maurice de Vlaminck, two each by Dix, Gross, and Nolde, and one each by Grosz, Kokoschka, Rudolf Levy, Heinrich Nauen, Ernst Wilhelm Nay, Schlemmer, and Paul Adolf Seehaus, together with ten sculptures by Barlach and one each by Joachim Karsch, Marcks, and Ewald Mataré—a total of forty-eight works of art, many of them of considerable importance.<sup>48</sup>

It is clear from this transaction how the price of “degenerate” art had plummeted, spiraling downward under inflationary pressures. It was only now that modern German art began to conquer the world market, but although the sudden increase in demand helped it to become better known, it did not result in high prices. Paintings by Mueller and Rohlf, for example, were sold for sums in the region of \$30 in the years around 1940, while works by Feininger, Heckel, and Schmidt-Rottluff raised between \$40 and \$60 each. Max Beckmann, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Hofer, were valued somewhat higher: with Beckmann's *Rugbyspieler* (Rugby players) and Hofer's *Spaziergang* (Promenade) each making \$180, while Kirchner's *Die Meister der Brücke* (The masters of Die Brücke, fig. 116) brought in one of the top prices, \$200. Apart from works by French artists, very few other paintings passed this \$200 limit, the main exceptions being Paul Klee and especially Marc (a watercolor by the latter sold for \$800, the same price as Kokoschka's large oil *Die Windsbraut*), together with Corinth, Kokoschka, Lehmbruck, Modersohn-Becker, and Nolde. Paintings by lesser-known artists such as Heinrich Campendonk or Schlemmer brought between \$5 and \$20 (or up to \$50 in exceptional cases). Not that these prices were intended to reflect the National Socialists' contempt for such art. Hofmann noted in a letter to Möller, “In selling works abroad, only the commercial interest is crucial, regardless of differing views on the German side.”<sup>49</sup> Everything points to the fact that the four dealers—especially Boehmer and Buchholz who, unlike Gurlitt and Möller, concerned themselves not only with works by the most famous artists—were at one with Hetsch in their efforts to sell as many of the expropriated works as possible. The burning of the “undisposable remainder” must have made it clear to them that a similar fate threatened every work that was not sold.

A relatively large number of works found their way to the United States during these years. There were long-established links here with patrons of modern German art such as William R. Valentiner, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Hilla von Rebay, Emmy (Galka) Scheyer, and I. B. Neumann, and also with expatriate art dealers such as Karl Nierendorf and Curt Valentín, both of whom had chosen to go into exile after 1933. Valentín had run Buchholz's gallery in Berlin and subsequently opened a branch in New York, the Buchholz Gallery. Curt Valentín. This, of course, was a ready-made platform from which Buchholz could sell to America.



Figure 116  
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Die Meister der Brücke* (The masters of Die Brücke), 1926/27, oil on canvas, 168 x 126 cm (66% x 49% in.), Museum Ludwig, Cologne. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 4, NS inventory no. 16040

In the records kept by the Propagandaministerium relating to art dealers, the list of works sold to Valentin mentions only the sums paid.<sup>50</sup> It is possible, however, to work out more or less accurately a number of transactions on the basis of the known dates. The first two contracts with Valentin, dated February and May 1939, came to a total of \$6,945, and although the details of the sales cannot be reconstructed, they may possibly have comprised one painting each by Georges Braque, André Derain, Kirchner, and Mueller, three oils and six watercolors by Klee, five watercolors by Mueller, four gouaches by Beckmann, and seven statues by Lehmbruck, including a bronze version of his *Grosse Kniende* (Large kneeling woman; fig. 290). But even this does not exhaust the list.<sup>51</sup>

Among the Klee watercolors sold to Valentin was the *Die Zwitschermaschine* (The twittering machine; fig. 117) from the Berlin Nationalgalerie, and thereby hangs a curious tale. The work was still on view in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition and was not included in the original shipment to Buchholz, who sent a reminder at the end of March 1939. On April 4 it was recalled from the exhibition, which was currently in Weimar. Buchholz followed this up on April 17 with a letter to Hofmann:

I am writing to ask you if you would be kind enough to sell *Die Paukenorgel* (The drum organ) to an American lover of Klee's work for \$75. This work was included by mistake in one of the first major consignments in place of *Die Zwitschermaschine*, since title and subject can, after all, mean a great many different things to different people where works of this kind are concerned. It now turns out that *Die Zwitschermaschine* is still here and that the work over there must therefore depict *Die Paukenorgel*. I should like to think that you might sanction this sale retroactively, so that *Die Zwitschermaschine*, which has already been granted a licence and paid for, can also be included in the shipment.<sup>52</sup>

Evidently annoyed by the way in which these titles had been mixed up, Hofmann noted in the margin of the letter, "Get rid of *Zwitschermaschine* & *Paukenorgel*!"<sup>53</sup> (*Die Zwitschermaschine* is now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York.)

Whereas there is some uncertainty about the two previous contracts, the following agree in every detail with the sums of money paid. In June 1939 \$9,720 was paid for two works each by Klee, Marc, Henri Matisse, Modersohn-Becker, and Nolde, and one each by Derain, Feininger, and Kokoschka, along with twenty-five watercolors by Nolde, five by Klee, and two by Marc, and two sculptures in cast stone of Lehmbruck's *Grosse Kniende* and *Sitzender Jüngling* (Young man sitting, fig. 289); in December \$2,190 was paid for five oils by Kirchner, three each by Feininger and Klee, and one each by Hofer and Kokoschka, in addition to two watercolors by Klee and one hundred drawings by Kirchner, also in December \$400 was paid for single works by Feininger, Klee, Macke, and Schmidt-Rottluff, and Heckel's triptych *Die Genesende* (The convalescent).<sup>54</sup>

The next series of sales is again shrouded in mystery. Included in the list is a contract mentioning two other copies of Lehmbruck's *Grosse Kniende* and *Sitzender Jüngling*, but it could not be effected since these two pieces were not owned by a museum but belonged to the town of Duisburg, where they were on public display. The Nazis had removed the *Grosse Kniende* from its position in the Tonhallgarten and placed it in an office block. On April 17, 1940, the city fathers inquired of the propaganda office in Essen whether the sculpture could be taken away and melted down, since a campaign was currently underway to collect metal for armaments. As the result of a misunderstanding, it was assumed in Berlin that the Duisburg statue was the version that had been shown in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich and that it had therefore already been expropriated. In consequence, it was offered to Buchholz to sell. On May 14 the propaganda office in Essen wrote again, this time asking if the *Sitzender Jüngling*—currently on display in the Duisburg cemetery and said to be causing offense to members of the general public and armed forces alike—could be sold as well. This was confirmed, and fourteen months later Hetsch reported that Buchholz had sold both sculptures in America.<sup>55</sup> In fact, they never left Duisburg.





Figure 117  
Paul Klee, *Die Zwittermaschine* (The twittering machine), 1922, watercolor and pen and ink on oil transfer drawing on paper mounted on cardboard, 641 x 483 cm (25¼ x 19 in.). The Museum of Modern Art, New York, purchase *Entartete Kunst*, Room G2, NS inventory no unrecorded

A contract of December 1940 with Valentin again tallies only approximately with a list of works that Buchholz had offered, comprising three oils by Schmidt-Rottluff, two each by Campendonk and Kokoschka, one each by Feininger, Heckel, and Nolde, a sculpture by Lehmbruck, fifty graphic works by Kokoschka, one hundred by Nolde, and two hundred by various other artists.<sup>56</sup> Of these, Buchholz retained a number of works for his own collection, including Heckel's *Unterhaltung* (Conversation), for which he nevertheless appears to have made his partner Valentin pay \$25. Attempts to follow the trail of works of art are often made more difficult by fictitious sales of this kind, but it was necessary to go through the motions of such transactions because "degenerate" art was not officially allowed to remain in Germany.

The last two contracts signed by Valentin in 1941 are again unambiguous. In March he paid \$700 for Corinth's *Tod und Mädchen* (Death and the maiden) and Kokoschka's *Notre-Dame zu Bordeaux*, and in April he paid \$325 for seven oils by Beckmann, including the *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition, fig. 164) shown in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. The Beckmann oils in particular spent some considerable time on sale in America.<sup>57</sup> The *Kreuzabnahme* was one of twenty-three works by various artists that were shown at the *Landmarks in Modern German Art* exhibition held at the Buchholz Gallery Carl Valentin in New York in April 1940, containing works formerly owned by German galleries.

The sales campaign ended on June 30, 1941. The final figures vary considerably even if we include all sales, exchange deals, goods on commission, and works that had already been returned to the museums, and even if we are generous in estimating the number of works in each of these groups, there are still some five thousand works of which there is no trace. What happened to the remaining works in the Schloss Niederschönhausen storage facility is completely unclear, as is the fate of the art that was to be sold on commission but then returned and the works that were returned in November of 1941 after *Entartete Kunst* had ended. It is unlikely that the art dealers handed back to the Nazi authorities all the works on commission, but they could not circumvent the situation altogether. The Propagandaministerium then handed over the statement of disposition to the Kultusministerium. The only point on which Rust was able to assert his authority (and he did so repeatedly) was on the question of compensation following requests by those museums that had been affected by the various rounds of expropriations. Rust had been assured that compensation would be made, but, in view of the low prices involved, such payments turned out to be decidedly meager. The Nationalgalerie in Berlin, for example, was awarded only 165,000 reichsmarks for several paintings, one of which, by Van Gogh, had cost 250,000 reichsmarks. Halle received 15,980 reichsmarks, Mannheim 29,800, and Munich 120,285 (this last figure no doubt inflated by the self-portrait of van Gogh that was auctioned in Lucerne).<sup>58</sup> A handful of museums also received nineteenth-century works that had been exchanged for art of the twentieth century, although this form of payment, too, was not remotely commensurate with the losses.

Even after the campaign was over, museum holdings were by no means safe. Scholz, for example, who had been appointed director of the Halle Museum in 1939 in addition to his activities at the "Rosenberg bureau," gave instructions in 1941 or 1942 for a painting and a series of drawings by Liebermann to be sold through Hildebrand Gurlitt, arguing that the interested client was probably a Jewish émigré who could take the "painted piece of cardboard" out of the country without any further ado. (This was the same Liebermann whom Scholz was to describe as a "realistically gripping Impressionist" in 1970.<sup>59</sup>) As in so many other cases, the trail of these works by Liebermann has been lost.

Every exhibition whose organizers take up this disrupted trail and succeed in discovering the present whereabouts of works believed to have been lost adds to our picture of the art of the first third of the twentieth century. And it is good if German academics can work alongside them, thus requiring some of the guilt that accrued under the pretext of "German" attitudes toward individual artists as well as toward European culture in general during the years of Nazi domination. ■



# Notes

- 1 Robert Scholz, *Architektur und bildende Kunst 1933–1945* (Preussisch Oldendorf Schutz, 1977), 45–46.
- 2 Robert Scholz's earlier, more favorable opinions appear in "Herbstliche Kunstwanderung," *Steglitzer Anzeiger*, September 30, 1932, and in his feature article on the *Lebende Deutsche Kunst* (Living German art) exhibition held at Galerie Cassirer, also published in the *Steglitzer Anzeiger*, January 24, 1933. His later, negative assessments can be found in "Kunstbolschewistisches Inferno," *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 26, 1938, and "Der nordische Gedanke in der Kunst" (public lecture delivered on October 21, 1938, on the occasion of the 1938 *Nordische Woche* [Nordic week] in Hamburg). 7 Scholz's memorandum of 1933 is mentioned by Joseph Wulf in *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 449 n 1.
- 3 Bettina Festel-Rohmeder, "Was die Deutschen Künstler von der neuen Regierung erwarten," cited in *Angriff auf die Kunst: Der faschistische Bildersturm vor fünfzig Jahren* (exh. cat. edited by Andreas Hüncke, Weimar: Kunstsammlungen, 1988), 29.
- 4 See Andreas Hüncke, "Der Versuch der Ehrenrettung des Expressionismus als 'deutscher Kunst' 1933 und die objektiven Gründe seines Scheiterns," *Funktionen und Wirkungsweise der Kunst im Sozialismus: Bearbeitetes Protokoll* (Third annual conference of the section on aesthetics of the Verband bildender Künstler der DDR [Association of visual artists of the GDR], Binn, March 27–30, 1978), 91–100, an abridged version is in *Zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung: Kunst in Deutschland 1933–1945* (exh. cat. by Barbara Volkman, Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1978), 51–53.
- 5 Adolf Hitler, speech at NSDAP rally, Nuremberg, September 2, 1933, published in *Die Reden Hitlers am Reichsparteitag 1933* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1934), 29–30.
- 6 Klaus von Baudissin, "Das Essener Folkwangmuseum stößt einen Fremdkörper ab," *National-Zeitung* (Essen), August 18, 1936, see also Paul Vogt, ed., *Dokumentation zur Geschichte des Museum Folkwang 1912–1945* (Essen: Folkwang Museum, 1983), 106–13, and Eberhard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller: Die Geschichte einer Galerie für moderne Kunst in Deutschland 1917–1956* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1984), 160–61.
- 7 Alex Vömel, letter to the Museum Halle, November 25, 1936, Aenne Abels, letter to the Museum Halle, December 11, 1936, Bernhard Grahmann, letter to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Halle-Merseburg, December 19, 1936, Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Halle-Merseburg, letter to Grahmann, February 16, 1937 (Stadtarchiv Halle, 321-410, 2–5).
- 8 *Verboten, verfolgt! Kunstskizzen im 1. Reich* (exh. cat. by Barbara Lepper, Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983), 14–15.
- 9 Ernst Gosebruch, letter to Emil Nolde, 1936 (Seebüll, Stiftung Ada und Emil Nolde), Gosebruch, letter to Johannes Weidemann, June 15, 1937, Bernhard Grahmann, letter to Weidemann, June 25, 1937, Weidemann, letter to the "Rosenberg bureau," June 6, 1937, Robert Scholz, letter to Weidemann, July 1, 1937, Weidemann, letter to Gosebruch, July 2, 1937 (Stadtarchiv Halle, 321-4/5, 1–12), see Andreas Hüncke, *Die faschistische Aktion "Entartete Kunst" 1937 in Halle* (Halle: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, 1987), 11–12.
- 10 *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Samliche Fragmente*, edited by Elke Fröhlich (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1987), pt. 1, vol. 3, 166, 171, 178, 189.
- 11 Hüncke, *Die faschistische Aktion*, 13–14.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 13 The numbers quoted by writers on the subject differ by as much as five thousand words. The inventory of confiscated art runs to around 16,500 entries, but some of these have been left blank, while others cover entire portfolios of graphic works or a group of several watercolors or oils.
- 14 Alfred Hentzen, *Die Berliner National-Galerie im Bildersturm* (Cologne: Crote, 1972), 39–40.
- 15 Memorandum of September 22, 1937, Walter Hoffmann, letter to Joseph Goebbels, October 6, 1937, Goebbels, letter to Adolf Ziegler, October 21, 1937 (Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam [ZStA], Best. 5001-743, Bl. 8, 15–16, and *Die Tagebücher*, pt. 1, vol. 3, 285).
- 16 "Tausch von beschlagnahmten Produkten entarteter Kunst gegen Werke deutscher Meister des XVIII und XIX Jahrhunderts" (Exchange of confiscated products of degenerate art in return for works by German masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), Nr. I (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentrales Archiv, Nationalgalerie Archiv, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 9, 942/40, V d 809).
- 17 *Die Tagebücher*, pt. 1, vol. 3, 325, 401, 403.
- 18 The "Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst," with justification and explanation, is preserved in Potsdam (ZStA, Best. 5001-1012, Bl. 27–32).
- 19 *Die Tagebücher*, pt. 1, vol. 3, 445, 494.
- 20 Draft of "Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers" (Decree by the Führer and German chancellor, ZStA, Best. 5001-1012, Bl. 24); Franz Hofmann, letter to the "Verwertungskommission" [Disposal commission], June 8, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 49a).
- 21 The works handed over to Hermann Göring were van Gogh's *Dauhinny's Garden*, *Wheat Field*, and *Young Lovers*, Marc's *Turm der blauen Pferde* and *Die Rehe*, Munch's *Embrace*, *Encounter by the Sea*, *Melancholy*, and *Snow Shovelers*, and Signac's *Port*, all from Berlin, Cézanne's *Quarry*, Essen, van Gogh's *Dr. Gachet*, Frankfurt, and Marc's *Hirsch im Walde*, Halle.
- 22 Haberstock received Gauguin's *Horsemen on the Beach* (Cologne, ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 35), see Haberstock, letters to Franz Hofmann, June 5 and June 23, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 53–54).
- 23 Franz Hofmann, letter to Joseph Goebbels, July 22, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 38–40), "Bestand in Niederschönhausen" (Holdings in Niederschönhausen, ZStA, Best. 5001-1015, Bl. 26–50).
- 24 Franz Hofmann, letter to the Amt Schönheit der Arbeit (Beauty of work office), September 12, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 85, reference kindly supplied by Christoph Zuschlag).
- 25 "Von der E. A. K. aus Salzburg zurückerhalten" (Received back from *Entartete Kunst* in Salzburg, ZStA, Best. 5001-743, Bl. 75–76).
- 26 Franz Hofmann, letter to Joseph Goebbels, September 17, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1018, Bl. 3–4).
- 27 P. and D. Colnaghi, letter to Adolf Hitler, October 19, 1938, cited in Gerhard Strauss, "Dokumente zur 'Entarteten Kunst,'" in *Karl Hofer 1878–1955* (exh. cat., Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1978), 226.
- 28 Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, December 11, 1940 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 5), Karl Buchholz, letter to Rolf Hetsch, September 17, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 49).
- 29 Karl Buchholz, letter to the Propagandaministerium, August 8, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 44).
- 30 Karl Buchholz, letter to the Museum Halle, October 7, 1938 (Stadtarchiv Halle, Kommunales Tagebuch, April 1951, 48 verso).
- 31 Hildebrand Carlt, letter to Franz Hofmann, October 14, 1938, and letter to Rolf Hetsch, October 28, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1015, Bl. 148, 150).
- 32 Ferdinand Möller, letter to Madame von Ribbentrop, November 9, 1938 (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, Nachlass Ferdinand Möller).
- 33 Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, November 17, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 31–32).
- 34 Franz Hofmann, letter to Joseph Goebbels, November 28, 1938 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 19–21).
- 35 *Die Tagebücher*, 547, Franz Hofmann, letter to Joseph Goebbels, February 22, 1939, Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, February 20, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 14–18).
- 36 More recent writers on the subject have expressed doubts that this auto-da-fé did in fact take place, but the "good reasons" that they adduce for doubting the events are never given. In favor of the argument that the works in question were burned is the fact, for example, that the painter Ulrich Ertl could be compensated for three of his works that had been burned along with the others, since they had merely been on loan to the Lindenau-Museum in Altenburg, his application was turned down (Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, May 7, 1940 [ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 8]).
- 37 The first contracts with Boehmer and Buchholz are dated March 11, April 15, and April 18, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1019, Bl. 222–39, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 8–15).
- 38 A group of photographs in the archives of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin were previously believed to have been taken exclusively in the Schloss Niederschönhausen warehouse. In checking them, however, I was able to identify Ernst Barlach's studio as the background of some of the prints (figs. 114–15).

39 Bernhard A. Boehmer, sale contract, January 22, 1940 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1019, Bl. 33–34). Wolfgang Schrock Schmidt, Heidelberg, has pursued the fate of this painting in his doctoral thesis.

40 Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, December 6, 1930 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 12); see Peter Klaus Schuster, ed. *Dokumentation zum nationalsozialistischen Bildersturm am Bestand der Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst in München* (Munich: Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, 1987–88), 68–71.

41 Georg Schmidt, *Umsatz mit Kunst: Ausgewählte Schriften 1940–1963* (Olten: Walter, 1966), 327, corresponds with the details given by Buchholz concerning those works that he sent to Hlssel on commission; see also “Karl Buchholz, Angebotsliste,” June 10, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 130).

42 Georg Kreis, “Entartete Kunst” in Basel: Eine Chronik ausserordentlicher Ankaufe im Jahre 1939 (Basel: *Zentralblatt für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 78 (1978) 163–89; see also the expanded version of this article “Entartete Kunst für Basel: Die Herausforderung von 1939 (Basel: Wiese, 1990), 22–28, 50–54, 62–70.

43 Rolf Hetsch, letter to Wolfgang Gurlitt, December 23, 1941; Gurlitt, letter to Regierungsrat (Senior civil servant) Hopf, July 8, 1941 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1015, Bl. 6, 10).

44 February 3, 1939: 1 oil by Johann Christian Reinhardt and 2 sepia paintings by Joseph Anton Koch were exchanged for 11 oils, 29 watercolors, 1 drawing, and 1 portfolio of graphic works (2 of the oils were by Corinth, 1 each by Dix, Fuhr, Kokoschka, Macke, Marc, and 4 by Modersohn-Becker, of the watercolors 6 were by Klee and the other 23 by Marc; the drawing was by Kollwitz; and the portfolio of graphic works by Kubin).

June 14, 1939: 18 drawings by various Romantic artists were exchanged for 2 tapestries (Rohls and Tagore), 12 oils (1 each by Adler, Braque, Campigli, de Chirico, Coubine, Kirchner, Le Fauconnier, and Schiele, and 2 each by Faistauer and Jawlensky), 127 watercolors and drawings (Adler [3], Beckmann, Chagall, Dix [7], Feininger [6], Fuhr [2], Gromaire, Heckel [2], Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Kirchner [6], Klee [4], Klimt [2], Koster Kokoschka [8], Kubin [4], Liebermann, Macke [11], Meidner, Modersohn-Becker [3], Modigliani, Mueller [6], Nolde [5], Rohls [7], Schiele [18], Schmidt-Rottluff [6], and Tagore [2]), and 87 works of graphic art.

December 8, 1939: 1 oil each by Victor Müller and Friedrich Overbeck, 1 drawing each by Dreher and Joseph Anton Koch were exchanged for 5 oils (Beckmann, Dix, 1 Iser, Kokoschka, and Macke), 55 watercolors and drawings (Archipenko [2], Campendonk, Dix [4], Feininger [3], Fuhr, Grosz [4], Heckel [2], Kandinsky [2], Kirchner [2], Kokoschka [3], Kubin, Macke [5], Marcks [5], Modersohn-Becker [2], Mueller [3], Nolde [2], Picasso, Rohls [7], Schlemmer [2], Schmidt-Rottluff [2], and Severini), and 32 works of graphic art and 9 portfolios of graphic works (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Archiv der Nationalgalerie, Acta Spec. 24, Bd. 9, 942/40, V d 809, Nr. II, III, V).

45 Andreas Huneke, “Dubiose Händler operieren im Dunst der Macht: Vom Handel mit ‘entarteter Kunst,’” in *Alfred Flechtheim: Sammler, Kunsthandler, Verleger* (exh. cat. by Hans Albert Peters and Stephan von Wiese, Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum, 1987), 100–105.

46 Hildebrand Gurlitt, letter to Georg Schmidt, August 18, 1939 (Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Archiv, reference kindly supplied by Georg Kreis); Gurlitt, letter to Rolf Hetsch, September 25, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1015, Bl. 141); see Kreis “Entartete Kunst für Basel,” 53.

47 Franz Holmann, letter to Regierungsrat Hopf, September 21, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 73).

48 Huneke, “Dubiose Händler,” 103–4.

49 Franz Holmann, letter to Ferdinand Müller, December 15, 1939 (Berlin, Berlinische Galerie, Nachlass Ferdinand Müller); see also Huneke, “Dubiose Händler,” 103.

50 “Aufstellung der Verträge des Propagandaministeriums, Berlin, über an Herrn Valentin gelieferte Werke entarteter Kunst und über dessen Zahlungen” (Inventory of contracts with the Propagandaministerium, Berlin, concerning works of degenerate art delivered to Mr. Valentin, and their payments, ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 164).

51 “Namen und Daten der vermittelten Verkäufe,” June 3, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 99–100).

52 Karl Buchholz, letters to Franz Holmann, March 31 and April 17, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 178, 180).

53 Andreas Huneke, “Weg mit Zwitschermaschine & Paukenorgel: Paul Klee und die Aktion ‘Entartete Kunst,’” in *Paul Klee: Vorträge der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz in Dresden 19 und 20. Dezember 1984* (Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 1984), 65–70.

54 Karl Buchholz, letter to Franz Holmann, September 12, 1941; Buchholz, letter to Holmann, November 11, 1939; Holmann, letter to Buchholz, December 18, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 142–43, 105, 107, respectively).

55 Documents concerning the Duisburg Lehmbrucks are preserved in Potsdam: Reichspropagandaamt (Propaganda office) – Essen, letter to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, April 17, 1940; Ministerialrat (Assistant government department head) Biebrach, letters to Reichspropagandaamt, Essen, April 17 and May 15, 1940; Reichspropagandaamt, Essen, letters to Biebrach, May 14 and May 21, 1940; Karl Buchholz, letter to Franz Holmann, April 19, 1940; Rolf Hetsch, letter to Reichspropagandaamt, Essen, September 14, 1940 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 120–29); see Siegfried Salzmann, “Hinweg mit der Kneimel!” Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kunstkandals (Duisburg: Museumverein, 1981).

56 Karl Buchholz, letter to Franz Holmann, May 22, 1940 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 291).

57 Karl Buchholz, sale contract, February 15, 1941; Buchholz, letter to Franz Holmann, January 27, 1941 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1017, Bl. 270, 310).

58 Hentzen, *Die Berliner National-Galerie*, 45; Huneke, *Die jüdischistische Aktion*, 18; *Entartete Kunst: Beschlagnahmemaßnahmen in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Mannheim 1937* (exh. cat. by Hans-Jürgen Buderer, Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1987), 36; Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst, meeting minutes, December 6, 1939 (ZStA, Best. 5001-1020, Bl. 11); Dagmar Lott, “Münchens Neue Staatsgalerie im Dritten Reich,” in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die Kunststadt München 1917: Nationalsozialismus und ‘Entartete Kunst’* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 297.

59 Robert Scholz, *Vom Eros der Kunst* (Munich: Turmer, 1970), 29; Bürgermeister May, letter to Johannes Weidemann, September 12, 1941 (Stadtarchiv Halle, 321-4/5, 24); see Andreas Huneke, “Werke Max Liebermanns in Halle: Zum 50. Todestag des Künstlers,” *Galeriepigel* (Halle: Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg), 1985, no. 2, 8–14.



Figure 118  
Marc Chagall, *Die Prise (Rabbener) (The pinch of snuff [Rabbi])*, 1912, oil on canvas, 117 x 89.5 cm (46 1/8 x 35 1/8 in.),  
Kunstmuseum Basel. *Enlartete Kunst*, Room 2, NS inventory no. 15956, Fischer lot 17

# The Galerie Fischer Auction

In the spring of 1938, while the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was on view in Berlin, Reichsmarschall (Reich marshal) Hermann Göring expressed his interest in selling confiscated "degenerate" art for foreign currency. Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich minister for national enlightenment and propaganda) Joseph Goebbels escorted Adolf Hitler through a warehouse where the expropriated works were stored, and Hitler's response led Goebbels to record his own wholehearted support in his diaries: "Paintings from the degenerate art action will now be offered on the international art market. In so doing we hope at least to make some money from this garbage!"

The most overt manifestation of the National Socialists' desire to turn confiscated art into convertible currency was a remarkable auction of 125 paintings and sculptures from German museum collections that occurred in the summer of 1939 at the Galerie Fischer, an auction house in Lucerne, Switzerland.<sup>2</sup> That auction remains a milestone in the history of public sales of modern art, due in part to the high quality and the special provenance of the works offered, but the events connected with the unique sale have not previously been reconstructed.

The works of "degenerate" art that had been seized from German museums, on Goebbels's instructions, during the summer and fall of 1937 were divided in August 1938 between two storage facilities in Berlin. 780 of the most valuable paintings and sculptures, along with 3,500 graphic works, watercolors, and drawings, were housed in Schloss Niederschönhausen (figs. 119–20);<sup>3</sup> the remaining 16,000 works were crammed into storerooms rented by the National Socialists at Köpenicker Strasse 24.

In the late spring of 1938 Goebbels had established an eight-member Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art), which met periodically between that date and 1941 to advise on the disposition of these valuable assets. Goebbels was the nominal chairman of the commission, which was run by Franz Hofmann, assistant department head at the Propagandaministerium (Ministry of propaganda),

assisted by Rolf Hetsch. The other members were Karl Haberstock, a Berlin art dealer, Heinrich Hoffmann, the Reich's official photographic reporter, Carl Meder, consultant from the art trade in the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts), Robert Scholz, head of the department of fine arts at the "Rosenberg bureau", Hans Schweitzer, Reichsbeauftragter für künstlerische Formgebung (Reich commissioner for artistic design) and a member of the 1937 commission for the confiscation of works of art for *Entartete Kunst*, Max Tacuber, an antiquities dealer, and the organizer of *Entartete Kunst*, Adolf Ziegler, president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste.<sup>4</sup> The commission authorized four dealers—Karl Buchholz and Ferdinand Möller of Berlin, Bernhard A. Boehmer of Cüstrow, and Hildebrand Gurlitt of Hamburg—to sell works of "degenerate" art for hard currency. The negotiations during the late 1930s are the subject of Andreas Hüneke's revealing essay in this volume.

At its first meeting on November 17, 1938, the commission reviewed the Propagandaministerium's suggestion of a public sale of one hundred twenty-five masterworks selected from the confiscated hoard. As part of its deliberations the commission slightly modified the ministry's proposed list of objects by withdrawing paintings by Edvard Munch and Max Slevogt and sculptures by Ernesto de Fiori. Their final list included eighteen paintings and one sculpture removed from the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition either immediately after the Munich showing or during the presentation in Berlin. Certain key works were also deemed essential to a lucrative sale, since it was acknowledged that the international art market placed the highest value on non-German paintings. The most important of these were Vincent van Gogh's *Self-Portrait*, Paul Gauguin's *From Tahiti*, and four works by Pablo Picasso (for information on and illustrations of the individual works of art sold at the auction, see the appendix to this essay). The commission discussed the reserve (the minimum bid that would be accepted) on the van Gogh and made suggestions about insuring the works to be offered as well as the method of payment after the sale.





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Figure 119  
Confiscated "degenerate" art at Schloss  
Niederschönhausen, Berlin, work later in the Fischer  
auction 1. Gauguin, *From Tahiti* (lot 44), 2. Van Gogh,  
*Self-Portrait* (lot 45), 3. Picasso, *Head of a Woman* (lot  
117), 4. Matisse, *Still Life* (lot 94), 5. Picasso, *The Soler  
Family* (lot 114)



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Figure 120  
Confiscated art at Schloss Niederschönhausen,  
work later in the Fischer auction 1. Picasso, *The Soler  
Family* (lot 114), 2. Picasso, *Two Harlequins* (lot 115),  
3. Vlaminck, *Waldweg* (lot 124), 4. Lehmbruck,  
*Madchenkopf* (lot 74), 5. Lehmbruck, *Torso* (lot 75)

After Hitler's rise to power neutral Switzerland had become a haven, albeit temporarily for German artists (and collectors, who emigrated to keep their collections intact), writers, musicians, actors, theatrical directors, and other political refugees. Many settled in Swiss cities, hoping to pursue their careers with relatively little disruption. Some stayed only long enough to make arrangements to emigrate elsewhere in Europe or to Palestine or the United States. Some remained permanently, others returned to Germany after the war.<sup>4</sup> Switzerland, an international meeting point, was a logical and proximate place for a sale of art confiscated by the German government, and apparently Swiss law did not prohibit the proposed auction.

In the fall of 1938 Haberstock advised Hofmann that Theodor Fischer, the well-known Swiss art dealer, might be the best candidate to conduct such a sale. Fischer was the only non-Jewish Swiss dealer who had both international contacts and extensive experience in public auctions. In the 1920s he had worked in Berlin with the eminent dealer and publisher Paul Cassirer, an early German champion of Paul Cézanne, Munch, and the Sezession and Brücke artists, as well as Ernst Barlach and Kokoschka. In 1929 Fischer had established himself in Lucerne, conducting sales of fine and decorative arts and antiques. The more important auctions, attracting hundreds of observers—too many indeed for his premises—were held in salons of the Grand Hôtel National, directly across Haldenstrasse.

The first letter in the Galerie Fischer archive pertaining to the proposed sale is addressed to Hofmann and dated October 8, 1938. In it Fischer maintained that an international auction under his auspices would bring the highest return for the National Socialists. He had obviously been contacted prior to this, probably by Haberstock, about his qualifications for and interest in such a project.<sup>6</sup> Haberstock would have made it clear in advance that one of the conditions of any sale would be that the proceeds be deposited in a foreign-currency account, whence they would be available to the Reich. Fischer wrote in his letter of October 8 that he foresaw no obstacle to his compliance with this condition. He offered to come to Berlin to discuss the project and went on to propose that his commission be 15 percent on all objects except the six most valuable—the Gauguin, van Gogh, and four Picassos—for which it would drop to 6 percent. Furthermore he would cover all costs of the preparation of the catalogue. Eleven days later, on October 19, he wrote to Haberstock informing him that he was corresponding with Hofmann and sending to the latter sample catalogues from his gallery as models. On October 24 Fischer wrote that he had negotiated a guarantee with the Bank of Switzerland for a transfer of auction proceeds to an account in London, and he offered to undertake the arrangements for shipping the works from Berlin as well as insuring them with the Württembergische Transport-Versicherung. (The issue of insuring the unsold works for return to Berlin was raised only the following spring.)

On November 18, the day following the first meeting of the commission, Hofmann conveyed to Fischer its recommendations for reserves on the most valuable pictures.<sup>7</sup> Three days later Hofmann was able to send a proposed sale list of sixty-two of the most important works stored in the Schloss Niederschönhausen depot, with estimates in Swiss francs established by the commission. Presumably the remaining objects were to come from the storerooms on Köpenicker Strasse. Although Fischer still had no commitment from the commission that he was to be the official auctioneer (and was anxious to conclude the arrangements in order to have time to organize the event [Fischer to Hofmann, November 29]), he nevertheless asked Hofmann on December 9 for photographs and enough data (dimensions and provenance) to begin preparations for the catalogue. Only shortly before Christmas did Hofmann inform Fischer, "The planned auction has now finally been approved by the department in charge. Shortly after the new year I will send you the contract and the list" (Hofmann to Fischer, December 21).

At the end of February 1939 Fischer was still uncertain how the Propagandaministerium wanted to title the auction, and on February 23 he wrote to Hofmann for guidance. In his response of March 8 Hofmann stated that he was sending the final list of works via the German consulate in Bern and instructed Fischer that the title of the sale should omit any reference to a sale "by order of the Reich." This was to forestall the conclusion that the works were being sold for the benefit of a German military effort, several members of the international art world were openly critical of a public sale in Switzerland, and Berlin thought that eliminating mention of the Reich would allow some people to participate whose consciences might otherwise forbid it. A significant proportion of the art world did ultimately boycott the auction, unconvinced that the proceeds were not destined to further Hitler's cause.<sup>8</sup>

On February 19 Fischer had received the first inquiry from abroad. Curt Valentin, writing from America, must have known of the impending sale from colleagues in Berlin.<sup>9</sup> He had emigrated from Germany the year before and opened a New York branch of Buchholz's gallery (Buchholz being one of the four German dealers authorized by the National Socialists to sell "degenerate" art). Quickly establishing himself as the leading dealer in German Expressionist art in America, Valentin would indeed become one of the important bidders at the auction.

Fischer was eager to receive the contract from Berlin because he was already feeling the disdain that members of the Zurich art crowd, competitive dealers, and some local newspapers were evincing toward him.<sup>10</sup> The four-page contract between the Propagandaministerium and the Galerie Fischer finally arrived in March. It made the following stipulations: no works other than those consigned by the ministry could be included in the catalogue;

approximately 40 percent of the works should be illustrated in the catalogue; the ministry reserved the right to approve the catalogue contents before it was printed; the sale should be advertised in *The Burlington Magazine* (London), the *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* (Paris), and *Art News* (New York); previews were to be scheduled in Zurich and Lucerne; the sale must occur in Lucerne before the end of June. The contract also established the reserve bids, commissions (varying from 15 to 12½ to 7 percent, depending on estimated sale prices), terms of accounting (within eight days of the sale) and remittances (to be deposited in London in pounds sterling), and details of the transportation to Switzerland of works to be sold and the return to Berlin of unsold works within three weeks after the sale. Finally, a *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait) by Lovis Corinth was replaced by his *Bildnis Trübner* (Portrait of Trübner) and Franz Marc's *Pferde* (Horses) by his *Legender Hund im Schnee* (Dog lying in the snow, erroneously titled *Weisser Hund* [White dog]).

By the middle of April Georg Schmidt, the newly appointed director of the Kunstmuseum Basel, had received a copy of Fischer's auction catalogue.<sup>11</sup> Handwritten annotations in his personal copy (now in the library of the Kunstmuseum) reveal that he generally esteemed the non-German works more highly than the German art. Drawing on his memory of objects he had seen on visits to Germany, he surmised that not all the modern art that had been confiscated by the National Socialists was being offered in Lucerne; excellent examples must still be stored in various ministry facilities. During April and May, therefore, he maintained a correspondence with both Buchholz and Gurlitt—evidently unbeknownst to each other—in which he pondered the acquisition of such works.<sup>12</sup> Though neither dealer had ever transacted business with Schmidt, Gurlitt attempted to elicit the names of artists of interest to the director, while Buchholz offered to represent Basel in any subsequent direct negotiations with Berlin.

At the time that Schmidt was making his preliminary selection from the auction catalogue, Fischer was in Berlin, where he was able to see for the first time all the art he would be selling. At Schloss Niederschönhausen he observed that many of the paintings were unframed and authorized Hans Ranft, the manager of the storage facility, to have them framed at his, Fischer's, expense before shipping them, since "framed pictures sell better" (Fischer to Hofmann, April 17). The framing complete, the 108 paintings and 17 sculptures were shipped to Zurich on April 26 by Bronner & Cie, a Swiss transport firm, arriving in plenty of time for the preview at the Zunfthaus zur Meise (fig. 121). During the ten-day preview, May 17–27, three hundred tickets were sold at three Swiss francs apiece.<sup>13</sup>

Schmidt first visited the preview in Zurich on May 16, the day before it was opened to the public, and then again on May 23 in the company of several members of a special art commission appointed by the city council of Basel. A preliminary wish list was agreed upon. As a result, Schmidt was provisionally granted an initial allocation of 50,000 Swiss francs. Gurlitt visited Schmidt in Basel on

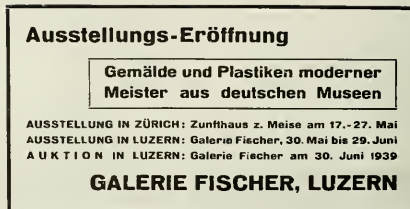


Figure 121

Announcement of the Zurich and Lucerne previews of the Fischer auction

Wednesday, May 24, to continue their discussion on purchases for the museum. Schmidt confided that he was eager to see for himself what might be purchased directly from the works stored in Berlin so that he might better plan the disposition of his funds at the auction in Lucerne the following month. The next day Schmidt wrote to Buchholz of his meeting with Gurlitt and announced his plan to visit Berlin that weekend. Before Schmidt's arrival Gurlitt met with Buchholz, and the two dealers agreed to work together with the Swiss director, splitting their commissions. Buchholz, as the more experienced of the two, would carry on the negotiations.<sup>14</sup>

Over the long Pentecost holiday weekend, May 27–30, Schmidt, with the assistance of Buchholz and Ranft, was able to study the works at Schloss Niederschönhausen. He selected twenty-six for possible purchase, narrowing the list to thirteen before his departure, instructing Buchholz to reserve them on Basel's behalf. He also asked for reassurance as to how the proceeds from such a sale would be used. Back in Basel to confirm his municipal funding, Schmidt heard a rumor that Fischer was soon to return to Berlin and wrote urgently to Buchholz imploring him to keep their negotiations secret for fear that Fischer would somehow interfere with or even interdict the deal. On June 3 Buchholz reassured his client that the Propagandaministerium would honor his request and that the proceeds would be used exclusively for art-related purposes.<sup>15</sup> As soon as Schmidt secured the commitment of the city council, he approved the shipment of the thirteen paintings to Basel for a final decision. He was eager that this be accomplished before the auction, in the event that prices there were very high, Basel would already have secured important examples of "degenerate" art and Berlin could not change the agreed prices. Among the works shipped were Corinth's *Ecce Homo* (fig. 31), Kokoschka's *Die Windsbraut* (The tempest, fig. 37), and Marc's *Tierschicksale* (Fate of animals), all of which Schmidt eventually purchased for 18,000 Swiss francs (about \$4,000).



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Figure 122

Theodor Fischer (far right) and colleagues in a salon of the Grand Hôtel National, Lucerne, before the auction on June 30, 1939, identifiable work 1. Matisse, *Bathers with a Turtle* (lot 93) 2. Pechstein, *Gladiatoren* (lot 112) 3. Beckmann, *Doppelbildnis Karneval* (lot 12) 4. Nolde, *Kuhmelken* (lot 108)

Although the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the most influential Swiss newspaper, devoted only a small article to the preview in its last days, public and art-world reaction to the impending sale was mounting. In an article of January 1939 Paul Westheim, the eminent German-Jewish publisher of Expressionist art and poetry, living as a refugee in France, took issue with the German government's claims of what it would do with the proceeds.<sup>16</sup> In articles in the *Die Neue Weltbühne* (1939, nos. 24, 28) he attempted to discredit the proposed Schmidt purchases for the Kunstmuseum.

Unfavorable word had reached America as well. On June 1 Alfred Frankfurter, editor of *Art News* and an advisor to the American art collector Maurice Wertheim, cabled Fischer: "To counteract rumors suggest you cable confidentially not for publication actual ownership June 30 sale and whether money obtained goes to Germany stop Believe would stimulate American bids."

The next day Fischer responded: "Thanks for cable stop Proceeds June 30 disregards German government all payments are due to Gallery Fischer Lucerne stop Funds will be distributed to German museums for new acquisitions stop Rumors originate from Paris by big dealer endeavoring trust using political arguments although he bought directly from Germany for large sums stop Entitle you to publish this declaration. Compliments/Gallery Fischer"

There is in the Galerie Fischer archive a statement, "My Point of View," written in French by Theodor Fischer on June 19 concerning the impending sale and the cabal he felt was gathering against him. He maintained that a group of dealers was colluding to stop colleagues from bidding, implying that this ring had begun in Paris but that its influence had spread to New York, spawning Frankfurter's cable. One or two major dealers who were also doing business with the Propagandaministerium were the source of the boycott, he contended.

Fischer sent a longer apologia to potential bidders,<sup>17</sup> but it had little effect. Museums and private collectors were understandably ambivalent about participating in the sale. On the one hand, many of the works to be auctioned were of such quality and rarity that they commanded attention; on the other, sympathy for a boycott ran high, given the commonplace assumption, Fischer's letter notwithstanding, that the proceeds were destined to further Hitler's nefarious intentions. (In fact, in 1941 the Reichserziehungsministerium [Reich ministry of education] did make some meager compensation to several museums for the hundreds of works that had been confiscated. The monies, of course, could never be used to replace what had been removed, nor were they sufficient to do so.)

Following the Zurich preview the works of art were sent to Lucerne. Midway through the exhibition there (June 1–29) Fischer learned of the Basel negotiations, and on June 17 he protested angrily to Hofmann, accusing him of undermining the auction, adding that in April he had explicitly replied to queries from Schmidt and the Basel art commission that no works in Berlin could be purchased prior to the sale in Lucerne.

*Now I learn that you received the gentleman [Schmidt] and closed a transaction with him [in Berlin]. You will understand that you did quite a bit of damage to me. I had to assume that even if it was not expressly stated in the contract that you would not go against the interests of the auction to which I have given so much time and money. I have also treated another commission from another museum in the same way. They informed me of their wishes and gave me their orders. These gentlemen canceled their orders yesterday, and I know they were aware of the events in Basel. You must realize that such actions are worse for me than even the Jewish propaganda, which I can fight with important arguments.*





Figure 123  
Fischer auctioning Braque's *Still Life* (lot 14)

A few days later (June 20) Fischer again addressed Hofmann, asking permission to alter the reserves on three less valuable works—by Cuno Amiet, Maurice Barraud, and Georges Braque—and requesting a margin of 10 to 20 percent in the reserve prices of the six most important paintings by Gauguin, van Gogh, Marc, and three by Picasso.<sup>18</sup> He also stated his wish to have eight days after the auction in which to find buyers for unsold works. Hofmann responded immediately (June 21), granting Fischer's first request (about the Amiet, Barraud, and Braque) but denying his second (with regard to the six masterworks), claiming he could not canvas the commission in time to get their approval. He agreed, however, to Fischer's proposal to seek buyers for works left unsold after the auction.

Fischer soon learned that neither Hofmann nor Hetsch nor Haberstock would be attending the auction. The Propagandaministerium would be represented instead by a Dr. Hopf,<sup>19</sup> who would observe the proceedings and convey the details of the sale to Berlin. (In addition to a full accounting of each transaction, Hofmann wanted a breakdown by French and German paintings, he also wanted to know who bought the most important works.)

At three o'clock on Friday afternoon, June 30, 1939, in an elegant salon of the Grand Hôtel National overlooking tranquil Lake Lucerne, auctioneer Fischer mounted the podium to commence the three-hour sale (fig. 123). Among the 350 guests who crowded the hall, now ringed with sculpture to be sold, were Emil Bührle and Gertrud Dubi-Müller, Swiss collectors; Alfred Frankfurter, Pierre Matisse, the painter's son and an art dealer in Paris and New York, his client, the young collector Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., of Saint Louis, with his new bride, Louise Vauclain; Josef von Sternberg, the American film director and art collector; Curt Valentin and his fellow refugee and New York art dealer, Karl Nierendorf; and Swedish collector Theodor Wölfer. Representatives of museums in Antwerp, Basel, Bern, Brussels, and Liège, as well as American, Belgian, English, French, Swiss, and even a few German collectors, dealers, and journalists, were present, along with many elegantly dressed and curious spectators who filled the remaining seats or stood around the room (fig. 130). Several observers from the ministry also attended. The representatives of the Bern Kunstmuseum had seated themselves anonymously in the back row, but a Fischer employee, recognizing them, escorted them to seats in the front of the room.<sup>20</sup>

The auction was conducted in German, English, and French. The bidding was in Swiss francs. Every successful bidder was required to sign a bidder's card, although, contrary to today's practice, bidders were not obliged to identify themselves in advance in order to establish their credit arrangements. Many of the bidders were unknown to Fischer. Many, in fact, were buying on behalf of clients who cherished their anonymity at all costs,<sup>21</sup> though some dealers were representing clients who could be identified. Pierre Matisse attended specifically to bid on his father's masterpiece, *Bathers with a Turtle*, which Pulitzer wanted for his growing collection.<sup>22</sup> Frankfurter was bidding for the absent Wertheim, whose collection in New York comprised works by Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. Some of the successful bidders did not attend the auction but submitted written bids instead. Of the forty individuals who purchased art at the sale, however, most were present.

As the sale began, Frankfurter was summoned to the front of the room for an urgent telephone call. At that time he may have been informed of the German annexation of the Polish city of Danzig, one report says he was instructed not to bid because of German aggression.<sup>23</sup> Only when Frankfurter's call had been completed could the bidding proceed.

One of the most eagerly anticipated lots was van Gogh's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 124), formerly in the collection of the Neue Staatsgalerie in Munich. The painting had been expropriated on March 27, 1938, for the specific reason that it could be expected to bring a high price at the auction, and it did, in fact, command the most spirited bidding, with museums and private collectors in contention. The presale estimate was 250,000 Swiss francs. When the painting was brought to the podium, the heightened interest of the spectators was palpable.



Figure 124  
Van Gogh's *Self-Portrait* (lot 45) on the auction block

*In a nearly expressionless voice Fischer announces that he has an order bid of 145,000 francs [about \$29,000]. He repeats the number in German, French, and English. It is followed by a bid of 150,000 francs. From now on bids will be accepted only in increments of 5,000 francs. Quickly the bidding climbs to 165,000 francs. Going once, twice, three times—sold! Much excitement in the room. A man calls out that he had already bid 160,000 francs. Place your bets! The play goes on to 170,000 francs! Is anyone bidding higher? 175,000—once, twice, three times. America has won against the Netherlands. That Dr. Frankfurter who was so urgently requested on the telephone has to make out a check with a 15% commission for over 200,000 francs. Pauvre Vincent!*<sup>24</sup>

On behalf of Wertheim, Frankfurter had paid the equivalent of \$40,000 for the picture (still about \$8,000 below the estimate). Immediately after the lot was knocked down, he removed the painting, placed it in the trunk of his car, and drove away amid a crowd of curious onlookers.<sup>25</sup>

Frankfurter's strongest competition had come from the Belgian delegation, led by Dr. Jean Buisseret of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège, and Professor Dr. L. van Puyvelde, director of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. Following the sale Buisseret sent a postcard to Dr. Jules Bossmant, director at Liège, "There was nothing to be done. Particularly upset about the van Gogh (bought by an American for 170,000 francs + 15% it will be 240,000!)"<sup>26</sup>



Figure 125  
Fischer (far right) auctioning Lehmbruck's *Torso* (lot 75)



Figure 126  
Emil Nolde, *Blumengarten X* (Flower garden X), 1926, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 88 cm (28½ x 34½ in.), Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels. *Entartete Kunst*, Room C1, NS inventory no. 16186, Fischer lot 105



Figure 127  
Franz Marc, *Zwei Katzen Blau und Gelb* (Two cats, blue and yellow), 1912, oil on canvas, 74 x 98 cm (29½ x 38½ in.), Kunstmuseum Basel. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 6, NS inventory no. 16133, Fischer lot 88



Bossmant had attended the preview in Lucerne several weeks before the sale to study the works to be auctioned. In a memo discussing the strategy of the Belgian contingent he commented, as Schmidt had done, that the works being offered represented only a small percentage of those that were confiscated. Unlike Schmidt, however, he did not try to deal directly with Berlin. Instead, he divided the works into three groups—non-German artists represented by masterworks (Gauguin, van Gogh, Matisse, Picasso), other non-German artists, and Germans—and recommended specific acquisitions from each category. He felt the estimates were fair but said that the bidding would obviously depend on how well the auction was attended.<sup>27</sup>

The Belgians ultimately purchased fifteen paintings—Liège alone bought nine—including some of the most important works available. Chagall's *Blaues Haus* (Blue house), Corinth's *Bildnis Brandes* (Portrait of Brandes), Ensor's *Masks and Death*, Gauguin's *From Tahiti*, George Grosz's *Bildnis Mehring* (Portrait of Mehring), Karl Hofer's *Tischgesellschaft* (Group at a table), Kokoschka's *Trancespieler* (Hypnotist) and *Monte Carlo* (fig. 287), Max Liebermann's *Reiter am Strand* (Rider on the shore), Marie Laurencin's *Portrait of a Girl*, Marc's *Pferde auf der Weide* (Horses in a pasture), Emil Nolde's *Blumengarten X* (Flower garden X, fig. 126), Jules Pascin's *Seated Girl*, and Picasso's *Two Harlequins* and *Soler Family*.

Schmidt and representatives of the Basel art commission were active bidders despite the major acquisitions they had made the month before in Berlin. Now they added eight paintings to their earlier purchases, including three works that had been on view in *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, Chagall's *Winter* (fig. 183) and *Rabbiner* (Rabbi, fig. 118) and Marc's *Zwei Katzen Blau und Gelb* (Two cats, blue and yellow; fig. 127), as well as Corinth's *Stilleben* (Still life), André Derain's *View from the Window*, Otto Dix's *Die Eltern des Künstlers* (The artist's parents), Paul Klee's *Villa R.*, and Paula Modersohn-Becker's *Selbstbildnis*. Of his 50,000-franc budget Schmidt spent 20,000 in Lucerne. Judging from the annotations in his catalogue, he may have also bid unsuccessfully for James Ensor's *Masks and Death* and Picasso's *Soler Family*. These went to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Liège.

Also changing hands that day were Corinth's *Bildnis des Malers Bernt Grönvold* (Portrait of the painter Bernt Grönvold, fig. 188), Grosz's *Metropolis* (fig. 216), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Das Boskett* (The bosquet) and *Im Cafégarten* (In the café garden, fig. 258), Kokoschka's *Bildnis der Herzogin von Montesquiou* (Portrait of the duchess of Montesquiou-Fezensac, fig. 128), Otto Mueller's *Drei Frauen* (Three women, fig. 306), and Nolde's *Christus und die Sünderin* (Christ and the adulteress, fig. 342) and *Kuhmelken* (Milk cows, fig. 338), all of which had been in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich.

Accounts of the auction were carried in American, Belgian, British, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Swiss (figs. 129–31), and a few German newspapers. The articles, incredulous that the German government would sell such important works, universally decried the sale.



Figure 128  
Oskar Kokoschka, *Bildnis der Herzogin von Montesquiou* (Portrait of the duchess of Montesquiou-Fezensac), 1911, oil on canvas, 95 x 50 cm (37½ x 19½ in.). Cincinnati Art Museum, bequest of Paul E. Geier. *Entartete Kunst*, Room 4. NS inventory no. 16033, Fischer lot 65.





Immediately following the auction, on July 5, Fischer dispatched two photographs to Haberstock giving him an impression of the atmosphere at the sale. He also deposited an initial ten thousand pounds sterling in the special British bank account—named “EK”—established for the purpose by the Propagandaministerium. The rest followed in a few days. He informed Haberstock that the “Jews boycotted the auction. Two-thirds of the works were sold.” He indicated that “Frankfurter and Valentin came from America, as well as a few private collectors. Very few people came from London, Paris, or the Netherlands. Someone came from Sweden” (Fischer to Haberstock, July 5). Later he added information about particular works: “The important French pictures were all sold to Belgians. I didn’t know the museum directors” (Fischer to Haberstock, July 12).

The proceeds of the sale totaled 500,000 Swiss francs (about \$115,000). Compared with the prices at contemporary auctions in London, New York, and Paris, the sums attained at the Fischer auction were fairly modest.<sup>28</sup> Of the 125 lots 38 did not meet their reserves, though in the following months several were sold by Fischer, who, contrary to the terms of his contract with the Propagandaministerium, did not return the unsold works to Berlin within the stipulated eight days. Some of these were sold far below their estimates. Fischer accepted 1,250 francs from Nierendorf for Lyonel Feininger’s *Zirchow VI*, for which a sale price of 2,100 francs had been estimated, and 2,900 francs from Boehmer for Corinth’s *Selbstbildnis* of 1914, which had been estimated at 6,300 francs. It was not until 1941 that the remaining works went back to Hofmann.



Figures 129–31  
Scenes from the auction published in Swiss newspapers, the works by Picasso are *Head of a Woman* (lot 117) and *Two Harlequins* (lot 115)

The most important work sold after the auction was *The Absinthe Drinker* by Picasso, formerly in the collection of the Hamburger Kunsthalle. The picture's original donor, a Mr Dalport, demanded that he have the right to repurchase the work and contacted the Swiss government. The painting was not sold at the auction, during the subsequent two years of litigation it hung in the German embassy in Bern. It was finally decided in 1941 that since Dalport had donated the painting to the Kunsthalle he had no further claim to it. Haberstock subsequently permitted Fischer to sell the work, after seeking the latter's assurance that the proceeds would reach Berlin without difficulty (Haberstock to Fischer, July 12).

*I want to avoid at all costs a situation in which our payment will be blocked in Switzerland. If there is any danger of this, the sale must be handled in such a way that the painting would first be returned to us, and the payment would be made directly in English pounds to us at the Reichsbank to the account "EK." The painting would be shipped directly to the purchaser after receiving the payment. Your commission could be withheld directly by you.*

The painting was sold for 42,000 Swiss francs to the well-known Swiss collector Dr Othmar Huber of Glarus, who had been prevented from attending the auction by congested traffic on the road leading to Lucerne.<sup>29</sup>

Fischer tried unsuccessfully to sell the rest of the works of art. In 1941 he sent a group on consignment to Bettie Thommen, a dealer in Basel, but all were returned unsold. Several paintings were shipped to Boehmer on June 28, 1941, for a total of 24,000 Swiss francs.

Although the June 30 sale was not a resounding success for Fischer or the Propagandaministerium, the auctioneer and Haberstock did correspond subsequently on the subject of a second auction for graphic works.<sup>30</sup> Fischer suggested that a Mrs Zelenka handle the sale, Haberstock preferred Dr August Klipstein, a dealer and auctioneer in Bern. But the sale never took place. Fischer never mounted another public sale for the ministry. He continued to handle consignments for Haberstock, Hofmann, Boehmer, and others, although only a few of the works consigned by the ministry after 1939 were examples of "degenerate" art. After the war there was an extensive examination by the American Office of Special Services and the Allies of the role played by Fischer in the sale of property expropriated by the National Socialists, but that is the subject for another essay, one that lies beyond the scope of the present volume.

Determining the fate of works sold in Lucerne has not been easy. Many of the purchasers acted anonymously, sent representatives, or even used fictitious names. The shipping records of the sale are helpful in some cases, but in others there is no record of how the pieces left Lucerne. Only sixty works were illustrated in the auction catalogue, and it was not possible to identify all of the others from the brief verbal descriptions. Perhaps the publication here for the first time of photographs of all but one of the works sold will help in the location of some currently believed to have been lost or destroyed.<sup>31</sup>

The June 30 sale at Galerie Fischer is a unique historical event. Had the prices achieved been more dramatic, the Propagandaministerium might have been encouraged to consign more works for public sale. The auction did provide an opportunity for enlightened museums and private collectors to purchase major works of art that under normal circumstances would never have come on the market. As *The Burlington Magazine* commented afterward, "Revolutions have often in the past led to the dispersal of art collections and thus aroused interest in particular schools of art in new quarters. There is little doubt that in the present case new admirers will be found for these rejected works in an atmosphere free from political prejudice."<sup>32</sup> Antiques remarked in 1941:

*It is an interesting commentary that in the "New Order" the governments are so poor that they must steal art masterpieces from their peoples to get foreign exchange with which to buy raw materials for more guns. Only the democracies are prosperous enough to keep their masterpieces and to preserve the old cultural and human values. Art, like butter, yields to guns under fascism.<sup>33</sup>*

While the loss to Germany was irreparable and the circumstances surrounding the Fischer auction certainly made buyers uneasy, those who did purchase not only greatly enriched their collections but also saved these works from probable destruction. The legacy lives on today in public and private collections in Antwerp, Basel, Berlin, Bern, Bremen, Brussels, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Chemnitz, Cincinnati, Cologne, Duisburg, Hagen, Halle, Hamburg, Hannover, Karlsruhe, Krefeld, Liege, Mannheim, Minneapolis, Munich, New York, Saint Louis, Stuttgart, and Zurich. These works all share a very special provenance. ■

#### Notes

1 Joseph Goebbels, diary entry for July 29, 1938; see also entries for May 18 and December 13 of the same year, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Samtliche Fragmente*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: C. G. Sauer, 1987), pt. 1, vol. 3.

2 The Galerie Fischer has been in business continuously at the same address in Lucerne since 1929. I am extremely grateful for the cooperation of Mrs. Fischer and her family in enabling me to carry out my research for this essay. Marco Cramer, auctioneer at the Galerie Fischer, had done much preliminary research on the history of the gallery and the June 1939 auction; he was extremely generous in making the extensive gallery archives accessible to me and in sharing his files and ideas with me during the past three years. I am most appreciative of his assistance.

All quotations from letters to or from Theodor Fischer in this essay are taken from the correspondence preserved in the archives of the Galerie Fischer unless otherwise noted.

3 Lists of the works stored in Schloss Niederschönhausen are in the Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam, Best. 5001-1015, Bl. 26-50. The list of graphic works is in the archives of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

4 Andreas Huneke, "Funktionen der Station 'Entartete Kunst,'" in *Stationen der Moderne* (exh. cat., Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 49.

5 Helmut F. Pfanner, "The Role of Switzerland for the Refugees," in *The Muses Flee Hitler*, ed. Jarek C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 243.

6 Haberstock must have been in direct communication with Fischer about a sale even prior to the first meeting of the commission. Since the former was well connected to the members of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste and the Propagandaministerium, he would have been in a position to indicate to Fischer some of the works that were being considered for disposal. Evidently the commission proposed no other candidate to mount the auction.

7 Franz Hofmann, letter to Theodor Fischer, November 18, 1939. "Concerning the arrangements for the reserves, only in the case of the *Self-Portrait* by van Gogh do the gentlemen [of the commission] request that an adjustment be made: the painting cannot go for less than £10,000. The other reserves have changed insignificantly, mostly reductions."

8 See the interview with Othmar Huber in R. N. Ketterer, *Dialog: Bildende Kunst Kunsthandel* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1988), 132, and Georg Kreis, "Entartete" Kunst für Basel: Die Herausforderung von 1939 (Basel: Wiese, 1990), 20.

9 Curt Valentin, letter to Theodor Fischer, February 19, 1939. "I'm not sure if you will remember me, but our mutual friend Dr. Bernoulli can give you information about me. As I hear it, you are planning for May or June an auction of about 125 works formerly in the possession of German museums. I am extremely interested in this auction and indeed here one finds many interested as well—as many I imagine, as in your area. Please send a complete list and, if possible, photos or citations as to where they are reproduced. Perhaps you could even send a catalogue proof if you are at that stage of production. It all takes so much time here for an auction. Is it possible that my gallery could be a central place for American bids? On which basis would you suggest we might work together? I have been interested in these affairs for a long time and am prepared to be a strong bidder myself. When you send the list please include estimates."

10 Kreis, "Entartete" Kunst für Basel, 27 n. 43.

11 Fischer ordered 1,400 copies of the catalogue printed, which seems to be consistent with the quantity of sales catalogues produced by the gallery for other auctions. A bill, dated April 30, 1939, from Buchdruckerei Keller & Co. for the printing of the "Katalog: Entartete Kunst" and other catalogues is in the Fischer archives.

12 The most extensive documentation on Schmidt's activities with regard to "degenerate" art is found in Kreis's "Entartete" Kunst für Basel, which reveals the contents of restricted files in the archives in Basel and Potsdam.

13 Since certain clients of the gallery received complimentary entrance cards with their copies of the catalogue, it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many people actually previewed the works in either Zurich or Lucerne. The gallery records note 430 paid admissions for the preview in Lucerne during the month of June.

14 Kreis, "Entartete" Kunst für Basel, 12–13 n. 26–27.

15 Ibid., 168–69.

16 One of the first and most vocal critics of the auction, Paul Westheim had emigrated to Paris in 1933. In January 1939 he wrote about the "strictly confidential intention" of the planned auction at the Galerie Fischer in "Die Ausplünderung der Museen: Das Dritte Reich verramscht die Kunst," *New Viewpoints*, January 1, 1939. Later, just before the auction, he would criticize it again as an attack by the German government on German museums and an attempt to obtain foreign currency for the purchase of arms (*Anführungszeichen Kritik* [Leipzig/Weimar: Gustav Kiepenhauer, 1985], 59).

17 Theodor Fischer, letter in English addressed "Dear Sir," June 1939. "We have been informed by friends that in America there is at present vehement propaganda in order to boycott this sensational public sale, pretending that the proceeds will go to Germany for purposes of armament. This argument is ridiculous and wrong. We therefore wish to state very clearly that all payments are to be addressed to the Gallery Fischer, Lucerne, and that the German Government has nothing to do with it. It was always understood that the funds will be distributed in favour of the German Museums so as to enable them to buy other works of art. The Gallery Fischer wants furthermore to state that she is aware that a very important art dealer in Paris is endeavoring to form some sort of a ring or trust in order to be able to acquire in Lucerne the best pictures very cheap excluding every competition. This sort of gentlemen have already set an example by buying free-handed from the German Government high class modern pictures without any scruples regarding the use of their foreign money." (Fischer archives, a copy of this letter was received by Curt Valentin and is among his papers, which are on deposit at the Museum of Modern Art, New York.)

18 Fischer wanted to be able to sell the highly valued works if the final bids were 10 to 20 percent below the reserve. It is fairly common to review the reserves immediately prior to a sale and to revise them if necessary.

19 This information was conveyed in an illegibly dated postcard sent sometime in June from Rolf Hetsch and letters of June 22 and 26 from Karl Haberstock to Theodor Fischer.

20 Interview with Margarete Kopp, November 1987, Lucerne. Miss Kopp, who died in 1989, worked for Theodor Fischer and participated in the June 30 auction.

21 According to one of the German collectors who purchased art at the auction, it was too dangerous for Germans to attend the sale, he bought through the dealer Bernhard A. Boehmer (private collector, letter to the author, March 15, 1990). Mrs. Paul Geier, the widow of another buyer at the sale, recalled that her husband, "at age 24, bought the pictures directly from the Galerie Fischer. He had earlier received the catalogue and earmarked two Kokoschkas, a Marc, and a Hofer for his collection" (Mrs. Paul Geier, letter to the author, March 16, 1990). According to the Fischer records Geier did not attend the sale, the pictures were purchased by a Mr. Steinmeyer of Lucerne, presumably on Geier's behalf.

22 Pulitzer, who had recently graduated from Harvard, was on his honeymoon in June 1939. At Curt Valentin's suggestion, the young couple attended the sale and authorized Pierre Matisse to bid for them. Pulitzer bought two paintings (the Matisse and a canvas by Otto Mueller) and one sculpture (a Lehmbruck). This information was communicated in a letter of November 20, 1986, which Mr. Pulitzer kindly made available to the author.

23 J. O. K., "Gemälde und Plastiken aus deutschen Museen unter dem Hammer," *Der Bund*, July 6, 1939, preserved in the Arntz archives (Los Angeles, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Archives of the History of Art, Wilhelm F. Arntz Papers); and Kreis, "Entartete" Kunst für Basel, 27 n. 43.

24 J. O. K., "Gemälde und Plastiken."

25 A clipping from an unidentified Lucerne newspaper describes the scene but identifies the painting as Picasso's *Two Harlequins*. The latter, however, was among the Belgian acquisitions sent to the shipper Bronner & Cie. in Basel for transfer to Belgium. The shipping records of the Galerie Fischer indicate that the van Gogh was indeed taken from the premises by Frankfurter.

26 Jean Buisseret, postcard to Jules Bossmant, June 30, 1939 (Los Angeles, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Archives of the History of Art, Jules Bossmant Papers).

27 See travel expenses dated June 16, 1939, and a note preserved among the Bossmant papers (see note 26).

28 After the auction Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., visited the Swiss collector Margit Hahnloser, who had not been in attendance, and recalls that she was fascinated by the relatively low prices achieved (Pulitzer, letter of November 20, 1986, see note 22).

29 Ketterer, *Dialog*, 131.

30 Karl Haberstock, letters to Theodor Fischer, July 7 and 13, 1939. Fischer, letters to Haberstock, July 12 and 15, 1939.

31 Berlin provided Fischer with a complete set of photographs, but, as stipulated in the contract of March 1939, only approximately 40 percent of the works of art were to be illustrated in the auction catalogue.

32 "Fischer, Lucerne," *The Burlington Magazine* 74 (May 1939): xvi.

33 "Guns, Butter, and Art in Naziland," *Antiques* 40, no. 1 (July 1941): 17.

# Works of Art in the Galerie Fischer Auction

Grand Hôtel National, Lucerne  
June 30, 1939



Figure 132  
Theodor Fischer (far right) auctioning Barlach's *Schwebender Gottvater* (lot 7) Grand  
Hôtel National, Lucerne, June 30, 1939

## Note to the reader

In the auction catalogue the works of art were listed in order by lot number. On the following pages the works are arranged by artist and then chronologically. The format for each entry is as follows:

Artist

Title

Title in Fischer sale, if substantially different

Date, if known

Medium, dimensions

Catalogue raisonné, if applicable (see pp. 408–9)

Provenance before Fischer sale

Fischer sale information

Provenance after Fischer sale

• indicates an illustration in the auction catalogue

Rates of exchange on June 30, 1939

1 pound sterling (£) = \$4.68

1 Swiss franc (SF) = \$0.23

Sale prices include commissions

This list was compiled from material in the archives of the Galerie Fischer. Additional information was provided by the following, to whom I am most grateful: H. Anda-Bührlé; Angelika Arnoldi-Livie; Sara Campbell, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena; Dietmar Elger, Sprengel Museum Hannover; Ulrike Fanta, Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz; Katherine Fleet, Christie's, New York; Stefan Frey, Kunstmuseum Bern; Andrea Firmenich, Kunsthalle Emden; Gabrielle Geier, Sigrid Godau; Karl Ernst Osthaus-Museum, Hagen; Hans-Jörg Göpfert, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; Renate Heidt-Heller, Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, Duisburg; Rainer Hortsman, Jochen Kronjäger, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim; Philippe Le Leyzour, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux; Ulrich Luckhardt, Hamburger Kunsthalle; Karin Frank von Maur, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart; Peter Nathan, Jürgen Ostwald, Kunsthalle zu Kiel; Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., Angela Schneider, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin; Martin Urban, Nolde-Stiftung, Seebüll; Johann Winkler, Armin Zweite, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.





Cuno Amiet

*Chrysanthemen* (Chrysanthemums)

1909

Oil on canvas, 73 x 59 cm (28 3/4 x 23 1/2 in.)

Kunstverein, Jena, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 1, est. SF 2,500, sold for SF 850

Gertrud Dubi-Müller, Solothurn,

Kunstmuseum Solothurn, Dubi-Müller Collection

•



Alexander Archipenko

*Portrait Frau Kamenev* (Portrait of Mrs. Kamenev)

Sold as *Frauenkopf* (Head of a woman)

1909

Painted stone, height 39 cm (15 1/2 in.)

Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 2, est. SF 850, sold for SF 370

Jans, Lucerne, Albert F. Daberkow, Bad Homburg,

Sprengel Museum Hannover, 1955



Ernst Barlach

*Russisches Liebespaar* (Russian lovers)

Sold as *Hirtinpaar* (Shepherd couple)

1908

Porcelain, height 20 cm (7 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schult 89

Staatliche Skulpturensammlung, Dresden,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 5, est. SF 850, sold for SF 700

Dr. W. Jacobi, London, by written bid,

present location unknown



Ernst Barlach

*Der Rache* (The avenger)

1922

Wood, 60 x 61 x 23 cm (23 5/8 x 24 x 9 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schult 271

On loan to the Neue Abteilung, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 3, est. SF 6,300, sold for SF 3,500

Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, Hermann

Schulmann, New York, Georg Katz, New York, Ernst

Barlach Haus, Hamburg, 1975

•



Ernst Barlach

*Schwebender Gottvater* (God the Father hovering)

Sold as *Schwebender Mann* (Hovering man)

1922

Stoneware, height 50 cm (19 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schult 276

Städtisches Museum (Thaulow-Museum), Kiel,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 7, est. SF 4,200, not sold

Sold in 1941 for \$50 to Bernhard A. Boehmer, Güstrow,

present location unknown



Ernst Barlach

*Der Wartende* (Man with clasped hands)

(Waiting [Man with clasped hands])

1924

Wood, height 65 cm (25 5/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schult 293

Staatliches Museum, Saarbrücken,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 9, est. SF 2,500, sold for SF 1,150

Bernhard A. Boehmer, Güstrow,

Walter Bauer, Fulda



Ernst Barlach

*Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John)  
Sold as *Das Wiedersehen* (The reunion)  
1926

Bronze, height 48 cm (18 7/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schult 306  
Städtische Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 8, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 1,500  
Hermann Levin, Zurich,  
present location unknown



Ernst Barlach

*Bildis Wegener* (Portrait of Wegener)  
1930

Bronze, height 51 cm (20 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schult 360  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1931, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 6, est. SF 2,500, not sold  
Sold for \$200 to Othmar Huber, Glarus,  
present location unknown (possibly either the cast  
in the Kunsthalle Mannheim or that in the Bayerische  
Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich)



Ernst Barlach

*Lesende Mönche* (Monks reading)  
1932

Wood, height 83 cm (32 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schult 423  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1933, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 4, est. SF 8,400, sold for SF 4,800  
Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, Albert  
Rothbart, Connecticut, Galerie Beyeler, Basel,  
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1962



Maurice Barraud

*Halbnakt* (Half-length nude)  
Pastel on paper, 58 x 47 cm (22 7/8 x 18 1/2 in.)  
Städtische Galerie, Wuppertal-Elberfeld,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 10, est. SF 5,200, sold for SF 820  
Gertrud Dubi-Müller, Solothurn,  
present location unknown



Max Beckmann

*Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal*  
(Self-portrait with red scarf)  
1917

Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31 1/2 x 23 5/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Göpel 194  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1924, confiscated in 1937,  
*Entartete Kunst* (16026), returned to Berlin after Salzburg  
venue, 1938  
Fischer lot 13, est. SF 1,700, not sold  
By exchange to Hildebrand Carlitt, Hamburg,  
Günther Franke, Munich, before 1945, Staatsgalerie  
Stuttgart, 1948  
Figure 102



Max Beckmann

*Doppelbildnis Karneval* (Double portrait, carnival)  
Sold as *Maskenball* (Masked ball)  
1925

Oil on canvas, 160 x 105.5 cm (63 x 41 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Göpel 240  
Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1925, confiscated in 1937,  
*Entartete Kunst* (16226)  
Fischer lot 12, est. SF 2,100, not sold  
Hildebrand Carlitt, Hamburg, Dr. Conrad Doebeke,  
Berlin, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1953  
Figure 100



Max Beckmann

*Zichorien Stilleben* (Still life with chicory)

Sold as *Blaue Blumen* (Blue flowers)

1930

Oil on canvas, 27 x 21 cm (10½ x 8½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 323

Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 11, est. SF 600, not sold

Sold for SF 320 to Fleischmann, Zürich, Galerie Aenne

Abels, Cologne, 1958, private collection, Aachen



Georges Braque

*Stilleben* (Still life)

1924

Oil on canvas, 30 x 65 cm (11¾ x 25½ in.)

Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1926, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 14, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 3,300

Pierre Matisse, Paris, Dalzell Hatfield, Los Angeles,

Oliver B. James, New York, Emil Bührle, Zürich,

Mme Bührle-Schalk, Zürich, 1953



Marc Chagall

*Winter*

1911/12

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 48.5 x 62.3 cm

(19¼ x 24½ in.)

Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1925, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (15957)

Fischer lot 16, est. SF 2,500, sold for SF 1,100

Kunstmuseum Basel

Figure 183



Marc Chagall

*Die Prise* (The pinch of snuff)

Sold as *Rabbiner* (Rabbi)

1912

Oil on canvas, 117 x 89.5 cm (46¼ x 35¼ in.)

Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1928, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (15956)

Fischer lot 17, est. SF 3,400, sold for SF 1,600

Kunstmuseum Basel

Figure 188



Marc Chagall

*Blaues Haus* (Blue house)

1920

Oil on canvas, 66 x 97 cm (26 x 38½ in.)

Kunsthalle Mannheim, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 15, est. SF 3,200, sold for SF 3,300

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège

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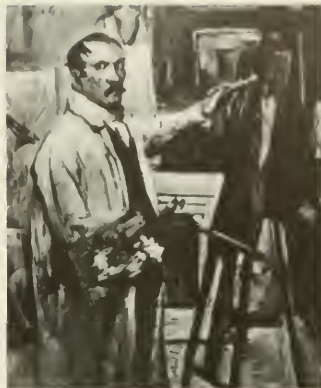
Lovis Corinth

*Bildnis Wilhelm Trübner* (Portrait of Wilhelm Trübner)  
1913  
Oil on canvas, 45 x 40 cm (17 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 599  
Galerie M. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt, Städtische Galerie,  
Nürnberg, 1921, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 30, est. SF 8,400, not sold  
Sold in 1941 to Bernhard A. Boehmer, Gustrow,  
Kunsthau Lempertz, Cologne, auction October 1958,  
lot 55, Dr. Conrad Doebbeke, Berlin, Stuttgart  
Kunstkabinett Roman Norbert Ketterer, Stuttgart,  
auction May 1959 lot 160, Wilhelm Weick Antiquitäten,  
Berlin (West), Städtische Kunstsammlungen,  
Nürnberg, 1960



Lovis Corinth

*Tod und Mädchen* (Death and the maiden)  
1913  
Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31 1/2 x 23 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 563  
W. Döring, Stettin, Städtisches Museum, Stettin,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 28, est. SF 14,700, not sold  
Present location unknown



Lovis Corinth

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)  
1914  
Oil on wood, 73 x 58 cm (28 3/4 x 22 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 622  
Städtisches Museum, Stettin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 20, est. SF 6,300, not sold  
Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, sold in 1941 for £120 to  
Bernhard A. Boehmer, Gustrow, Staatsgalerie  
moderner Kunst, Munich, 1951



Lovis Corinth

*Bildnis Wolfgang Gurlitt* (Portrait of Wolfgang Gurlitt)  
1917  
Oil on canvas, 110 x 90 cm (43 1/4 x 35 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 701  
Wolfgang Gurlitt, Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 31, est. SF 9,400, not sold  
Wolfgang Gurlitt, Berlin, purchased with his estate by  
the Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz/Wolfgang-Gurlitt-  
Museum, Linz, 1953



Lovis Corinth

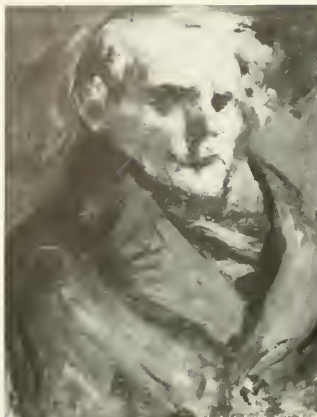
*Stilleben* (Still life)  
1920  
Oil on canvas, 110 x 150 cm (43 1/4 x 59 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 795  
Nassauisches Landesmuseum, Wiesbaden,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 25, est. SF 10,500, sold for SF 5,100  
Kunstmuseum Basel



Lovis Corinth

*Walchenseer* (Neuschnee)  
1922  
Oil on paper mounted on wood, 54 x 66 cm  
(21 1/4 x 26 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 873  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 21, est. SF 10,500, sold for SF 3,700  
Private collection, Switzerland, J. Blodgett, Portland,  
Oregon, Beatriz Schreier, Zurich, 1976, W. Krisp,  
Murnau, 1985  
Note: Galerie Fischer erroneously catalogued as lot 21  
another painting by Corinth that belonged to the  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, see *Bildzyklen: Zeugnisse verfallener  
Kunst in Deutschland 1933-1945* (exh. cat., Staatsgalerie  
Stuttgart, 1987), D22





Lovis Corinth

*Bildnis des Malers Bernt Gronvold*

(Portrait of the painter Bernt Gronvold)

1923

Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31½ x 23½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth p. 168, pl. XX

Kunsthalle Bremen, 1923, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (16149)

Fischer lot 24, est. SF 5,000, sold for SF 3,500

Theodor Wölfer, Malmö, Kunsthalle Bremen

Figure 188



Lovis Corinth

*Flora*

1923

Oil on wood, 128 x 108 cm (50½ x 42½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth pl. XVII

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 26, est. SF 12,600, not sold

Private collection, Berlin



Lovis Corinth

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)

1923

Oil on wood, 68.5 x 84 cm (27 x 33½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 925

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 19, est. SF 11,500, sold for SF 6,300

Kunstmuseum Bern

•



Lovis Corinth

*Stilleben mit Früchschale* (Still life with bowls of fruit)

1923

Oil on canvas, 70 x 90 cm (27½ x 35½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 898

Galerie Ernst Arnold, Dresden, Neue Staatsgalerie,

Munich, confiscated in 1937

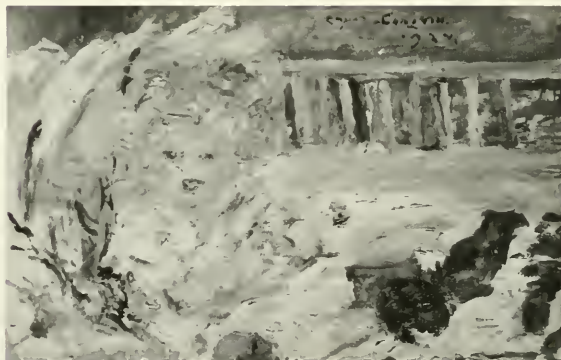
Fischer lot 18, est. SF 12,600, sold for SF 7,500

Köfler, Lucerne, private collection, Switzerland, private

collection, Germany, Galerie Arnolds-Livie, Munich,

private collection, United States

•



Lovis Corinth

*Kind im Bettchen* (Child in a crib)

Sold as *Kind mit Laufstättchen* (Child with small cradle)

1924

Oil on canvas, 83 x 124 cm (32½ x 48½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 946

Charlotte Berend-Corinth, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,

1926, confiscated in 1937, *Entartete Kunst* (16150)

Fischer lot 23, est. SF 14,700, not sold

Sold for SF 8,085 to Dr. Witzinger, Basel, Alfred Neven

DuMont, Cologne, 1982

Figure 185

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Lovis Corinth

*Lucerne am Vormittag* (Lucerne in the morning)  
1924

Oil on canvas, 60 x 74 cm (23½ x 29½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 950

Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 22, est. SF 10,500, not sold

By exchange for £275 to Hildebrand Gurlitt, Hamburg,  
Walter Irlanz, Cologne, Galerie Lempertz, Cologne,  
auction 1984 lot 233, private collection



Lovis Corinth

*Rosa Rosen* (Pink roses)

1924

Oil on wood, 82 x 65 cm (32¼ x 25½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 939

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1924, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 27, est. SF 11,500, sold for SF 6,200

Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, sold to a Swiss dealer, private  
collection, Switzerland, Galerie Arnold-Livie, Munich,  
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1983



Lovis Corinth

*Bildnis Georg Brandes* (Portrait of Georg Brandes)

1925

Oil on canvas, 92 x 70 cm (36¼ x 27½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 982

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 29, est. SF 7,300, sold for SF 4,800

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp



Lovis Corinth

*Flüder, Anemonen, und Katzen*  
(Lilacs, anemones, and kittens)

Sold as *Blumenstrauß* (Bouquet of flowers)

1925

Oil on canvas, 105 x 85 cm (41¼ x 33½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Berend-Corinth 983

Städtische Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 32, est. SF 12,600, sold for SF 6,000

Emil Bührle, Zurich, Dr D Bührle, Zurich



André Derain

*Blick aus dem Fenster* (View from the window)

Oil on canvas, 67 x 57 cm (26½ x 22½ in.)

Dr Karl Hagemann, Essen, Museum Folkwang, Essen,  
confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 32a, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 3,200

Kunstmuseum Basel



André Derain

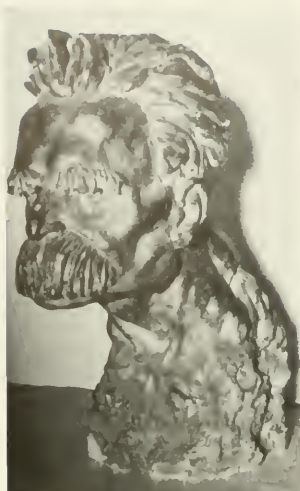
*Die Salzteiche von Martigues* (The salt pools of Martigues)

Oil on wood, 73 x 60 cm (28½ x 23½ in.)

Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 34, est. SF 3,400, sold for SF 2,900

Dr Reber, Switzerland, private collection, Bern



Otto Dix

*Nietzsche*

1912

Painted plaster, 58 x 48 cm (22 7/8 x 18 7/8 in.)  
Stadtmuseum Dresden, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 35, est. SF 8,400, not sold  
Probably destroyed

•



Otto Dix

*Die Eltern des Künstlers* (The artist's parents)

1921

Oil on canvas, 100 x 115 cm (39 1/4 x 45 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1921/12

Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 37, est. SF 3,800, sold for SF 2,100

Kunstmuseum Basel

•



Otto Dix

*Frau mit Säugling* (Woman with infant)

Sold as *Mutter und Kind* (Mother and child)

1924

Oil on canvas, 75 x 71 cm (29 1/2 x 28 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1924/6

Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Kongsberg,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 38, est. SF 3,400, not sold

Bernhard A. Boehmer, Güstrow, Sachs, Hamburg,

Hamburg Kunststhal, 1947



Otto Dix

*Anita Berber*

1925

Tempera on wood, 120 x 65 cm (47 1/4 x 25 5/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1925/6

Städtische Galerie, Nürnberg, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 36, est. SF 2,500, not sold

Swiss dealer, Otto Dix Stiftung, Vaduz, on loan to the

Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart



James Ensor

*Masks and death* (Masks and death)

Oil on canvas, 78 x 100 cm (30 3/4 x 39 3/8 in.)

Kunststhal Mannheim, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 39, est. SF 10,500, sold for SF 6,800

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège

•



Lyonel Feininger

*Zirchow VI*

1916

Oil on canvas, 80 x 100 cm (31 1/2 x 39 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 162

Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe

(Moritzburg), Halle, 1928, confiscated in 1937, *Entartete*

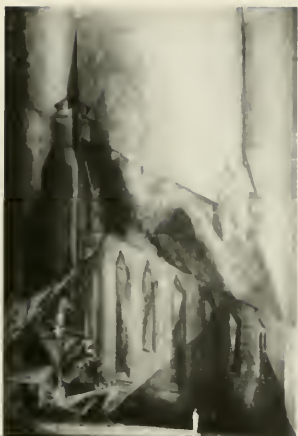
Kunst (16081)

Fischer lot 41, est. SF 2,100, not sold

Sold for SF 1,250 to Karl Nierendorfer Gallery, New

York, present location unknown





Lyonel Feininger

*Klarissenkirche* (Church of the Poor Clares)

Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm (39½ x 31½ in.)  
Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Kassel,  
confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 40, est SF 2,100, not sold

Sold for SF 1,250 to Karl Nierendorf Gallery, New  
York, Bill Bomar, Fort Worth, private collection,  
Switzerland, Galerie Thomas, Munich, private  
collection, Zurich

•



Paul Gauguin

*Aus Tahiti* (From Tahiti)

1902

Oil on canvas, 91 x 73 cm (35½ x 28¾ in.)

Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 44, est SF 63,000, sold for SF 50,000

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège

•



Vincent van Gogh

*Selbstportrait* (Self portrait)

1888

Oil on canvas, 62 x 52 cm (24¾ x 20½ in.)

Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich, expropriated in 1938

Fischer lot 45, est SF 250,000, sold for SF 175,000

Dr Alfred Frankfurter for Maurice Wertheim, New  
York, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University,  
Cambridge, 1952

•



George Grosz

*Metropolis or Blick in der Grosstadt* (View of the big city)

Sold as *Grosstadt* (Big city)

1916–17

Oil on canvas, 102 x 105 cm (40½ x 41½ in.)

Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1924, confiscated in 1937,  
*Entartete Kunst* (16194)

Fischer lot 42, est SF 600, sold for SF 700

Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, Hermann  
Schulmann, New York, George Grosz, Huntington,  
New York, Richard L. Feigen and Company, Thyssen-  
Bornemisza Collection, Lugano

Figure 216

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George Grosz

*Portrait Mehring* (Portrait of Mehring)

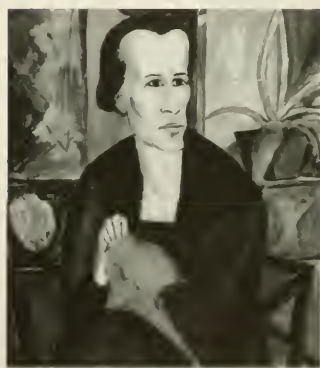
1926

Oil on canvas, 108 x 78 cm (42½ x 30¾ in.)

Hamburger Kunsthalle, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 43, est SF 600, sold for SF 280

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp



Erich Heckel

*Bildnis der Schwester* (Portrait of the artist's sister)

1920

Oil on canvas, 80 x 70 cm (31½ x 27½ in.)

Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 48, est SF 1,200, not sold

Present location unknown





Erich Heckel

*Der Pfluger* (The ploughman)  
1923

Oil on canvas, 83 x 96 cm (32½ x 37½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Vogt 1923/4

Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Magdeburg,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 46, est SF 1,700, not sold

Sold for \$75 to Ferdinand Möller, Berlin, Staatliche  
Galerie Montzburger Halle, 1948

•



Erich Heckel

*Anuryllis*

1927

Oil on canvas, 71 x 56 cm (28 x 22 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Vogt 1927/21

Behnhaus, Lubeck, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 47, est SF 850, not sold

Sold for \$50 to Bernhard A. Boehmer, Cuxstrow,  
private collection, Hamburg



Karl Hofer

*Trunkene* (Drunken woman)

1925

Oil on canvas, 106 x 81 cm (41½ x 31½ in.)

Städtisches Museum, Ulm, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 54, est SF 2,100, sold for SF 950

Bohlmann, Switzerland, Emil Bührle, Zurich,  
present location unknown



Karl Hofer

*Mme Bailhache*

1926

Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm (39½ x 31½ in.)

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 56, est SF 6,300, not sold

Sold for \$500 to Wolfgang Gurlitt, Berlin, purchased  
with his estate by the Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz/  
Wolfgang-Gurlitt-Museum, Linz, 1953



Karl Hofer

*Blumenstillleben* (Floral still life)

Oil on canvas, 41 x 37 cm (16½ x 14½ in.)

Thaulow-Museum, Kiel, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 51, est SF 2,100, sold for SF 950

Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, present location unknown

•



Karl Hofer

*Blumenwerfende Mädchen* (Girls throwing flowers)

Sold as *Am Fenster* (At the window)

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm (47½ x 35½ in.)

Stadtmuseum Dresden, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 52, est SF 5,000, sold for SF 5,000

Emil Bührle, Zurich, Galerie des Arts anciens et  
modernes, Liechtenstein, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1967



Karl Hofer

*Esther und Ruth* (Esther and Ruth)

Oil on canvas, 81 x 90 cm (31 3/4 x 35 1/2 in.)

Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, Berlin, Paul Risch, Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, 1923, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 55, est. SF 4,200, not sold

Bernhard A. Boehmer, Custrow, private collection, 1951, present location unknown



Karl Hofer

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)

Oil on canvas, 45 x 40 cm (17 3/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 53, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,500

Steinmeyer, Lucerne, for Paul E. Geier, Cincinnati, 1939, private collection

•



Karl Hofer

*Tischgesellschaft* (Group at a table)

Sold as *Männer am Tisch sitzend* (Men sitting at a table)

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 57, est. SF 8,400, sold for SF 4,100

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

•



Karl Hofer

*Tropisches Bad* (Tropical bath)

Oil on canvas, 64 x 74 cm (25 1/4 x 29 1/2 in.)

Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 49, est. SF 4,200, not sold

Bernhard A. Boehmer, Custrow, present location unknown

•



Karl Hofer

*Weissenkirchen* (White churches)

Oil on canvas, 80 x 73 cm (31 1/2 x 28 3/4 in.)

Thaulow-Museum, Kiel, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 50, est. SF 2,500, not sold

Present location unknown



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

*Pferde auf der Wäde* (Grazing horses)

1907

Oil on canvas, 71 x 80 cm (28 x 31½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 23

Kunstverein, Chemnitz, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 60, est. SF 600, sold for SF 600

Prof. Max Huggler, Bern, for Hedy Hug-Ruggler, Bern,

Marianne Feilchenfeldt, Zurich, private collection,

Paris

•



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

*Das Boskett* (The bosquet) or

*Platz in Dresden* (Square in Dresden)

1911

Oil on canvas, 120 x 150 cm (47¼ x 59 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 198

Joseph Feinhals, Cologne, 1912, Wallraf-Richartz-

Museum, Cologne, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (16137)

Fischer lot 62, est. SF 600, sold for SF 300

Peter and Alexander Zschokke, Basel



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

*Im Cafégarten* (In the café garden) or

*Damen im Café* (Ladies at the café)

1914

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 76 cm (27½ x 29¾ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 374

Ludwig and Rosy Fischer, Frankfurt, Städtisches

Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg),

Halle, 1924, confiscated in 1937, *Entartete Kunst* (15992)

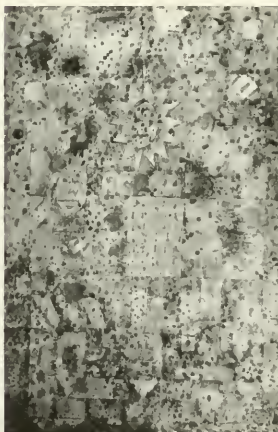
Fischer lot 61, est. SF 1,000, sold for SF 750

Dr. Ernst Schlager, Basel, Galerie Aenne Abels,

Cologne, Kunstverein, Berlin, 1966, Brücke-Museum,

Berlin

Figure 258



Paul Klee

*Klostergarten* (Monastery garden)

1926

Oil on canvas, 94 x 66 cm (37 x 26 in.)

Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 58, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 3,100

Clara and Emil Friedrich-Jezler, Zurich, destroyed by

fire, 1940



Paul Klee

*Haus am Weg* (Villa R) (House on the path (Villa R))

Oil on cardboard, 27 x 20 cm (10½ x 7¾ in.)

Pauline and Joseph Kowarzik, Frankfurt, Städtische

Galerie, Frankfurt, 1926, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 59, est. SF 1,700, sold for SF 850

Kunstmuseum Basel





Oskar Kokoschka

*Trancespieler (Hypnotist)*

1908

Oil on canvas, 84 x 65 cm (33 1/4 x 25 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Wingler 5

Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 63, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,100

Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

•



Oskar Kokoschka

*Zwei Kinder (Two children)*

1909

Oil on canvas, 73 x 108 cm (28 3/4 x 42 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Wingler 19

Dr. Stein, Vienna (?), Adolf Loos, Vienna, Staatliche

Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, 1927, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 71, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,000

Theodor Wölfer, Malmö, Galerie Anne Abels,

Cologne, Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, Dunsburg,

1954



Oskar Kokoschka

*Bildnis der Herzogin von Montesqueu*

(Portrait of the duchess of Montesquiou-Fezensac)

1911

Oil on canvas, 95 x 50 cm (37 1/4 x 19 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Wingler 33

Museum Folkwang, Essen, 1926, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (16033)

Fischer lot 65, est. SF 3,400, sold for SF 3,000

Steinmeyer, Lucerne, for Paul E. Geier, Cincinnati,

1939, Cincinnati Art Museum, bequest of Paul E. Geier,

1982

Figure 128



Oskar Kokoschka

*Dr. Hermann Schwarzwald*

Sold as *Herrenbildnis (Dr. S)*

(Portrait of a gentleman [Dr. S])

1911

Oil on canvas, 90 x 65 cm (35 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Wingler 50

Hermann Schwarzwald, Frankfurt, 1911, Städtische

Galerie, Frankfurt, 1917, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 66, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,100

Meister, Basel, Ernst Beyeler, Basel, Staatsgalerie

Stuttgart, 1951



Oskar Kokoschka

*Frau in Blau (Woman in blue)*

1919

Oil on canvas, 75 x 100 cm (29 1/2 x 39 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Wingler 126

Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 68, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 1,700

Meister, Basel, Ernst Beyeler, Basel, Staatsgalerie

Stuttgart, 1953





Oskar Kokoschka

*Kathedrale zu Bordeaux* (Cathedral of Bordeaux)

Sold as *Notre-Dame zu Bordeaux* (Notre-Dame of Bordeaux)

1924/25

Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31½ x 23½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 175

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 64, est. SF 4,200, not sold

Private collection, Basel, private collection, London, Marlborough International Fine Art, London, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1983

•



Oskar Kokoschka

*Monte Carlo*

1925

Oil on canvas, 73 x 100 cm (28¾ x 39½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 191

Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, c. 1926, confiscated in

1937; *Entartete Kunst* (16125)

Fischer lot 70, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,500

Musée d'Art moderne, Liège

Figure 287



Oskar Kokoschka

*Tower Bridge in London*

1925

Oil on canvas, 76 x 128 cm (29¾ x 50½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 198

Hamburger Kunsthalle, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 67, est. SF 8,400, sold for SF 7,200

Josef von Sternberg, his sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, November 22, 1949, lot 90, Putnam Dana McMillan, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, bequest, 1961

•



Oskar Kokoschka

*Genfersee* (Lake Geneva)

Oil on canvas, 64 x 95 cm (25¼ x 37½ in.)

Galerie Paul Cassirer, Berlin, 1924, Fritz Hess,

Berlin, 1924, Städtisches Museum, Ulm, 1931,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 69, est. SF 6,300, sold for SF 3,500

Steinmeyer, Lucerne, for Paul E. Geier, Cincinnati, 1939, private collection

•



Marie Laurencin

*Madchenbildnis* (Portrait of a girl)  
1913/14

Oil on canvas, 64 x 53 cm (25 1/4 x 20 7/8 in.)  
Städtisches Museum, Ulm, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 83, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 3,100  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège

•



Wilhelm Lehmbruck

*Torso* (*Gezügelter Frauentorso*)  
(Torso [Torso of a bending woman])  
1913

Terra-cotta, height (including base) 93 cm (36 5/8 in.)  
Lubeck, museum unknown, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 75, est. SF 1,200, sold for SF 1,200  
Ray W Berdeau, New York, present location unknown



Wilhelm Lehmbruck

*Sitzendes Mädchen* (Seated girl)  
1913/14

Terra-cotta, 31 x 49 cm (12 1/4 x 19 1/4 in.)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 72, est. SF 850, sold for SF 1,600  
Pierre Matisse for Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., Saint Louis,  
present location unknown

•



Wilhelm Lehmbruck

*Junges Mädchen* (Young girl)

Oil on canvas, 95 x 60 cm (37 3/8 x 23 5/8 in.)  
Kunsthalle Mannheim, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 73, est. SF 1,200, sold for SF 650  
Prof. Fehr, Bern, present location unknown



Wilhelm Lehmbruck

*Madchenkopf* (*Sinnende*) (Head of a girl [Contemplation])  
Terra-cotta, height 45 cm (17 3/4 in.)

Nassausches Landesmuseum, Wiesbaden,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 74, est. SF 850, sold for SF 1,400  
Ray W Berdeau, New York, present location unknown



Rudolf Levy

*Stilleben* (Still life)

1911  
Oil on canvas, 65 x 80 cm (25 5/8 x 31 1/2 in.)  
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 77, est. SF 1,200, sold for SF 610  
Dr. Ehret, Lucerne, present location unknown

•

Note: In the Galerie Fischer catalogue this image was  
incorrectly captioned as *Der Tisch*



Rudolf Levy

*Der Tisch* (The table)  
Oil on canvas, 63 x 49 cm (24 3/4 x 19 1/4 in.)  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 76, est. SF 1,200, not sold  
Private collection, Wiesbaden



Max Liebermann

*Reiter am Strand* (Rider on the shore)  
1904  
Oil on canvas, 46 x 54 cm (18 1/2 x 21 1/4 in.)  
Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 79, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 3,200  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège

•



Max Liebermann

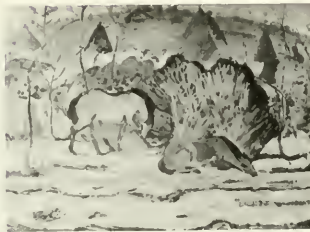
*Bildnis Otto Braun* (Portrait of Otto Braun)  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 95 cm (47 1/4 x 37 1/4 in.)  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 78, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 1,100  
Lutolf, Switzerland



August Macke

*Gartenrestaurant* (Garden restaurant)  
1912  
Oil on canvas, 81 x 105 cm (31 3/4 x 41 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Vriesen 353  
Herwarth Walden, Berlin, 1913, Emma Gottschalk,  
Düsseldorf, 1926, Städtisches Suermondt-Museum,  
Aachen, 1927, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 80, est. SF 1,000, sold for SF 900  
Hermann Rupp, Bern, by written bid, Kunstmuseum  
Bern, Hermann and Margit Rupp Collection

•



Franz Marc

*Pferde auf der Weide* (Horses in a pasture)  
1910  
Tempera on paper, 63 x 83 cm (24 3/4 x 32 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 414  
Hamburger Kunsthalle, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 92, est. SF 3,400, sold for SF 2,300  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liège



Franz Marc

*Liegender Hund im Schnee* (Dog lying in the snow)  
Sold as *Weisser Hund* (White dog)  
1910/11  
Oil on canvas, 62.5 x 105 cm (24 3/4 x 41 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 133  
Maria Marc, Reid, Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1919,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 85, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 3,200  
Ray W. Berdeau, New York, Galerie Beyeler, Basel,  
Städtischer Museums-Verein, Frankfurt, 1961





Franz Marc

*Die drei roten Pferde* (The three red horses)

1911

Oil on canvas, 120 x 180 cm (47 1/4 x 70 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 131

Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 87, est. \$1 21000, sold for \$1 15000

Steinmeyer, Lucerne, for Paul E. Geier, Cincinnati,

1939. Mrs. Paul I. Geier on loan to the Cincinnati Art

Museum and the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard

University, Cambridge

•



Franz Marc

*Hund, Katze, und Fuchs* (Dog, cat, and fox)

1912

Oil on canvas, 80 x 105 cm (31 1/2 x 41 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 169

Galerie Caspari, Munich, Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1919,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 89, est. \$1 6300, not sold

Returned in 1940 by the Reichspropagandaministerium

to the Kunsthalle Mannheim



Franz Marc

*Zwei Katzen Blau und Gelb* (Two cats, blue and yellow)

1912

Oil on canvas, 74 x 98 cm (29 1/4 x 38 1/4 in.)

Ruhmeshalle, Barmen, 1927, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (16133)

Fischer lot 88, est. \$1 8400, sold for \$1 4100

Kunstmuseum Basel

Figure 127

•



Franz Marc

*Eber und Sau* (Boar and sow)

Sold as *Wildschweine* (Wild boars)

1913

Oil on canvas, 73 x 56.5 cm (28 3/4 x 22 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 202

Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe

(Mortzburg), Halle, 1924, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (16141)

Fischer lot 86, est. \$1 6300, not sold

Hein Gorny and Brandenburg, Berlin, Galerie Cerd

Roden, Berlin, Galerie Aenne Abels, Cologne, Wallraf-

Richartz-Museum, Cologne, gift of Autohaus

Fleischerhauer, 1954, Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Figure 292



Franz Marc

*Vogel* (Birds)

1914

Oil on canvas, 110 x 100 cm (43 1/4 x 39 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 226

Maria Marc, Reid, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 90, est. \$1 5000, sold for \$1 2500

Ray W. Berdeau, New York, Collection Hasselblad,

Göteborg, 1961, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus,

Munich, 1983



Franz Marc

*Badende Mädchen* (Girls bathing)

Oil on canvas, 100 x 140 cm (39 1/4 x 55 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Lankheit 121

Werner Duecher, Düsseldorf, Städtische

Kunstsammlungen Düsseldorf, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 91, est. \$1 4200, sold for \$1 3300

Emil Buhle, Zurich, Marlborough-Gerson Gallery,

London, Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles

•





Gerhard Marcks

*Josef und Maria* (Joseph and Mary)  
Wood, 104 x 40 x 30 cm (41 x 15½ x 11¼ in.)  
Staatliche Skulpturensammlung, Dresden,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 84, est. SF 1000, sold for SF 510  
Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, Galerie  
Wolfgang Ketterer, Munich, Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin,  
Heinz vom Scheidt, Leverkusen



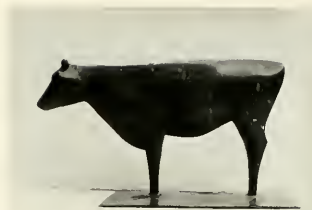
Henri Matisse

*Flusslandschaft* (River scene)  
1907  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 59 cm (28¼ x 23¼ in.)  
Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 96, est. SF 10,500, sold for SF 5100  
Max Mueller, Ascona, Kunstmuseum Basel



Ewald Mataré

*Legende Kub* (Cow lying down)  
Wood, 22 x 50 cm (8½ x 19½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schilling 27  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, before 1928, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 81, est. SF 400, sold for SF 480  
Hermann Rupf, Bern, by written bid, Kunstmuseum  
Bern, Hermann and Margit Rupf Collection



Ewald Mataré

*Windkub* (Wind cow)  
Sold as *Stehende Kub* (Cow standing)  
Bronze, 187 x 318 cm (7½ x 12½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schilling 15a  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 82, est. SF 400, sold for SF 230  
Curt Valentin, Buchholz Gallery, New York, Museum  
Ludwig, Cologne



Henri Matisse

*Legende* (Reclining woman)  
1907  
Fired clay, 34 x 47 cm (13½ x 18½ in.)  
Museum Folkwang, Essen, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 95, est. SF 2100, sold for SF 1020  
Theodor Wölfer, Malmö



Henri Matisse

*Bathers with a Turtle*  
Sold as *Drei Frauen* (Three women)  
1908  
Oil on canvas, 1791 x 2203 cm (70½ x 86½ in.)  
Karl Ernst Osthaus, Hagen, 1908, Museum Folkwang,  
Essen, 1921, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 93, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 9100  
Pierre Matisse for Joseph Pultzer, Jr, Saint Louis, The  
Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Mr and Mrs Joseph  
Pultzer, Jr, 1964



Henri Matisse

*Stilleben* (Still life)

Oil on canvas, 93 x 81 cm (36 5/8 x 31 7/8 in.)

Robert von Hirsch, 1917, Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1917, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 94, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 8,000

Ray W. Berdeau, New York, Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, 1967

•



Paula Modersohn-Becker

*Selbstbildnis* (Halbakt mit Bernsteinkette)

(Self portrait: Half-length nude with amber chain) 1906

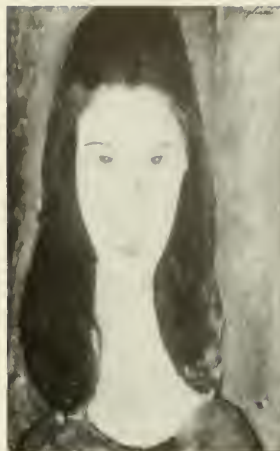
Oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm (23 5/8 x 19 3/4 in.)

Kestner-Museum, Hannover, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 97, est. SF 1,200, sold for SF 2,300

Kunstmuseum Basel

•



Amedeo Modigliani

*Damenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman)

Oil on canvas, 47 x 30 cm (18 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.)

J. Netter, Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, Riccardo Qualino, Paris, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 98, est. SF 6,300, sold for SF 6,600

Lorenz Lehr, Switzerland, Christie's, London, auction December 3, 1984 lot 21, private collection

•



Otto Mueller

*Zwei Mädchenakte* (Two nude girls)

c. 1919

Tempera on canvas, 874 x 706 cm (34 1/2 x 27 3/4 in.)

Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1936 (on deposit), confiscated in 1937, *Entartete Kunst* (15995)

Fischer lot 101, est. SF 850, not sold

Sold for \$50 to Hildebrand Gurlitt, Hamburg,

Dr. Josef Haubrich, Cologne, 1942, Wälfraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, gift of Dr. Haubrich, 1946, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1976

Figure 309



Otto Mueller

*Drei Frauen* (Three women)

c. 1922

Tempera on canvas, 1195 x 885 cm (47 x 34 3/4 in.)

Galerie Dr. Goldschmidt, Dr. Wälfenstein, Berlin, 1927,

Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld, confiscated in 1937,

*Entartete Kunst* (15972)

Fischer lot 100, est. SF 600, sold for SF 310

Pierre Matisse for Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., Saint Louis,

The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1958, Christie's,

London, auction April 30, 1989, lot 24, Brücke-

Museum, Berlin, 1989

Figure 306



Otto Mueller

*Damenbildnis* (Portrait of a lady)

Oil on canvas, 96 x 68 cm (37 3/4 x 26 3/4 in.)

Wälfraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,

confiscated in 1937

Fischer lot 99, est. SF 600, not sold

Hildebrand Gurlitt, Hamburg, present location unknown



Emil Nolde

*Tanzende Kinder (Kinderreigen)*  
(Dancing children [Children in a ring])  
1909

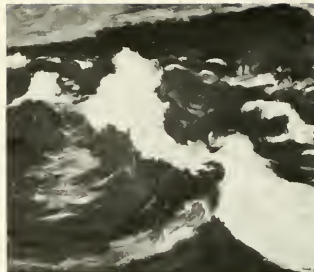
Oil on canvas, 74 x 88 cm (29 1/8 x 34 5/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 314  
Landesmuseum, Oldenburg, 1925, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 103, est SF 3,000, not sold  
Sold for SF 1,317 to Erhard Armstad, Zurich



Emil Nolde

*Kuhmilken (Milk cows)*  
1913

Oil on canvas, 86 x 100 cm (33 7/8 x 39 3/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 583  
Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld, 1928, confiscated  
in 1937, *Entartete Kunst* (16098)  
Fischer lot 108, est SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,000  
Richard Doetsche-Benzinger, Basel, Kaiser  
Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld, gift of  
Mr Doetsche-Benzinger, 1949  
*Figure 338*

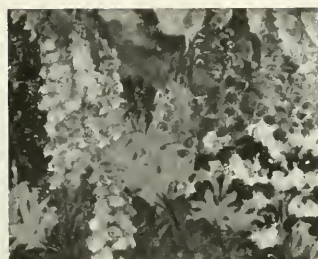


Emil Nolde

*Rote Abendsonne (Brandung)* (Red sunset [Breakers])  
1913

Oil on canvas, 87 x 102 cm (34 1/4 x 40 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 557  
Rudolf Ihach, Barmen, 1921, *Städtische  
Kunstsammlungen Dusseldorf*, 1935, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 106, est SF 6,300, not sold  
Private collection, Galerie Grossherming, Dusseldorf,  
private collection, Switzerland

●



Emil Nolde

*Blumengarten X (Flower garden X)*  
1926

Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 88 cm (28 1/2 x 34 5/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 1025  
Kunsthalle zu Kiel, 1929, confiscated in 1937,  
*Entartete Kunst* (16186)  
Fischer lot 105, est SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,100  
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels  
*Figure 126*



Emil Nolde

*Christus und die Sünderin (Christ and the adulteress)*  
1926

Oil on canvas, 86 x 106 cm (33 7/8 x 40 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 1038  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1929, confiscated in 1937,  
*Entartete Kunst* (15934)  
Fischer lot 104, est SF 3,800, sold for SF 1,800  
Prof Fehr, Bern, private collection  
*Figure 142*



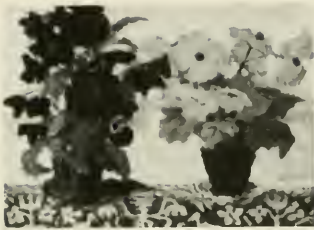
Emil Nolde

*Sonnenblumen im Wind (Sunflowers in the wind)*  
1926

Oil on canvas, 74 x 89 cm (29 1/8 x 35 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 1030  
Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, confiscated in  
1937, *Entartete Kunst* (16130)  
Fischer lot 102, est SF 4,200, sold for SF 3,500  
Private collection, Switzerland

●





Emil Nolde

*Begonien rot und gelb* (Red and yellow begonias)  
Oil on canvas, 74 x 100 cm (29 1/4 x 39 3/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 1082  
Städtisches Museum, Irlurt, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 107, est. SF 4,200, sold for SF 2,900  
Hans Lutgens, Switzerland, private collection,  
Switzerland



Jules Pascin

*Sitzendes Mädchen* (Seated girl)  
1908  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm (28 3/4 x 23 5/8 in.)  
Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, confiscated  
in 1937  
Fischer lot 110, est. SF 2,100, sold for SF 1,700  
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

•



Jules Pascin

*Frühstück* (Breakfast)  
1923  
Oil on canvas, 82 x 65 cm (32 1/4 x 25 5/8 in.)  
Kunsthalle Bremen, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 109, est. SF 1,200, sold for SF 2,400  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liege



Max Pechstein

*Der Raucher* (The smoker)  
1917  
Oil on canvas, 65 x 50 cm (25 5/8 x 19 5/8 in.)  
Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Magdeburg,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 111, est. SF 600, not sold  
Present location unknown

•



Max Pechstein

*Gladiolen* (Gladiolas)  
Oil on canvas, 118 x 90 cm (46 1/2 x 35 3/8 in.)  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 112, est. SF 1,700, sold for SF 820  
Dr. Ehret, Lucerne, Wolfgang Ketterer, Munich,  
sale May 1988, private collection, Paris



Max Pechstein

*Morgensunde* (Morning hour)  
Oil on canvas, 70 x 80 cm (27 1/2 x 31 1/2 in.)  
Städtisches Museum, Leipzig, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 113, est. SF 1,200, not sold  
Sold in October 1939 for £10, present location  
unknown





Pablo Picasso

*Absinthetrinkerin* (*La buveuse assoupie*)  
(Absinthe drinker [The dozing drinker])  
1902

Oil on canvas, 80 x 62 cm (31½ x 24½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Zervos 120  
Dalport, Hamburger Kunsthalle, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 116, est SF 73,500, not sold  
Sold for SF 42,000 to Othmar Huber, Glarus, 1942,  
Foundation Huber, on loan to the Kunstmuseum Bern

•



Pablo Picasso

*Familienbild* (*Le déjeuner sur l'herbe de la famille Soler*)  
(Family portrait [Soler family luncheon on the grass])  
1903

Oil on canvas, 150 x 200 cm (59 x 78¾ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Zervos 204  
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 114, est SF 63,000, sold for SF 36,000  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liege

•



Pablo Picasso

*Zwei Harlequins* (*Acrobate et jeune harlequin*)  
(Two harlequins [Acrobat and young harlequin])  
1905

Gouache on cardboard, 105 x 75 cm (41½ x 29½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Zervos 297  
Städtische Galerie, Wuppertal-Elberfeld,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 115, est SF 105,000, sold for SF 80,000  
Roger Janssen, Brussels, Christie's, London, auction  
November 28, 1988, private collection, Japan

•



Pablo Picasso

*Frauenkopf* (*Buste de femme*) (Head of a woman)  
1922

Oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm (18½ x 21½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Zervos 396  
Städtisches Galerie, Frankfurt, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 117, est SF 12,600, sold for SF 8,000  
Dietz, by written bid, present location unknown

•



Christian Rohlfs

*Landschaft* (Landscape)  
Sold as *Mohnfeld* (Poppy field)  
1898

Oil on canvas, 48 x 60 cm (18¾ x 23½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Vogt 179  
Städtisches Museum, Stettin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 120, est SF 2,500, not sold  
Returned to Berlin, December 1939, present location  
unknown

No known photograph



Christian Rohlfs

*Rosen* (Roses)  
1926  
Oil on cardboard, 70 x 51 cm (27½ x 20½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Vogt 707  
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 118, est SF 2,500, not sold  
Present location unknown

•



Christian Rohls

*Gasse in Ascona* / Lane in Ascona  
Sold as *Strasse in Ascona* (Street in Ascona)  
1930  
Oil on canvas, 75 x 60 cm (29½ x 23½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Voigt 742  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 119, est. SF 1,700, not sold  
Sold for \$150 to Dr. Hans Peters, Bad Honnef,  
Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, Hagen, 1950



Karl Schmidt-Rottluff

*Lupinen in Vase* (Lupins in vase)  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 65 cm (28½ x 25½ in.)  
Staatliche Gemaldegalerie, Dresden,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 122, est. SF 400, sold for SF 310  
Prof. Fehr, Bern, Galerie Ferdinand Möller, Cologne,  
1956, private collection, Switzerland



Karl Schmidt-Rottluff

*Herblandschaft* (Autumn landscape)  
1910  
Oil on canvas, 87 x 95 cm (34¼ x 37½ in.)  
Städtische Kunstsammlung, Chemnitz,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 121, est. SF 400, not sold  
Present location unknown



Maurice de Vlaminck

*Flusslandschaft* (River landscape)  
Oil on canvas, 64 x 80 cm (25¼ x 31½ in.)  
Städtisches Museum, Wuppertal-Elberfeld,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 125, est. SF 1,700, sold for SF 850  
Theodor Wölffler, Malmö



Karl Schmidt-Rottluff

*Selbstbildnis mit Englas* (Self-portrait with monocle)  
Sold as *Bildnis R* (Self-portrait)  
(Portrait of R [Self-portrait])  
1910  
Oil on canvas, 84 x 76.5 cm (33¼ x 30¼ in.)  
Ludwig and Rosy Fischer, Frankfurt, Städtisches  
Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg)  
Halle, 1924, confiscated in 1937, *Entartete Kunst* 16052  
Fischer lot 123, est. SF 400, not sold  
Sold for \$25 to Ferdinand Möller, Berlin, Frau  
Möller-Garny, Cologne, Staatliche Museen  
Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,  
gift of Frau Möller-Garny, 1961  
*Figure 371*



Maurice de Vlaminck

*Waldweg* (Woodland path)  
Oil on canvas, 60 x 73 cm (23½ x 28½ in.)  
Wallrat-Richartz-Museum, Cologne,  
confiscated in 1937  
Fischer lot 124, est. SF 850, sold for SF 560  
Bettye Thommen, Basel, present location unknown



Figure 133  
The vilification of jazz in the exhibition *Entartete Musik*, Kunstpalast Ehrenhof,  
Düsseldorf, 1938

# A Musical Facade for the Third Reich

**T**he Third Reich was festively inaugurated on March 21, 1933—"Der Tag von Potsdam" (Potsdam Day). Ludwig Neubeck's choral work *Deutschland*, composed for the occasion, was heard on national radio, and the celebrated conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler was asked by Adolf Hitler personally to perform Richard Wagner's "German" opera, *Die Mastersinger von Nürnberg* (The mastersingers of Nuremberg), at the Berlin Staatsoper that evening. German musicians everywhere contributed to the solemnity. In Hamburg the Reich's chief ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg, spoke at the Staatsoper, where an enthusiastic supporter of the Nazis, general music director Karl Böhm, conducted *Lohengrin*, the magnificent Wagnerian opera that had impressed Hitler as a youth and with whose hero he shared the mystery of origin and identity.

## Music and politics: Collaboration

In accordance with the tradition of performing at state functions in exchange for official patronage, the musical establishment helped legitimize the new government, which in turn justified itself by its avowed commitment to cultural renewal and full employment. Indeed, many musicians looked to the regime to increase its financial support of the arts and to create more jobs—not surprising in view of the disastrous economic situation and the incredibly high rate of unemployment for musicians at 46 percent and for singers and voice teachers at 43.5 percent (compared to 28 percent general unemployment, as reported on June 16, 1933).<sup>1</sup> Nazi totalitarianism complemented the musicians' authoritarian habits and their need for security and recognition.

Collaboration was not due exclusively to opportunism. Many beneficiaries of a "business as usual" attitude and official largesse identified with the cultural policies of the new regime and the promised regeneration. They believed that the new state shared their disapproval of the condition and direction of modern music, which they held to be alienated from its tradition and the public. Traditionalists rejected the critical art of the former era—the caustic texts of Bertolt Brecht, the "decadent-degenerate" sounds of Kurt Weill, the "high-art" atonality of Arnold Schoenberg, and "primitive" jazz—upholding instead an art that confirmed and elevated German nature, native

tradition, and the sociopolitical order it served. These sentiments accorded with the idealistic features of National Socialism customarily associated with the *völkisch* (national, in the sense of pure German) movement, of which Richard Wagner had been the most important artistic representative. To Wagner—the creator of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (the "total work of art" that reintegrated all the arts into one ritualistic expression), the romantic nationalist, the pre-eminent subject of Nazi musicology, and the major intellectual influence acknowledged by Hitler—music, indeed, all art, had to be rooted in folk and native tradition in order to be a genuine expression of the national community it would thus help revitalize.

## Music and race

Music's redemptive qualities were promoted most vociferously by the composer Hans Pfitzner, whose alarmist reaction in the 1920s to the disintegration of tonality—dissonance, twelve-tone theory, and alien jazz—clearly accorded with less stridently articulated conservative ideas. Pfitzner spoke for many and anticipated an important argument of the National Socialists, when he attributed this "musical chaos," a symbol of threats to civilization itself, to an active anti-German international conspiracy. His radical conservative defense of traditional harmony, melody, and inspiration (all claimed as characteristically German) and his attack on subversive atonality and jazz (identified with Bolshevism, Americanism, and Jews) were reformulated in racialist terms by the Nazis with little violence to the original.

In 1932 the schoolteacher and Untersturmführer (SS deputy commander) Richard Eichenauer established the basis of a new racialist musicology with his book *Musik und Rasse* (Music and race), wherein he associated "degenerate" modern music with the Jews, who were "following a law of their race." Music was assumed to reveal fixed, racially defined German characteristics and their Jewish opposites. Eichenauer deplored the excessive Jewish presence on German concert stages, at the concert agencies, in the press and educational institutions, from the academies to the Preussisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Volksbildung (Prussian ministry of science, art, and popular education), where Leo Kestenberg was in charge of music. Yet, ultimately, "the Jew" played a role independent of actual Jews as a manipulated demonic principle in a





Figure 134  
Hans Hinkel (center) at a lecture by Joseph Goebbels, November 15, 1935

society of anti-Semitic assumptions, a mythical abstraction associated with all "degenerate" aspects of the music of Jews and Jewish-influenced Aryans alike, regardless of their particular musical orientation. In fact, Jews were too small a minority to explain music's alleged crisis: the professional census of June 1933 listed 1,915 religious Jews among 93,857 career musicians—a percentage of 2.04, which music historian Fred Prieberg allows to have been doubled at the most during the late Weimar Republic, before Jewish emigration.<sup>2</sup> Ironically, these Jewish musicians and audiences actually shared their persecutors' traditional views of their own art as largely classical, late romantic, and folkloristic. This is revealed in the programs of the segregated Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish cultural league), which was established in 1933 under the supervision of one of the most important arts organizers in the Third Reich, state commissioner for education and Obersturmführer (SS chief commander) Hans Hinkel (fig. 134). Nonetheless, music journalists and musicologists joined Nazi cultural policymakers in concentrating on "the Jew in German music," using Wagner's well-known essay by that title for his analysis of the Jews in an alien culture in justification of Nazi purges.

### The musical "revolution"

Upon the Nazi assumption of power in early 1933 the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture), which had been founded in 1928 by Rosenberg, applied the conservative *völkisch*-racist principles under Hinkel's leadership and initiated a "revolution in the streets." Members of a large and very active music chapter including orchestras, choral groups, and other ensembles, prominent musicians such as violinist Gustav Havemann, composer Paul Graener, music journalist Fritz Stege, Wagner scholar Otto Strobel, leading educators, and public officials joined the SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troops) in disrupting concerts of "enemies," issued militant manifestos, pressured institutions into coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) with the new political order, and purged musical personnel and the concert repertoire, while promoting their own careers. The word was out that party members would be hired first, would be favored for promotion, and would have their compositions performed and aired on the radio. While hundreds of defamed musicians, including conductors Carl Ebert, Fritz Busch, Otto Klemperer, Bruno Walter, and Hermann Scherchen, were chased from German stages and out of the country, others—the young and ambitious Herbert von Karajan, for example—joined the party and secured places in the new musical order. More and more musicians demonstrated nationalist sentiment, denounced colleagues, competed for vacant jobs, assumed positions in the new cultural organizations that carried out the purges, and contributed thousands of solidarity proclamations, performances, articles, and compositions with Nazi texts dedicated to Hitler. While the world was becoming aware of the resurgent might of the German state and army, the cultural realm was equally impressive for its apparent unity, state support, and vitality.

The "spontaneous revolution" of the local party units, the SA, and the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur was in fact manipulated to serve the totalitarian ambitions of the regime. Hitler's parallel "legal" measures, comforting to many people in the civil service and the cultural professions, actually undermined the Constitution to a greater degree than street action, even though these measures were based on presidential emergency powers defined in Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. Two days after the ceremonial "Potsdam Day," the Ermächtigungsgesetz (Enabling law) of March 23, 1933, abolished the Reichstag (Parliament) and established the dictatorship of the new "national" government, thus binding those who had acquiesced to and even endorsed each step in this terrorist-legalistic thrust toward dictatorial power.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth, the shell of a Reichstag was ridiculed as the world's best-paid choral society because its members continued to draw salaries for meeting once or twice a year to listen to a speech by Hitler and to sing *Deutschland über alles* and the *Horst-Wessel Lied*, an SA song commemorating an early Nazi martyr sung on all festive occasions.

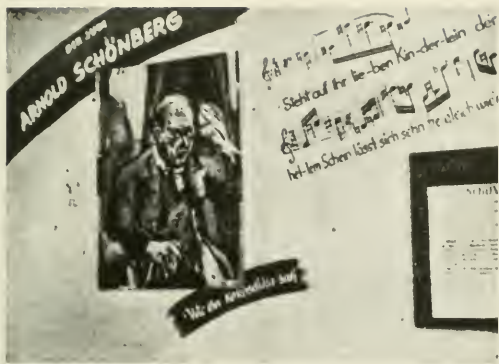


Figure 135  
A display in the exhibition *Entartete Musik* denigrating “the Jew Arnold Schoenberg—  
as Kokoschka saw him”



Figure 136  
A Hitler Jugend songtest, Berlin, August 1935

The government, meanwhile, pursued its anti-Semitic and totalitarian policies. It organized an official boycott of Jewish stores for April, 1933. The Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Professional civil service restoration act) of April 7, with its denial of jobs to “non-Aryans,” Communists, and others “who cannot be trusted to support the national state without reservation,”<sup>4</sup> formalized the bloodletting within musical ranks. This crucial law reassured the beneficiaries of Nazi patronage and revealed to anxious victims the true nature of the regime. Bureaucrats issued questionnaires to members of public institutions, and a wave of dismissal notices soon followed. In the music department of the prestigious Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of the arts) in Berlin professors Schoenberg and Franz Schreker were notified of their dismissals. Schoenberg, the formulator of the twelve-tone system and an acknowledged leader of contemporary musical thought, found it impossible to make a living in Germany.<sup>5</sup> A giant to his admirers, a Jew and “destroyer of tonality” to the Nazis (fig. 135), Schoenberg represented music’s crisis, the embodiment of all the anathemas within the realm of serious music—what Pfitzner had identified as “the aesthetics of musical impotence.”<sup>6</sup> Although in the eyes of later historians Schoenberg’s departure created a serious gap in the landscape of German music, the Nazis viewed his expulsion as a precondition for musical reconstruction along *völkisch* lines. In this situation, as in many others, the promise of a revitalized national community and culture was formulated legally and implemented organizationally, while contradictions were rationalized and excessive ruthlessness dismissed as necessary and temporary.

In the early months of the Third Reich Hitler never lost sight of the need to secure popular legitimacy by broadening the base of support for his minority regime. Music contributed significantly by propagating the romantic *völkisch* component of National Socialism in thousands of awe-inspiring Hitler hymns, cantatas, oratorios, and other patriotic choral works, in addition to traditional and newly composed folk songs and military and political fighting songs. These were sung by children at school and on hikes, the Hitler Jugend (Hitler youth, fig. 136), student organizations, the SA, the army, popular choral societies such as the Deutscher Sängerbund (German choral association), Kraft durch Freude (Strength through joy)—the recreational organization of the gigantic Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German labor front)—and every other conceivable group at their festivals, party congresses, and on every possible official and recreational occasion. The promise of *völkisch* idealism was indeed realized in “the singing nation,” especially among German youth—a most effective means of indoctrination that would intoxicate and inculcate a sense of belonging, identity, and mission.<sup>7</sup> Yet this expression of manipulated popular culture was also promoted to inspire the composers of serious music. German “high culture” was meant to rediscover its roots in native tradition and song.

### Goebbels and the enlistment of the arts

All government ministries and party agencies collaborated in the projection of popular enthusiasm for the new order, but leadership in the endeavor was exercised by the brilliant producer and manipulator of images, ideas, and sounds, Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich minister for national enlightenment and propaganda) Joseph Goebbels. In March of 1933 President Hindenburg had announced the creation of a Propagandaministerium (Ministry of propaganda) for the purpose of disseminating among the people the ideas of the government and the national revolution. The organizational mechanism, a Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture [RKK]), installed by a law of September 22, included chambers of literature, journalism, radio, theater, music, film, and visual arts. An implementing ordinance designated Goebbels president of the RKK and instructed him to appoint individual chamber presidents who were to report to him. Membership in this representational (but also controlling and censoring) agency was made compulsory for all professionals who were engaged in the production and dissemination of public information and artistic expression.

Largely nationalized, the press, radio networks, and film industry became effective instruments of propaganda. Newspaper editors received daily instruction at official press briefings. Radio programming was managed by Nazi personnel, and a growing audience was secured by the production of cheap radios—jokingly called *Goebbelschnauzen* (Goebbels snouts)—and encouragement to tune in as a patriotic duty. The film industry produced eleven hundred feature films during the Third Reich, only one-sixth of which were devoted to overt propaganda (supplemented by many documentaries, newsreels, and so-called *Tendenzfilme* [literally, “films with a purpose,” which illustrated but did not mention National Socialism]), while more than half were simply entertainment, which assumed an increasingly important role in Goebbels’s refined understanding of propaganda. Composers such as Norbert Schultze of “Lili Marlene” fame, creator of many other songs and a popular opera, *Der schwarze Peter* (Black Peter), which premiered in 1936, contributed music for films and newsreels including catchy hit tunes and marching songs.

The Nazi revolution was also evident in music journals in early 1933. *Melos* and other progressive publications were purged, dissolved, and reconstituted. Those journals that had already sympathized with the “German viewpoint,” such as the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (Journal of music), expressed confidence in the new order and represented government policies. Apolitical journals gradually suffered *Gleichschaltung*. The respectable *Die Musik* (Music) identified with “the new Germany” in its edition of June 1933, in which Goebbels himself addressed the reader: “If art wants to shape its time, it has to confront its problems. German art of the next decades will be heroic, hard as steel and romantic, sentimental and factual, natural with

great pathos, and it will be binding and demanding—or it will not be.” The Nazi composers Hans Bullerian, Paul Graener, and Max Trapp agreed, they attacked the proponents of the avant-garde, defined “native” and “racially alien” music, and theorized about a new order of musical creativity and a prospective national or “people’s” opera. A bulletin section in this issue, as in all subsequent ones, listed the many personnel changes taking place in German music. The latest developments in music were also reported in the party press, especially the *Volksischer Beobachter*, which Goebbels selected to be the official organ of the RKK and, toward the end of the year, an official bulletin of the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich chamber of music [RMK]). The party also founded new music journals, such as *Deutsche Musikkultur* (German musical culture), which was committed to the wilkisch-Nazi position in music. Music critics were included in the personnel lists of the Reichspressekammer (Reich chamber of journalism), finalized in 1936, the year in which a weekly cultural-political press conference was added to the daily briefings at the Propagandaministerium.

Professional musicological journals were also transformed. The *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (Journal of musicology) continued at first in traditional format under the editorship of the renowned musicologist Alfred Einstein. No issue was published in the fall of 1933, however, and in January 1934 the issue that appeared concentrated in its introduction on the impact of politics on scholarship. “The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft [German musical association] understood the call for national unity and solidarity.” Max Schneider had replaced Einstein, who emigrated to the United States. Henceforth, musicologists would contribute their prestige to the support of Nazi musical policy by helping to define standards of acceptable native “Aryan” (*art eigene*) and “alien” (*art fremde*) or “degenerate” (*entartet*) music in cultural and racial terms. They rewrote the musical past in accordance with these new categories to evaluate German musicians as heroes, possible precursors and prophets, while the words, deeds, and musical achievements of Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Schütz, Schumann, and especially Bruckner and Wagner were cited in confirmation of Nazi ideals and thus distorted to help project the ideological basis of a new music for the Third Reich.

At his speech inaugurating the Reichskulturkammer on November 15, 1933, Goebbels had attempted to capture the new spirit with the catchy and frequently cited expression “stählerne Romantik” (steel romanticism), which journalists and scholars turned into a postulate for genuine “German” music. The gap left by the purges of “degenerate” and “Jewish-dominated” music was to be filled by this new expression of National Socialist realism. A people’s opera was sought to replace the purged symbols of cultural Bolshevism. Alban Berg’s *Wozzeck*, Ernst Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* (Johnny strikes up), and Weill’s *Die Dreigroschenoper* (The threepenny opera). Thousands of choral works with patriotic texts were submitted to the many party- and state-sponsored competitions, festivals, and traditional performance halls by the six thousand composer members of the



Figure 137  
Wilhelm Furtwängler (left) and Richard Strauss at the opening of the  
Reichskulturkammer, Berlin, November 15, 1933

Reichsmusikkammer, including George Blumensaat, Caesar Bresgen, Hans Bullerian, Hansheinrich Dransmann, Johannes Gauthier, Friedrich Jung, Gerhard Maase, Helmut Majewski, Heinrich Spitta, and Richard Trunk, to name a few. Hopes were high for the emergence of a musical genius who might convey the spirit of the time in a new form. Some thought most promising the talent of the young Gottfried Müller, whose "Deutsches Heldenrequiem" (Requiem for a German hero), dedicated "into the hands of the Führer" in 1934, excited even distinguished critics. Others looked to young composers of opera, especially Werner Egk, whose *Die Zauberflöte* (The enchanted fiddle) of 1935 was well received for its folk tunes and libretto, as well as its traditional harmony—he spoke of "steel diatonic" in an obvious reference to Goebbels's "steel romanticism"—in spite of an orchestral score that was suspect, to Nazi critics, for its dissonances.

#### Centralized music: The Reichsmusikkammer

Music was integrated into the new order legally, organizationally, and ideologically, and it prospered, albeit in manipulated form: the Reichsmusikkammer represented musicians, but it also controlled them. Gradually, however, Nazi leadership was supplanted by Nazified members of the profession. Continuity was provided by its distinguished leaders—Richard Strauss, Germany's greatest living composer, was president, and Furtwängler, the most authoritative personality in German music, was deputy president (fig. 137)—a governing council, and the more than 150 absorbed professional associations, through which individuals joined and were screened via questionnaire until 1936 when the membership list was closed. At that point the RMK began to function as a virtual ministry that even began to represent musicians abroad in concert with the manipulated foreign service. A network of offices at the local level and of 1,140 representatives in each community with over 5,000 inhabitants ensured compliance with national policy and economic stability for the more than 170,000 professional members (as of 1939), who benefited from generous state and party subsidies, an expanding market for music at all levels of German society, and the increasing availability of specialist positions in the many party offices and ensembles such as the Nationalsozialistisches Reichssymphonieorchester (National Socialist Reich symphony orchestra [NSRSO]) under the batons of Franz Adam and Erich Kloss, which performed at home and abroad in their brown tuxedos designed by Hitler himself. Goebbels also managed to incorporate the popular amateur choral associations, most significantly the gigantic Deutscher Sängerbund of nearly 800,000 members, whose patriotic tradition invited Nazi manipulation and made it too important to be left out of the formal machinery of propaganda.

Music was thus centrally controlled, and conservative traditionalists who had looked forward to the reconstruction of an authoritarian administration of culture, dedicated to the interests of professional musicians and *völkisch* principles, were reassured by the



Reichsmusikkammer. Yet the institutionalized revolution violated the sense of security, comfort, and certainty, the official principles of leadership invited arbitrariness and competition. Denunciations, terror, pressure to conform, dismissals, and power struggles continued to intimidate a captive profession. The concentration of power in Goebbels's hands threatened institutions, traditional authorities, and rival leaders. Alarmed by the purges and threats to musical standards, Furtwängler, the custodian of the honored symphonic tradition, wrote an article on April 7, 1933, in defense of musical standards and integrity, including its Jewish component. "Men like Walter, Klemperer, and Reinhardt, and the like, must be able to have a voice in Germany in the future." Again, in late 1934, he challenged the state directly by demonstrating on behalf of the defamed composer Paul Hindemith, an action that resulted in Furtwängler's resignation from all official positions and his temporary withdrawal from public appearances.<sup>8</sup>

Strauss was also forced to resign as RMK president in 1935 after the Gestapo intercepted a compromising letter to his long-time Jewish librettist Stefan Zweig, to whom he excused his collaboration with the Nazis as "miming" the role of president, the letter only aggravating an already strained relationship with the authorities. Even his successor, the conductor Peter Raabe—far more sympathetic to Nazi policy and willing, unlike Strauss, to sign dismissal notices based on the "Aryan" paragraph of the civil service restoration act—ran into difficulties when he resisted interference in the programming of the music festival of the venerable Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein (General German music association) in 1936, over which he presided.

Goebbels apparently did not trust his own appointees at the RMK. Personnel lists, compositions, and programs had to be submitted for approval through a music office at his ministry run by the ex-conductor Heinz Drewes, who became increasingly important as his special music advisor. In addition to Goebbels's violation of centralization and delegated authority in his own realm, other Nazi leaders and ministers vied to influence German music. Not only Hermann Göring and Rudolf Hess, but also labor leader Robert Ley and education minister Bernhard Rust joined Hitler and Goebbels in issuing instructions to musicians. Goebbels's authority was most seriously challenged by his enemy Rosenberg, who could always be counted on to insist on ideological purity. Yet by 1936 the conflict was essentially over, and Goebbels's pragmatism set the general tone in the Olympic year, when all Germany was turned into a stage. The Kampfband für deutsche Kultur had been absorbed by Rosenberg's larger and more disciplined Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde (National Socialist cultural community), which, in turn, was subjected to Reichskulturkammer regulations. Hinkel's shift from Rosenberg to the RKK was symptomatic of the priority of propaganda over the implementation of *völkisch* ideas in music. While the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde continued to stage musical events and satisfy the interests and goals of its *völkisch*-Nazi followers,



Figure 138

Furtwängler takes a bow after a concert by the Berlin Philharmonic on May 3, 1935, among the notables in the front row are Hermann Göring, Adolf Hitler, and Joseph Goebbels.

the musical establishment under Goebbels's direction and patronage proved more useful in 1936 as an instrument of policy designed to promote an image of cultural vitality and standards (just as the government had realized that it needed the regular army rather than the SA for its planned war).

Music was enlisted in the campaign to enhance Germany's international prestige and to counter international boycotts and mounting foreign and émigré hostility over racist legislation, acts of brutality, aggressive international posturing, and continuing *Gleichschaltung* measures. While foreign musicians were invited to contribute to this cultural facade, German performers went on foreign tours to demonstrate German cultural excellence and the regime's generous support of the arts. After years of conflict with the Austrian government, a *modus vivendi* was worked out in 1936 to permit Germans to participate in Austrian musical life. Böhm conducted in Vienna in early 1936, and Furtwängler and actor Werner Krauss were allowed to perform at the Salzburg Festival in 1937.<sup>9</sup>

Furtwängler had indeed been rehabilitated; he returned to the podium as an "apolitical" artist, even though he continued to violate ideological standards, for which he was attacked by the Rosenberg crowd. While he made himself useful by leading the Berlin Philharmonic (the preeminent German orchestra under Goebbels's authority, fig. 138), conducting at the Bayreuth Festival (which enjoyed Hitler's personal affection and protection), signing a contract with Göring's Berliner Staatsoper, and leading tours abroad,

he withheld his participation on any occasion deemed by him to be explicitly political, and he refused to perform Nazi music. Most disturbing to his Nazi detractors were his intercession for and association with the victims of persecution. The value of his remaining and performing in Germany outweighed ideological inconsistency, however: his birthday on January 25, 1936, was formally acknowledged with a silver-framed, personally dedicated portrait of the Führer and a gold and ivory conductor's baton with a flattering greeting from Goebbels.

Strauss also bounced back from official disgrace to lend his prestige to the cultural facade. He remained the most performed living opera composer in Germany during the 1935–36 season. His opera *Friedenstag* (Day of peace) was premiered in Munich in 1937. He composed, participated at official functions, and continued to preside over the *Ständiger Rat für internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten* (Permanent council for international cooperation among composers), a propaganda vehicle created to replace the German chapter of the defamed International Society for Contemporary Music.

### Music's resurgence

The regime's need for a cultural facade clearly benefited musicians who had survived the purges and made the necessary adjustments. Unemployment dropped from 23,889 in 1933 to 14,547 in 1936. In the field of composition the traditional order celebrated a comeback. After three years of intimidation, purges, and the imposition of extramusical standards on composition many composers began to interpret Goebbels's "steel romanticism" not as the crude functionalism of an explicit Nazi program but rather as the expression of a music more consistent with the tradition of autonomy and its assumptions of intrinsic musical tension. The influential editor of *Die Musik*, Friedrich Herzog, referred to National Socialism as a vital force not explicitly imposed but nonetheless expressed in new musical forms.

Goebbels himself admitted that the state could not produce art but had to restrict itself to its promotion. Göring and Hinkel expressed similar opinions about sentiment, which, however valuable, was no substitute for good art. Shortly after the first cultural-political press conferences in July of 1936 the Propagandaministerium informed the select assembled feuilleton editors that the government no longer encouraged Nazi open-air festivals, and one year later it officially acknowledged failure in its attempts to foster this unique art form, known as *Thing-Theater* (Assembly-theater),<sup>10</sup> which was to have expressed the Nazi revolutionary experience. This was a significant revision of official policy and a concession to artistic professionalism and competence that could better serve the propagandistic needs of the regime than *völkisch* sentiment. The latter continued to be supported, but not in the place of high art.

Goebbels's later sensational ban on art (including music) criticism—that is, its replacement by commentary<sup>11</sup>—announced on November 27, 1936, might even be construed as a defense of the arts from the petty attacks of ideologists. In practice, music criticism continued unabated in the professional journals. The great masters were also protected from zealots who probed their racial background and librettos, as in the case of Handel's Old Testament oratorios, where *Judas Maccabeus* was renamed *Der Feldherr* (The general).

Although the ideal of a people's opera was still promoted, no Nazi opera with a Nazi text was performed on a German stage during the Third Reich. The musicologist Eugen Schmitz allowed for the dramatic rendering of the life of Horst Wessel, "but as an operatic tenor," he wrote, "this sort of hero could easily deteriorate into that form of nationalistic kitsch denounced by the National Socialist state and forbidden on cultural grounds."<sup>12</sup> Traditional opera, on the other hand, remained popular and a major social event, as before and after the Nazi period. Reich dramaturg Rainer Schöller encouraged German theaters to offer at least one new work each season, and 164 operas were indeed premiered during the Third Reich, including works with modernist features. By 1935–36 a younger generation of promising composers such as Werner Egk, Ottmar Gerster, Hermann Reutter, and Rudolf Wagner-Regeny achieved breakthroughs with operas that incorporated musical elements denounced by the party press and parts of the public as reminiscent of Hindemith, Schoenberg, and Igor Stravinsky, but operas that were performed and also praised.<sup>13</sup> Reutter's *Faust* was performed at the 1936 *Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein* festival in Weimar over the objection of the fanatics Hans Severus Ziegler and Otto zur Nedden, who would stage the *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music) exhibition in Düsseldorf two years later. It is a measure of music's resistance against political pressure that even a Nazi like Raabe, president of both the Reichsmusikkammer and the Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein, rejected outside interference.

Typically in 1936 cities and traditional musical societies competed with party leaders and party organizations in announcing competitions, hosting about seventy major festivals, and offering prizes, subventions, commissions, and other support for compositions and special performances. There were typical opera performances and premieres, festivals devoted to the masters—Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, Strauss, Wagner and others, city festivals, local and international festivals for new music and for *völkisch* choral associations, Reich festivals of the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde and the Hitler Jugend—a season of a tremendous range of traditional, *völkisch*-Nazi, and even "new" musical offerings.

The major event of the summer was, of course, the Olympics, an occasion to advertise Berlin as an international music center as well. The RMK staged an international competition for composers of music expressive of Olympic and athletic ideals. After national committees selected finalists from a paltry nine (out of forty-nine)

participating countries, an "international" jury stacked with German musicians of clear Nazi persuasion—including major Nazi musical organizers Graener, Havemann, Heinz Ihler, Raabe, Georg Schumann, Fritz Stein, and Trapp, as well as two sympathetic foreigners, Yrjö Kilpinen of Finland and Francesco Malipiero of Italy—awarded gold medals to Paul Höffer for his choral work "Olympischer Schwur" (Olympic oath) and to Egk for his officially commissioned and well-known "Olympische Festmusik" (Olympic festival music), silver medals to Kurt Thomas for his "Kantate zur Olympiade 1936" (Cantata for the 1936 Olympics) and to the Italian Lino Liviabella for his "Der Sieger" (The victor), and a bronze medal to the Czech Jaroslav Krička for his "Euch Fliegern" (To you, fliers). As in the athletic competition, the Nazi state sported an international look, but it wanted to win and overwhelm in a demonstration of German superiority.

Musicians contributed heavily to the Olympic pageantry with performances and compositions, including festival music by Strauss and the young Carl Orff, who was the beneficiary of other commissions such as that for 5,000 reichsmarks from the city of Frankfurt for "Aryan" incidental music for Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, one of forty-four efforts during the Third Reich to produce a substitute for the classic by the Jew Mendelssohn. Outside the Olympic festivities, foreign musicians such as the Vienna Boys Choir, the London Philharmonic, established chamber ensembles, and international stars Fyodor Chaliapin, Marie Costes, Claudio Arrau, and Alfred Cortot, among others, performed in Berlin, which helped to justify the city's claim to internationalism.

The cultural facade even included promotion of the activities of the Jüdischer Kulturbund, neatly segregated from German culture but manipulated in 1936 to impress the world with Nazi ideological consistency as well as generosity. Supervisor Hinkel deplored the lack of publicity about the Kulturbund, with nearly 40,000 members in Berlin alone, forty to fifty weekly events (fig. 139), and an annual audience of about 600,000. He suggested to ten newspaper editors that they attend some of these performances, which included grand opera in Berlin, and conduct interviews with its president, Dr. Kurt Singer, and other leaders. To counter foreign attacks on Nazi policy Hinkel allowed the famous Rosé Quartet, a member of the Kulturbund, to appear abroad, and he permitted mention of "exceptional Jews," such as the composer Leo Blech, in German concert life. Foreigners were assured that segregation fostered each people's indigenous talents. The Nazis invited the world to observe the separate but culturally flourishing activity of Jews in Germany.<sup>14</sup>

Music festivals continued to flourish after the year of the Olympics. Here was an opportunity to display the full range of "Aryanized" music. Party leaders sponsored these events; they attended and identified with "this profoundest expression of the German spirit—German music." Their announcements of competitions proliferated to such an extent that eventually Goebbels insisted on approving

any award over 2,000 reichsmarks. A full complement of festivals was hosted in 1938. In addition to the traditional offerings, Hitler concentrated on the holy of holies at Bayreuth, where on May 22 he commissioned a new research center in commemoration of Wagner's 125th birthday. Much contemporary music was offered that year, encompassing the *völkisch*-Nazi variety at the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde and the Hitler Jugend festivals, traditional, and "new" sounds. Baden-Baden, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden hosted international festivals.

The Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein, which had been founded in 1859 by Franz Liszt, had continued to offer "progressive" music at its festivals during the Third Reich, even though its organizers were forced to remove works of Anton Webern and Walter Braunsfeld from the program in 1934. President Raabe had to defend its integrity in 1936; he lost the fight against *Gleichschaltung* in its last year, 1937, now noted for the presentation of Orff's *Carmina Burana*. In 1938 the Reichsmusikkammer took over its function and prepared for the first *Reichsmusiktag* (Reich music festival) under its own auspices and the close supervision of Goebbels and Drewes in collaboration with Kraft durch Freude.



Figure 139  
The chorus of the Jüdischer Kulturbund, under the direction of Berthold Sander, Berlin, February 1, 1936

### The "Reichsmusiktag," May 22–29, 1938

The culmination of Nazi musical politics and the model for music and music festivals in the future, the *Reichsmusiktag* opened on May 22 in Düsseldorf, the city of another Nazi martyr, Albert Leo Schlageter (killed in 1923 by the French occupation authorities in the Ruhr), and the site of the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde's national conventions—"the bastion of German art," in the words of Gauleiter (District leader) Karl Friedrich Florian. This inspiring event, labeled a "musical Olympics" and a "military parade of German music," featured RMK members as well as Hitler Jugend and student musical camps, the NSRSO under Adam's baton, the Deutscher Gemeindetag (Organization of German municipalities), musical offerings by military and labor units, professional and amateur ensembles and choral groups, who performed in formal settings as well as in open forums and industrial plants. The festival provided Goebbels with a platform to demonstrate his hegemony over German music and the success of his policy of integrating the full range of German musical expression with the principles and organization of National Socialism and of balancing the products of the past with achievements of the new order. His proclamation at the Tonhalle on May 28 was the high point of the festival. While he lectured on the nature of German music, whose essence he found in melody, he also announced new national prizes of 10,000 reichsmarks for the most promising young violinist and pianist.

The *Reichsmusiktag* offered thirty musical programs, including three symphonic performances of traditional and contemporary works by the Düsseldorf Städtische Orchester (City orchestra) under the direction of general music director Hugo Balzer. Three operas were performed: *Arabella* by Strauss, *Don Juan's letztes Abenteuer* (Don Juan's last adventure) by Graener, and the premiere of *Simplicius Simplicissimus* by Ludwig Maurick. The musical highlights consisted of Pfitzner's cantata *Von deutscher Seele* (From the German soul), performed by Balzer and the Düsseldorfers, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, played by the Berlin Philharmonic under the direction of Hermann Abendroth—works that were to symbolize German identity and community (in the case of the Ninth Symphony, a distortion of Beethoven's appeal to all humanity). The traditional component included other works of the past by Brahms, Handel, Haydn, Schubert, and Wagner, in addition to more music by the older contemporary composers, Graener, Pfitzner, and Strauss. It was another measure of the profession's resurgence that contemporary music predominated, especially that of the younger generation. Among the latter—approximately twenty-five contributors—Egk stood out with his well-received cantata for bass and chamber orchestra, "Natur—Lieb—Tod" (Nature—love—death). Heinrich Kaminski's string quintet, Theodor Berger's *Capriccio*, and Joseph Marx's piano concerto *Castelli romani* (Roman countryside) contained "objectionable" modernist elements, while Boris Blacher's work for violin and orchestra occasioned the most controversy, with some press comments alluding to similarities to that "noisemaker" Stravinsky. The

generally positive reviews of this "festival of the German musical community" were punctuated by attacks on symptoms of a bygone age: "dissonance," "constructivism," and "experimentation."

The festival did indeed offer a cross section of German music beyond works endorsed by Nazi theory, but in accordance with Goebbels's concessions to the establishment and the understanding of the creative process he occasionally evinced. In spite of the party hymns, consecration fanfares, military marches, and *völkisch*-Nazi invocations, the formal part of the program suggested continuity with the past and Goebbels's pragmatism. This was the cultural facade for a state that had terrorized the population into submission and was about to launch its imperialist war.

As musicians performed in the limelight of a nation worried over a deteriorating international situation, specialist musicologists convened to assess the state of their art. Having gradually left the ivory tower to respond to the state's totalitarian demands for their input, some musicologists had begun to offer lectures and papers on the German folk song, German and alien qualities in a variety of musical expressions and, ultimately, the application of race theory to the categories and methodology of musicology. By the time of the festival the profession was prepared to contribute to the discussion of what constituted native German music. Some of its foremost members gathered on May 26–28 to deliver approximately twenty-five papers at five panels: 1) "German Music," chaired by Josef Müller-Blattau, whose paper reflected the orientation of his newly published book; 2) "German Masters," chaired by Theodor Kroyer from Cologne, a musicologist otherwise little involved in politics, who spoke on German stylistic qualities in music, while others—Walter Vetter in a paper about "Folk Characteristics in Mozart's Operas" and Rudolf Gerber on "Nation and Race in the Work and Life of Brahms"—more pointedly "Germanized" the masters of the past; 3) "The State and Music," led by Heinrich Besseler, a well-known professor at Heidelberg, whose session included papers by Ernst Bücken, Gerhard Pietzsch, and Rudolf Steglich paying tribute to National Socialism for attempting to overcome music's alienation from the community and to restore music's role in the education of the nation as in the ideal Platonic state; 4) "Musicological Research," under Werner Korte, who recommended a "subjective" musicology in place of "objective" scholarship; and 5) the key session, "Music and Race," chaired by Friedrich Blume, who also delivered a careful analysis of the new musicological methodology relative to biological determinants. Though anxious to remain scholarly, the presenters propagated *völkisch*-racialist values and methodology; they not only Germanized the masters and their music but in some cases even lent support to Hitler's imperialism with references to concrete political events, such as the annexation of Austria, and to the qualities of music that transcended the temporary division of the German people





Figure 140  
Gallery view in *Entartete Musik*, Düsseldorf, 1938, at right is a poster for Ernst Krenek's opera *Jommy spielt auf*

### The "Entartete Musik" exhibition

While the festival featured the broad spectrum of German music, the exhibition *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music, fig. 140) opened to the public on May 24 to document the musicians and music that had already been purged and vilified during the past five years in countless speeches, a vast literature including authoritative dictionaries and encyclopedias, and, more recently, on lists prepared by a Reichsmusikprüfstelle (Reich music censorship office) at the Propagandaministerium under Drewes's direction and published in official RMK bulletins. Redundant, considered a concession to the Rosenberg circle, and not attended by the musical elite, the exhibition climaxed efforts of Drewes and party friends from Weimar: the main organizer, Staatsrat (State councillor) Dr. Hans Severus Ziegler, director of the Weimar Nationaltheater and head of the National Socialist Gaukulturamt (District cultural office) for Thuringia, and Dr. Otto zur Nedden, a dramaturg, musicologist, and former Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur leader. The singular fanaticism of these two had resulted in purges in Thuringia even before 1933, and in 1936 they had attempted to remove from the Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein festival in Weimar the music of Wolfgang Fortner, Hugo Hermann, Lothar von Knorr, and Heinz Thiessen, as well as Reutter's *Faust*, as expressions of "cultural Bolshevism." Unsuccessful at that time because of Musikverein president Raabe's resistance, they enlisted the support of Dr. Herbert Gerigk of the Rosenberg bureau in preparation for the 1938 exhibition.

The visual component of this exhibit was organized under sectional headings emphasized by familiar ideological slogans, self-incriminating quotations by the maligned musicians and their associates, defamatory characterizations by Hitler and other party spokesmen such as the influential music journalist Fritz Stege, many photos, portraits, and other representational paintings, nasty caricatures and posters—the most sensationalist being the distorted program poster of Krenek's *Jommy spielt auf*, which featured a black saxophonist wearing instead of a carnation a Star of David (fig. 141). All areas of music were covered, from composition and performance to education, musicology, criticism, and promotion. There were sections on defamed books and music theories by Paul Bekker, Hermann Erpf, Hindemith, Schoenberg, and Adolf Weissmann, among others, on the despised journals of "musical Bolshevism," *Melos* and the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, on music publishers, such as Universal-Edition, on the "era of Kestenberg," who had allegedly promoted his "Jewish brethren" while at the Prussian ministry of education, on "German youth in the grip of liberal educators" such as Fritz Jöde, an Aryan who had suffered from an especially vicious campaign against him early in the Nazi era, on "Jews who are looking at you" and "Jews against Wagner" such as Klemperer, whose production of *Tannhäuser* in February of 1933 had infuriated the traditionalist-nationalist crowd, on the musical scores of "degenerate" composers of serious music, especially Berg, Ernest Bloch, Hindemith, Krenek, Schoenberg, Schreker, Stravinsky, Ernst Toch, Webern, and Weill, on the representative composers of "alien" entertainment music and "Jewish operetta": Paul Abraham, Leo Ascher, Heinrich Berté, Edmund Eysler, Jean Gilbert, Hugo Hirsch, Victor Hollaender, Leon



Figure 141  
The cover of the *Entartete Musik* exhibition guide



Figure 142  
Hans Severus Ziegler delivering a lecture at the opening of *Entartete Musik*, Kunstpalast Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf, May 24, 1938

Jessel, Rudolf Nelson, Mischa Spoliansky, Oscar Straus, and others. There were attacks on jazz (fig. 133), swing, and expressions of “musical-Bolshevist” opera—the Brecht-Weill collaborations, Berg’s *Wozzeck*, and Krenck’s *Jonny*—as well as examples of “degeneracy” attributed to the effects of association with Jews, epitomized by the disgusting Nazi slogan, *Wer vom Juden isst, stirbt daran* (You perish from Jewish food), applied particularly to Hindemith, whose opera *Neues vom Tage* (News of the day, 1929) offended Hitler on moral grounds.

The displays were supported by musical samples piped into booths upon request—a “witch’s sabbath,” in the words of keynote speaker Ziegler, who summed up the objectives, background, and scope of the exhibition (fig. 142). The public would know what music to avoid in the future. Ziegler settled accounts with the representatives of “cultural Bolshevism,” he reversed the “triumph of the subhumans [*Untermenschentum*] and arrogant Jewish insolence.”

This orgy of negativity was on view in Düsseldorf into June and then traveled throughout the Reich jointly with the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition (fig. 79, see the essay by Christoph Zuschlag in this volume) as a link in the continuing vilification of the “new music” of the twentieth century, jazz, the political left, and especially Jews, whose ordeal began in 1932 with the publication of *Musik und Rasse* and included the authoritative *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Dictionary of Jews in music) of 1940, edited by Gerigk and Theophil Stengel of the Reichsmusikkammer. Except to the victims of the purges and those who deplored the vulgarity of the entire festival—Furtwängler stayed away, and Béla Bartók protested the absence of his works from the “degenerate music” exhibit—the monumental *Reichsmusiktag* were an organizational success.

The festival was to be repeated annually in Düsseldorf, which was intended to be the musical center of the Reich, but due to the war the 1939 gathering was the last of its kind, another impressive event for which 1,121 scores were submitted, including 36 operas and 431 symphonies. Egk’s *Peer Gynt* was performed and Goebbels again addressed the assembled profession.

War introduced another chapter in the musical life of the Third Reich. Unemployment was nearly eliminated as musicians were drafted. Music was performed for the troops—in fact, its entertainment function increased, undermining even further the *völkisch* ideals of the ideologists. A *Wunschkonzert* (concert of requested hit songs) was instituted for the army on the radio, and a film by that name was made about the popular institution in 1940. Schultze and others wrote music for films that at first celebrated the Blitzkrieg victories and later distracted from war and defeat. The cultural facade at the home front continued to involve the entire musical establishment.

After the flames of war had burnt away the Hitler dedications and the Nazi texts of the musical scores, it was time to change uniforms and commitments once again. Against the background of jazz emerging from basements during the “rubble years,” Germans gradually regained contact with the international musical community. ■

# "Entartete Kunst" vs. "Entartete Musik" Hand in Hand

Carl Hofer, "Jazzband"



Paul Klee, "Musikalsche Komödie"



Ernst Krenek propagierte in „Jenny spielt auf“ die Rassenschande als die Freiheit der „Neuen Welt“



Anton Webern, ein „Meisterschüler“ Arnold Schönbergs, übernahm physischen Dressur noch um elliche Neuentzungen



Auflösung nicht nur in der Musik, sondern auch im Bühnenbild! Dieses Szenenbild zu Schönbergs Irrkammer-Planteau „Die glückliche Hand“ nannte der Bauhauster Oskar Schlemmer eine Landschaft!

## Notes

This essay resulted from many discussions with Leonard Stein, director of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute, Los Angeles. Dr. Stein and the author have jointly organized the music section of the exhibition "Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany" and related performances.

1. Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1982), 263; this is the most detailed book about music in the Third Reich. See also Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).
2. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 47–48.
3. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*, trans. Jean Steinberg (New York: Praeger, 1970), 197.
4. *Reichsgesetzblatt I* (1933), 175; Ilse Staff, ed., *Justiz im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt: Fischer Bucherei, 1964), 64–65. See also Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, *Documents on Nazism, 1919–1945* (New York: Viking, 1974), 230; this volume includes documentation of cultural affairs.
5. Schoenberg left the country, fought over breach of contract and the fee imposed on émigrés (*Reichsfluchtsteuer*)—also contested by Otto Klemperer upon his departure for Vienna—returned to the Jewish faith in a synagogue in Paris, and contributed by his presence to the status of Los Angeles as a center of contemporary music.
6. "Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Intelligenz," in Hans Erich Pfitzner, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1926).
7. Vernon L. Lidtke, "Songs and Nazis: Political Music and Social Change in Twentieth-Century Germany," in Gary D. Starck and Bede Karl Lackner, eds., *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany* (Arlington: University of Texas/College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 167–200.
8. See Fred K. Prieberg, *Kraftprobe: Wilhelm Furtwängler im Dritten Reich* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1986), and Meyer, "Wilhelm Furtwängler: Collaboration and a Struggle of Authority" in *The Politics of Music*.
9. Stephen Gallup, *A History of the Salzburg Festival* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 90; the book includes a superb account of the Nazis' relationship to the famous festival.
10. Elke Fröhlich, "Die kulturpolitische Pressekonferenz des Reichspropagandaministeriums," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 4 (October 1974): 347.
11. Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: S. Mohr, 1963), 181. See also Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 635; this book lists many musical and musical-political events in Nazi Germany.
12. "Oper im Aufbau," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, April 1939, 38.
13. Hans-Gunter Klein, "Viel Konformität und wenig Verweigerung: Zur Komposition neuer Opern 1933–1944," in Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Gunter Klein, eds., *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1984), 145–62; this essay lists opera premieres during the Third Reich, and the book contains valuable essays on a variety of topics dealing with music in Nazi Germany.
14. Accounts of the Jewish Cultural Bund are found in Meyer, *The Politics of Music*, Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, and Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*.

Figures 143–44

Two pages from the guide to the exhibition *Entartete Musik*, the illustrations and captions ridicule paintings by Carl Hofer and Paul Klee, the music and philosophy of Ernst Krenek and Anton Webern, and a set design by Oskar Schlemmer.





Figure 145  
Dust jacket of Film-*"Kunst," Film-Kohn, Film-Korruption*, the Nazis' attack on  
"degenerate" film

# Film Censorship during the Nazi Era

**A**t the time the National Socialists took power, in March 1933, the world admired German filmmaking both for its bold experimentation and for its brilliant technical and artistic finish

Germany had pioneered avant-garde film as early as 1921 with the abstract animations of Walther Ruttmann, Viking Eggeling, and Oskar Fischinger and had produced revolutionary social commentaries distinguished by their imaginative editing and adventurous photography, such as Ruttmann's *Berlin* (1927), Ernő Metzner's *Polizeibericht Überfall* (Police report Accident, 1928), Hans Richter's *Inflation* (1928), and the documentary *Menschen am Sonntag* (People on Sunday, 1929), created by Eugene Schufftan, Robert Siodmak, Edgar G. Ulmer, Billy Wilder, and Fred Zinnemann, all "amateurs" who soon after achieved prominence in the German film industry and later in Hollywood

In the realm of feature films Germany had excelled not only in such expressionistic fantasies as Robert Wiene's *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (The cabinet of Dr. Caligari, 1920; fig. 146), F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922), and Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927) but also in historical pageantry—Ernst Lubitsch's *Madame DuBarry* (1919) and Kurt (Curtis) Bernhardt's *Der Rebel* (The rebel, 1932); mystery and adventure—Lang's *Dr. Mabuse* (1922) and *M* (1931) and G. W. Pabst's *Die weiße Hölle vom Piz Palü* (The white hell of Piz Palü, 1929), musicals—Wilhelm Thiele's *Die Privatsekretärin* (The private secretary, 1930) and Erik Charrel's *Der Kongress tanzt* (The congress dances, 1931); penetrating social criticism—Pabst's *Westfront 1918* (1930), Phil Jutzi's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1931), and Bertolt Brecht's *Kuhle Wampe* (1932); witty social comedies—Reinhold Schünzel's *Der Himmel auf Erden* (Heaven on earth, 1927), Alex Granowsky's *Die Koffer des Herrn O. F.* (The luggage of Mr. O. F., 1931), and Max Nosseck's *Der Schlemihl* (The schlemihl, 1931); romances—Hanns Schwarz's *Die wunderbare Lüge der Nina Petrovna* (The wonderful lie of Nina Petrovna, 1929), Paul Czinner's *Ariane* (1931), and Max Ophüls's *Liebelei* (Flirtation, 1933); and that particularly German, moody tragic-comedy typified by E. A. Dupont's *Varieté* (Variety, 1925), Pabst's *Die Büchse der Pandora* (Pandora's box, 1929) and *Die Dreigroschenoper* (The threepenny opera, 1931), and the American Josef von Sternberg's *Der blaue Engel* (The blue angel, 1930).

The Germans were famous for technological innovations such as the moving camera (noteworthy in Karl Freund's fluid camerawork for Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* [The last man, released in English-speaking countries as *The Last Laugh*, 1924]), complex editing on action (by which dozens of brief, moving closeups are seamlessly joined to give the sense of a whole scene, as in Pabst's melodrama of the Russian revolution, *Die Liebe der Jeanne Ney* [The loves of Jeanne Ney, 1927]), and special effects (like the Schufftan process, which allows the seamless integration of miniature sets and paintings with live actors). Germany had also produced the first animated entertainment feature, Lotte Reiniger's *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed* (The adventures of Prince Ahmed, 1926) and through Julius Pinschewer's advertising agency raised the commercial film to an art form. So highly regarded were such achievements, in fact, that many talented German filmmakers had been induced to work in Hollywood, including directors William Dieterle, Paul Leni, Lubitsch, and Murnau, performers Marlene Dietrich, Emil Jannings (winner of the first Academy Award for best actor in 1928), and Pola Negri, and cinematographer Freund.

All of this began to change with Hitler's appointment of Joseph Goebbels as Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich minister for national enlightenment and propaganda) on March 13, 1933. Goebbels recognized that film could realize its potential as the most effective means of mass indoctrination only if it remained a fascinating popular entertainment. He was also mindful of film as a vital source of dollars, pounds, and francs earned through foreign distribution of German films, not to mention marks earned at German box offices. Goebbels fancied himself something of a film connoisseur and believed he could make German film work for him.

The repressive principles of the National Socialist regime, however, militated against Goebbels's success, just as surely as did his own racial prejudice and homophobia. Before the end of March 1933 thousands of Communists, Socialists, and homosexuals, arrested in sweeps of known gathering places and raids on private homes, had been sent to newly established concentration camps at Dachau and at Oranienburg near Berlin. The first boycott against



Figure 146  
A still from *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari*, 1920



Figure 147  
Renate Müller in *Viktor und Viktoria*, 1933

Jewish-owned businesses as well as new restrictions against the employment of Jews in entertainment, schools, and public services began on April 1 and were quickly followed by such manifestations against modern art as the closing of the Bauhaus and dismissal of museum directors and curators. The destruction of the headquarters of the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the homosexual liberation movement followed in May, along with the burning of books and the dismissal from academies and universities of all "radical" artists and professors.

Though exit visas were hard to obtain and restrictions applied to the export of material goods and currency (émigrés could take no more than ten marks out of the country), more than fifteen hundred people working in the German film industry did flee to other countries,<sup>1</sup> most during the first few months of National Socialist rule, though the exodus continued over the next half-dozen years. People with no foreign connections or prospective incomes, with limited language skills or large families, however, often found it impossible to go. Later, as Nazis marched across Europe, a number of refugees, including actors Max Ehrlich, Kurt Gerron, Fritz Grünbaum, and Otto Wallburg, and the film critic Alfred Rosenthal, who signed himself Aros, were captured and died in concentration camps.

Goebbels, desperately eager to continue production of superior and successful films, wooed any talent that he thought might contribute to his goal. When Lang, for instance, refused to make films for the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP, National Socialist German workers party) on the grounds that he was Jewish, Goebbels allegedly snapped, "I'll decide who's Jewish!" Similar hypocrisies protected others, including director Reinhold Schunzel, a Jew, whose satirical musicals *Viktor und Viktoria* (Victor and Victoria, fig. 147) and *Amphitryon* were top money-makers in 1933 and 1935, and such homosexuals as the celebrated actor Gustaf Gründgens and the flamboyant Max Lorenz, one of the few *Heldenrollen* (heroic tenors) the National Socialists could find to sing Wagnerian roles at Berlin and Bayreuth.

The entire film world operated under Goebbels's control, capricious as it was. No film could be imported without a government censor's certificate of approval, and none could be distributed or projected, even privately, without a similar permit. Almost all films produced in Germany before 1933 were effectively forbidden simply by the refusal to grant them new certificates, simultaneously disposing of the problem of explaining away distinguished contributions by now-forbidden talents while increasing the audience for current films, the only ones available.

New films, both domestic and imported, were subject to rigorous scrutiny by a division of Goebbels's ministry and often mutilated: scenes were cut, acceptable dialogue dubbed over censored lines, and names of stigmatized talents clipped from credits. Of the American studios that continued to export films to Germany until 1941, some obligingly produced expurgated credits, "export titles," which omitted the names of known Jewish participants.

Goebbels's criteria for censorship were ostensibly moral. *Flying Down to Rio*, the American musical that introduced Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers as dancing partners, was banned because of its depiction of immoral behavior, including immodest dress. *Scarface* was banned for its alluring depiction of a life of crime (although the censors in that case may have had a hidden agenda concerning the participation of a Jewish screenwriter, Ben Hecht, and star, Paul Muni). The German film *Ein Kind, ein Hund, ein Vagabund* (A boy, a dog, a vagabond, 1934), directed by Arthur Maria Rabenalt, was denounced as "cultural Bolshevism" and banned because of a presumed "gav' clique" involving its star, Viktor de Kowa.<sup>2</sup> De Kowa's popular appeal was too great to permit total suppression of the film, so it was released after six months, having suffered many small cuts and gained a new title. *Vielleicht war's nur ein Traum* (Maybe it was only a dream). Lang's brilliant *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (The last will of Dr. Mabuse, 1933), with its expressionistic distortions in the manner of Wien's *Calgari* and its spectacular orchestration of speed, crowds, and catastrophic events, was banned as contrary to public standards because of its thrilling depiction of crime, while Wien's own spy adventure *Taifun* (Typhoon, 1933) was prohibited for showing Asians outwitting, outmatching, and generally appearing more competent than their German counterparts (*Taifun* was subsequently "corrected" and released as *Polizeiakte 909* [Police file 909] once the director, a Jew, had fled Germany; his name was removed from the credits). Such censorship continued through the last year of the war when Helmut Käutner's expensive color film *Grosse Freiheit Nr. 7* (Great Freedom Street no. 7, 1944) was suppressed for depicting military personnel in Hamburg's red light district, despite its star, Hans Albers, Germany's most popular performer.

Since film production was controlled at every stage, the need for such censorship was a source of embarrassment to the Reichsfilmkammer (Reich chamber of film), the government film board. All personnel had to be registered with the board, facilitating the monitoring of their actions. Every script was submitted for review (and often exhaustive revision) before shooting could begin. An observer from the board remained on the set throughout filming to make certain that unauthorized alterations were not shot. Editing was similarly supervised, and the final cut submitted to the board—sometimes to Goebbels himself or even to Hitler—before any preview could be held or publicity circulated.

With so much intervention, it is little wonder that the results tended to be rather lame. Most National Socialist films lack subtlety and irony—qualities anathema to censors—and often seem to be missing key scenes or details (some obligatory confrontation or piece of background information to explain a given character or event), usually as the result of the censor's cuts. Stereotyped characters, especially the *Kinder-Kirche-Küche* (children-church-and-kitchen) woman and the self-sacrificing sidekick, and moralizing speeches play a prominent role in the average National Socialist film.



Figure 148  
Peter Voss, as Death, confronts Sybille Schmitz in *Fahrmann Maria*, 1936



Figure 149  
The backlit Fita Benkhoff in *Amphitryon*, 1935



While only about 10 percent of the thirteen hundred features made in National Socialist Germany can be claimed to have substantial propaganda content,<sup>3</sup> only about 10 percent—a different 10 percent—can be claimed as masterpieces of filmmaking. The flight of talented filmmakers seriously weakened the industry, so despite the participation of Austrians and Hungarians imported for the purpose and perhaps because of the promotion of extras to the ranks of stars and of actors to the ranks of writers and directors, many films lack evidence of genuine talent and its hallmarks: wit, pace, and perspective.

The few filmmakers who did triumph over this restrictive system did so by dint of native ability abetted by clever strategy, most often the strategy of setting their films in mythical locations. After NSDAP condemnation of his 1933 film *Anna und Elisabeth* (Anna and Elisabeth), about faith-healing in a contemporary German village, Frank Wysbar set his *Fährmann Maria* (Ferryman Maria, 1936; fig. 148) in a picturesque, quasi-medieval village. Told in the manner of an old Germanic legend, the story centers on a mysterious stranger (Death) stalking passengers as they cross the river until the ferry pilot (Maria) vanquishes him in her effort to save a wounded youth struggling to return to his homeland and its fight for freedom. In theory, Wysbar filmed a script that was perfectly congruent with National Socialist ideals and, what is more, cast Aribert Mog, one of the few actors who was actually an NSDAP member, as the youth. Accordingly the film was rated “artistically valuable and educational.” In practice, however, Wysbar presented a subtly troubled atmosphere, coaxed an enigmatic and sensual portrayal of Maria from Sybille Schmitz, and carefully preserved the ambiguity of such vaunted Nazi symbols as *Heimat* (homeland), which he undercut by portraying it as subjugated and bringing death to its young heroes, creating an electrifying, thought-provoking experience that defies NSDAP principles. Nazi critics lambasted the film as decadently emotional and racially impure since the blond hero returns home with Maria, a dark-haired, dark-eyed foreigner. Wysbar ultimately fled to America, where, in addition to hundreds of television dramas, he remade *Fährmann Maria* as *The Strangler of the Swamp*.

Schünzel’s setting of his musical *Amphitryon* in ancient Greece similarly allowed him to mock National Socialist prudery—backlighting the charming Fita Benkhoff so that her figure is revealed through her costume (fig. 149), delighting in the amorous intrigues of the gods, or flaunting suggestive dialogue, such as grandmotherly Adele Sandrock’s, “Have you been molesting the livestock again?”—as well as National Socialist pomposity—in his grotesquely monumental sets and decor, tiresome parade of soldiers, and comment on a tyrant’s speech. “Well, sure, when you’re talking to so many people, it’s easy to say things you don’t even believe *yourself* afterwards” (a line the censor would later cut).



Figure 150  
A still from *Land der Liebe*, 1937



Figure 151  
Film actress Marianne Hoppe

In *Die Englische Heirat* (The English marriage, 1934) Schünzel cast Great Britain as the “mythical” country where the love affair of an effete English nobleman and a German auto mechanic, overseen by an overbearing family matriarch (Sandrock again), challenges National Socialist prejudices about gender roles, just as his *Viktor und Viktoria* did.

Schünzel’s final film before escaping to America, *Land der Liebe* (Land of love, 1937, fig. 150), was a Graustarkian operetta in which a pompous king and his incompetent ministers are parodied ruthlessly but so subtly and ironically that the censors did not notice until the film had already been scheduled for a public showing, a most embarrassing situation. The film had to be withdrawn for several months of alterations before it was finally released. Meanwhile the scandal and Schünzel’s flight made the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* for May 11, 1937: “Goebbels Reviews Nazi Film and Producer Flees for Life.”

The use of such subversive subtlety was carried to extremes by Kautner, a director who worked in Germany throughout the war. In his films *Auf Wiedersehen, Franziska!* (Goodbye, Franziska!, 1941) and *Romanze in Moll* (Romance in a minor key, 1943) he encouraged the great actress Marianne Hoppe (fig. 151) to unleash her vibrant passion and nervous tension, defying all the underlying assumptions of Nazi sentiment. In place of the stoicism of the faithful woman sending her man to war, Hoppe in *Auf Wiedersehen, Franziska!* boldly communicates the unalloyed torture that abandoned women suffer.

A unique solution was manifested in the case of Zarah Leander (fig. 152), the glamorous Swedish musical comedy performer whose very nature subverted National Socialism. Her first two German films, *Zu neuen Ufern* (To new shores, 1937), as a convict exiled to Australia, and *La Habañera* (1937), as a Swede married to a Puerto Rican, both directed by Detlef Sierck (Douglas Sirk later in America), proved such box-office sensations that even Goebbels’s personal distaste for her could not justify her ejection from the film scene. Retaining her Swedish citizenship and traveling to Germany only to shoot, she demanded her substantial salary be paid directly into her Swedish bank account and required a secluded villa near Berlin be maintained for her exclusive use. What could Goebbels do? *Die Grosse Liebe* (The great love), her 1942 film, earned more money than any other German film of the National Socialist era, partly because of its unusual mix of the glamorous and the mundane, partly because of its frank portrayal of its heroine resorting to the safety of a bomb shelter (when the government was still pretending that Allied air raids weren’t serious), partly because of several hit songs Leander sang, but mostly because the divine Zarah projected an irony unavailable in most other films. Although in certain lighting with certain makeup Leander could be made to look like Garbo and her husky voice was in some ways superior to Dietrich’s, Leander was actually a big, often awkward woman, more unusual than beautiful and by her own admission not of the caliber of her Hollywood counterparts. However, as Rosa von Praunheim pointed out in his obituary of her,<sup>4</sup> she had exactly what was lacking in National Socialist film: in a



Figure 152  
Zarah Leander in a publicity still for *Die grosse Liebe*, 1942

morally prudish era she sang and acted like a sensual, passionate, sexually liberated woman, in a conservative, uniformed society she wore sequins and feathers and outrageously camp costumes, in a rigid, fascistic time she projected a quintessentially ironic and ambiguous image with her man's voice and her almost grotesquely voluptuous body. Little wonder that it was Leander in *Die Grosse Liebe* who inspired the escapist fantasies of the homosexual prisoner in *Kiss of the Spiderwoman*.

Nineteen thirty-seven, the year of Zarah Leander's first German films, marked a turning point for the NSDAP. With the success of massive public works projects like the construction of the Autobahn and revenues from the Olympics of the previous year they were on a sounder financial footing, with four years of intensive indoctrination of the young and gullible, they had a hard core of devoted followers. In the fall of that year, while the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was still on view in Munich, and a few months before the *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music) exhibition in Düsseldorf, the NSDAP issued its equivalent of a "degenerate film" catalogue. A scurrilous book of almost two hundred pages, *Film-"Kunst," Film-Kohn, Film-Korruption* (Film-"art," film-Cohen, film-corruption, fig. 145) attributes to the Jews everything that was allegedly base in German film and depraved among German filmmakers—and ultimately throughout German society—cocktails, cocaine, pornography, and even homosexuality and sadomasochism. A lecture tour of Germany (and Austria and Czechoslovakia after their annexation) by Curt Belling, one of the book's three authors, was accompanied by a program of clips extracted from numerous feature films.

By 1940 the government had mandated the production of the infamous anti-Semitic films *Jud Süß* (Jew Süß, 1940), directed by Veit Harlan, and *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew, 1940), directed by Fritz Hippler. Many other features also contained anti-Semitic sequences. Hans Steinhoff's *Rembrandt* (1942), for example, maintains that the painter's problems originated from the schemes of Jewish moneylenders who encouraged Aryan Dutchmen to speculate in paintings.

With the war in progress the National Socialist film became (with notable exceptions) a parody of itself. Harlan's *Die goldene Stadt* (The golden town, 1942), like his *Jud Süß*, is so crude in its identification of the Aryan and bucolic with Good, the Slavic and urban with Evil, that today it is hard to conceive of anyone taking it seriously. Yet it was immensely successful, possibly because of its color photography and the presence of the cloyingly sentimental but widely adored Kristina Söderbaum. By comparison, Käutner's *Amuschka* (1942), shot in the same location—Prague—and at the same time but with a more subtle actress, Hilde Krahl, in the lead, remains an interesting and moving film.

Besides Käutner's films, the few other interesting films of the war years include Josef von Baky's spectacle *Münchhausen* (1943)—from a script by the banned writer Erich Kästner, made with little

harassment as a joyous celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of UFA (Universum Film A.G.) studios—and the two troubled German wartime films of Pabst. Pabst, detained in Austria during a temporary return from American exile, was compelled to resume working in Germany *Komödianten* (Actors, 1941) and *Paracelsus* (1943), both set in historical times, deal with rebellion against civil authority but in such unresolved, cryptic fashion as to defy simplistic interpretation.

Harlan directed Goebbels's last major production, the monumental color historical film *Kolberg*, designed to exhort the German citizenry to fight to the death to preserve their cities—a film as reductive and hollow as the ideology—and repression—that fostered it.

No chronicle of film censorship and repression during the Nazi regime would be complete without mention of such equivocal figures as Gustav Učícky and Lilian Harvey or such tragic artists as Joachim Gottschalk and Herbert Selpin.

Učícky, the son of Gustav Klimt, began making films in 1919 and became an excellent director of action/adventure films, such as *Morgenrot* (Dawn, 1932) and *Flüchtlinge* (Refugees, 1933), which were perhaps too greatly admired by Goebbels. Učícky attempted to retreat into period comedy with a 1937 film of Heinrich Kleist's play *Der zerbrochene Krug* (The broken jug), for instance, and fled to Austria before the annexation, where he made a fine film of Aleksandr Pushkin's novella *Der Postmeister* (The station master, 1940). His 1943 *Am Ende der Welt* (To the ends of the earth), a version of the *Blue Angel* story, was completely prohibited by the Nazis. Although an Allied panel later exonerated Učícky of complicity with the Nazis, nine of his films were banned, including three pre-Nazi items.

Lilian Harvey, one of the top musical stars of pre-Nazi Germany, tried her luck in Hollywood in 1933 and London in 1934, but none of her non-German films proved a great success. Finances forced her to return to Germany, where she made eight relatively innocuous musical comedies before fleeing once again in 1939 to France and America. In Hollywood she found no work in films and spent the remaining war years as a hospital orderly.

Matinee idol Joachim Gottschalk, star of *Die schwedische Nachtgall* (The Swedish nightingale, 1941), refused to divorce his Jewish wife. With their son, the couple committed suicide under Goebbels's threat of arrest and deportation.

The talented director Herbert Selpin, whose black comedy *Heiratsschwindler* (Marriage con man, 1938) is one of the best, if atypical, of 1930s films, while filming *Titanic* (1943) lost patience with the on-set Reichsfilmkammer observer and angrily made comments about the Nazis, which he later refused to retract and for which he was imprisoned and executed. *Titanic* was completed by other hands but subsequently banned in Germany.

These sad tales are representative of many others.



Figure 153  
A salvaged frame from Bertold Bartosch's animated *Saint François*, 1939

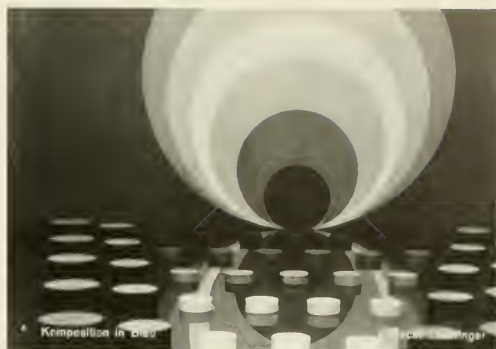


Figure 154  
A publicity still from Oskar Fischinger's color abstract film *Komposition in Blau*, 1935

In the realm of experimental film and animation the filmmakers experienced as much control and restriction, and many fled. Yet those who did leave Germany, as in the case of the live-action filmmakers, were not always safe. Lotte Reiniger went to England, was deported as an enemy alien, fled again to Italy, and was forcibly evacuated by German soldiers to Berlin. Bertold Bartosch, who had collaborated with Reiniger on *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed*, escaped to France, where he made an animated antiwar film, *L'Idée* (The Idea, 1932), and a second animated film, *Saint François* (Saint Francis, 1939, fig. 153), which also carried a pacifist message. When the Nazis took Paris, German soldiers sought out and destroyed the original negatives of both films. While *L'Idée* has been reconstructed from existing prints, no trace of *Saint François* has been found, so it must be counted as a casualty of war.

The Fischinger brothers, Oskar and Hans, were most successful at defying the Nazi prohibition against modernist abstract art. In December 1933 Oskar Fischinger managed to release a color abstract film, *Kreise* (Circles), by appending a commercial end title proclaiming, "The Tolirag Agency reaches all circles of society." A second color abstract film, the 1934 *Quadrate* (Squares), which had no such commercial connection, was denied permission to be printed and distributed, and since the film was designed for a now obsolete film copying mechanism, it, like *Saint François*, must also be counted as a victim of the Nazi era. A year later Fischinger managed to release *Komposition in Blau* (Composition in blue; fig. 154), another color abstract film, following a carefully coordinated press campaign in collaboration with the Venice Film Festival, where the film received such enthusiastic reviews that it could not easily be suppressed. Before full advantage of his successful defiance could be taken, Fischinger fled to Hollywood, where, beginning in February 1936, he was to work for Paramount, MGM, Disney, Orson Welles, and on his own films.

Fischinger's younger brother, Hans, had apprenticed to Oskar on four of the black-and-white Studies produced in 1932. When the Nazis came to power, Hans retreated into "inner emigration," retiring to a family home in the countryside. There he designed a color organ that could produce abstract light shows without benefit of censorship. The government patent control board, however, refused a patent or a license to construct the machine.

Following Oskar's emigration and the 1937 denunciations of "degenerate" art, music, and film, the same group of critics and theater owners who had helped Oskar launch *Komposition in Blau* promised to help Hans if he would make an abstract film. In the fall of 1938 he completed the eight-minute *Tanz der Farben* (Dance of the colors), which the Waterloo Theater in Hamburg premiered on February 26, 1939, with prearranged rave reviews, including a page-one headline in the trade paper *Film Kurier*. The government reacted swiftly and cleverly to quash the film: the state-owned Tobis film production and distribution company bought the distribution rights, then simply declined to show the film in Germany—recouping its entire investment in Holland. That effectively ended avant-garde filmmaking in Nazi Germany.

The only remaining short film with a glimmer of resistance is *Der Schneemann* (The snowman, 1943), the peculiar but lovely cartoon by Hans Fischer-Kösen, which tells of a snowman who, wanting to experience spring, hides in a refrigerator until July, when he leaps out and melts among the flowers—a fitting elegy for the German avant-garde. ■

#### Notes

- 1 Ronny Loewy, *Von Babelsberg nach Hollywood: Filmemigranten aus Nazi-Deutschland* (Frankfurt: Deutsches Filmmuseum, 1987), 7–22.
- 2 Arthur Maria Rabenalt, *Joseph Goebbels und der "Grossdeutsche" Film* (Munich: Herbig, 1985), 54.
- 3 David Stewart Hull, *Film in the Third Reich* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 8.
- 4 Rosa von Praunheim, "Die Bassamsele singt nicht mehr," *Der Spiegel*, June 29, 1981: 158–59.





Figure 155  
Entrance to the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, Archäologisches Institut, Munich, 1937

# The Works of Art in "Entartete Kunst," Munich 1937

## *Note to the reader*

On the following pages is a list of all known paintings, sculptures, and graphic works displayed in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* held in nine rooms of the Archäologisches Institut, Munich, from July 19 through November 30, 1937. Books and photographs not included here are listed in the tables in the essay by Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau on pages 45–81 of this volume. The exact placement of the art in each gallery can also be found in Lüttichau's essay.

The works of art are arranged alphabetically by artist, within each artist's oeuvre unique works (paintings in all media, sculptures, and drawings) are listed in chronological order, followed by prints, also arranged chronologically.

Biographies are provided for all artists whose work is represented in the exhibition "*Degenerate Art*": *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*. Authors of the biographies are

D. C.	Dagmar Grimm
P. C.	Peter Guenther
P. K.	Pamela Kort
S. B.	Stephanie Barron

Places of birth and death are in Germany unless otherwise indicated.

Each entry is arranged as follows:

Title

Alternate title, if any

Title in *Entartete Kunst*, if substantially different

Date, if known

Medium, dimensions

Catalogue raisonné, if applicable (see pp. 408–9)

Provenance immediately before *Entartete Kunst*

Location in *Entartete Kunst* installation, National Socialist inventory number, lot in Fischer sale, if applicable

Current location or commissioned dealer\* and last recorded location  
Illustration reference, if work is extant

- indicates inclusion in both venues of the current exhibition
- indicates Los Angeles only
- indicates Chicago only

\* Four German art dealers were authorized by the Nazis to dispose of "degenerate" works on the art market. They were Bernhard A. Boehmer, Cüstrów, Karl Buchholz, Berlin, Hildebrand Curtlitt, Hamburg, and Ferdinand Möller, Berlin (see the essay by Andreas Hüneke in this volume).

# Jankel Adler



Born 1895  
Tuszyn, Poland

Died 1949  
Aldbourne,  
England

National Socialist politics profoundly affected Jankel Adler's life. He not only fled Düsseldorf in 1933, leaving behind his wife and daughter,<sup>1</sup> but after the end of the Second World War he discovered that all nine of his brothers and sisters had perished in the Holocaust. When Adler left Germany, he was barely at the midpoint of his career; nevertheless, he had already firmly established himself in the German art world. His reputation did not follow him into exile, however, and the next ten years were filled with economic deprivation and social rootlessness. An excerpt from a document of 1942 provides a rare glimpse of the artist's reaction to National Socialist cultural politics: "When the present war for the painter has begun in 1933, he has perhaps a different view from those whose war began in 1939"<sup>2</sup> It was not until Adler went to London in 1943, only six years before he died, that he again found a community of intellectuals in a country in which he wanted to make his permanent home.

In the years prior to his departure from Germany Adler was a Communist sympathizer and active member of liberal artists groups in Lodz, Berlin, Cologne, and Düsseldorf. It was his Jewish ancestry, however, rather than his political activism, that was responsible for his denunciation by the National Socialists. In the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition three of his paintings were exhibited alongside works by other Jewish artists Lasar Segall, Marc Chagall, Hanns Katz, Gert Wollheim, and Ludwig Meidner. The very different aesthetic and political positions of these artists were invalidated when their works were lumped under the slogan, "Revelation of the Jewish racial soul."

Adler was brought up in a Hasidic household in Poland and first came to Germany in 1913 to enter the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Barmen. Contradictory accounts make it difficult to reconstruct his status and location during the First World War. In 1918 he established contact with the Düsseldorf artists' group Das Junge Rheinland (The young Rhineland). After the war he visited Poland and helped to found Ing Idisz (Young Yiddish), an association of Jewish painters and writers. He returned to Germany in 1920 and lived for about a year in Berlin, where he was in contact with a variety of artists' groups, including the Socialist artists who contributed to *Die Aktion* (Action) and those who were affiliated with Herwarth Walden's *Der Sturm* (The storm). Contacts with the Aktivistenbund 1919 (Activist league 1919), a group of progressive artists in Düsseldorf, may have drawn him to that city late in 1921, he remained there until 1933 and formed ties with a number of other artists' groups involved in leftist politics. In 1922 he developed a close friendship with Otto Dix. In the same year he was a founding member of the Berlin utopian Communist artists' group Kommune (Commune). Adler also helped to organize the Union fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler (Union of progressive international artists) and participated in the union's conference in Düsseldorf on May 29–31, 1922. He sent work to the *Internationale Ausstellung revolutionärer Künstler* (International exhibition of revolutionary artists), which opened in Berlin on October 22.

Adler also had ties to the Expressionist art world. In 1923 he helped found the Rheingruppe (Rhine group) in Düsseldorf, and he also exhibited with the Novembergruppe (November group) in 1923, 1929, and 1931. (Although he never joined the latter group, he was later named as a member of this "red" artists' organization in Wolfgang Willrich's antimodernist *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* [Cleansing of the temple of art].)

In 1929 Adler joined the circle of the Gruppe progressive Künstler (Progressive artists' group) in Cologne. The same year a reviewer in *Der Cicerone* cited him as the artist with the most potential in the Hannover Kestner-Gesellschaft exhibition *Zehn junge deutsche Maler* (Ten young German painters).<sup>3</sup> Just four years later, however, Adler's work was ridiculed in *Kultur-bolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism), an exhibition organized by National Socialist cultural officials at the Kunsthalle Mannheim. One of the works included, *Mutter und Tochter* (Mother and daughter, fig. 157) of 1927, was later shown in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

In February 1933 Adler signed the "Dringende Appell" (Urgent appeal), an anti-Fascist placard posted throughout Berlin by the Internationale sozialistische Kampfbund (International Socialist combat league) during the Reichstag (parliamentary) elections.<sup>4</sup> A few months later he left the country, upon arriving in Paris he was at first so disturbed by the events in Germany that he was unable to work. Later that year he told an interviewer that he viewed his exile "as an active struggle against the Fascist regime in Germany." Nevertheless, his paintings remained devoid of overt political reference. In the same interview he commented, "A revolutionary painter is one who creates a revolutionary form. The subject has absolutely no meaning."<sup>5</sup>

Adler's Polish passport enabled him to return to his homeland in 1935. Late in April an exhibition of fifty-eight of his works created since 1920 was organized in Warsaw by the Warsaw Committee to Aid Exiles and eventually traveled to his hometown of Lodz. The art was brought from Barmen and Düsseldorf with the help of the architects Helena and Szymon Syrkus and the Polish consul in Essen. Despite the exhibition, Adler was dissatisfied with the art scene in Warsaw and complained about the art establishment's lack of interest in the financial needs of contemporary artists: "You know, I am so fed up with everything! What kind of value does a



Figure 156  
Adler, *Katzenzüchter* (Cat breeder) 1925



Figure 157  
Adler, *Mutter und Tochter* (Mother and daughter) 1927

human being have here? I want to go to Spain. There the editor of *Roten Fahne* [Red flag], Jaszunski, is fighting in the Dabrowski brigade"<sup>6</sup> As the political situation worsened, it became too dangerous for Adler to remain in Poland, and he returned to Paris in 1937.

In July of that year Adler was represented in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition by four paintings (twenty-five of his works were eventually confiscated from German collections). Four months later two other works, *Chassid* (Hasid) and *Stilleben* (Still life), were included by the National Socialists in the exhibition *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew), held in the library of the Deutsches Museum in Munich.<sup>7</sup> The headline of a report on the exhibition in the *Beamten*

*Zeitung* declared "The eternal Jews are those people with a destructive effect upon politics and culture," and a photograph of *Chassid* was reproduced below the denunciation.<sup>8</sup> Seven years before, when this painting had been shown at the Kronprinzenpalais in Berlin in an exhibition that focused on new acquisitions of modern art at the Nationalgalerie, a reviewer had praised Adler as "certainly the strongest [painter] among the young Rhinelanders."<sup>9</sup>

In January 1938 the Paris-based Freier Künstlerbund (Free artists' league) attempted to draw Adler into its circle. However, despite his previous political engagement, he refused to join this anti-Fascist group.

Later that year Adler moved to Cagnes-sur-Mer and remained there until 1940, when he joined the Polish Army of the West in France and trained as a gunner. He was released from the army in 1941 because of health problems and went to Glasgow. There he joined the recently founded New Art Club and took part in its forum of weekly discussions and monthly exhibitions of modern art. By mid-June he had an exhibition of twenty-four paintings that was both commercially successful and well reviewed by the press.<sup>10</sup>

Adler left Glasgow in the fall of 1942, briefly joined an artists' colony at Kirkcudbright, and early in 1943 moved to London. During that year he established a friendship with Kurt Schwitters and joined the Ohel Club for Jewish intellectuals.



Adler never returned to Germany and refused to exhibit there. In 1947 he had an exhibition at the Galerie Gimpel Fils in London, the Galerie de France in Paris, and Waddington Galleries in Dublin, the next year he had a show at the Knoedler Gallery in New York. Adler had applied for British citizenship but learned late in April of 1949 that he had been turned down by the Home Office.<sup>11</sup> A few days later he died unexpectedly of a heart attack at the age of fifty-four (P. K.).

## Notes

1. Adler's daughter, Nina, survived the war. I have been unable to locate information about the fate of his wife, Betty Kohlhaas.
2. Michael Middleton, "Jankel Adler," in *Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Jankel Adler 1895-1949* (exh. cat., London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1951), 4.
3. "Hannover," *Der Cicerone* 21 (1929): 86.
4. Quoted in Jürgen Harten, ed., *Jankel Adler 1895-1949* (Cologne: DuMont, 1985), 28.
5. Jankel Adler, in *Literarische Blätter* 38 (1933): 614, quoted in Harten, *Jankel Adler*, 29.
6. Marian Mních, *Szalone galerie* (Łódź, 1963), quoted in Harten, *Jankel Adler*, 32.
7. Karl-Heinz Meissner, "München ist ein heisser Boden. Aber wir gewinnen ihn allmählich doch," *Münchner Akademien, Galerien und Museen in Ausstellungsjahr 1937*, in Peter Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 51.
8. *Beamten Zeitung*, no. 24, November 21, 1937, 615, the article and accompanying photograph are illustrated in Harten, *Jankel Adler*, 33.
9. P. W. [Paul Westheim], "Neuerwerbungen der Nationalgalerie," *Das Kunstblatt* 14 (1930): 155.
10. Dennis Farr, "Art and Artists in Wartime," *Glasgow Apollo* 88 (1968): 122.
11. *Ibid.*, 124 n. 7.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Handler* (Merchant)  
*Obsthändler* (Fruit merchant)  
 1924  
 Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
 Acquired by the Städtische Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf  
 Room G2, NS inventory no. 16293  
 Destroyed

*Katzenzüchter* (Cat breeder)  
*Cleron, der Katzenzüchter* (Cleron the cat breeder)  
 1925  
 Oil on canvas, 110.2 x 70.3 cm (43 1/2 x 27 3/4 in.)  
 Catalogue raisonné: Krempel 16  
 Acquired in 1926 by the Städtische Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf  
 Room 2, NS inventory no. 15952  
 Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich  
 Figure 156

*Mutter und Tochter* (Mother and daughter)  
*Zwei Mädchen* (Two girls)  
 1927  
 Oil on canvas, 150 x 100 cm (59 x 39 3/4 in.)  
 Catalogue raisonné: Krempel 27  
 Acquired in 1930 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
 Room 2, NS inventory no. 15953  
 Collection Kugel  
 Figure 157

■  
*Musikanten* (Musicians)  
*Mandolinspieler* (Mandolin player)  
 1929  
 Painting, medium unknown,  
 166 x 121 cm (65 3/4 x 47 3/4 in.)  
 Acquired in 1931 by the Städtische Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf  
 Room 2, NS inventory no. 15955  
 Location unknown



Born 1870

Wedel

Died 1938

Rostock

Sculptor and dramatist Ernst Barlach began his artistic studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Hamburg in 1888 and continued them in Dresden, Paris, and Berlin. His early work was influenced by Jugendstil, but after a trip to Russia in 1906 he developed an expressionistic style. During his Russian sojourn he discovered that an artist possessed the power to express "the uttermost, the innermost, the gentle gesture of piety and the rude gesture of rage—because for everything, be it paradise, hell, or one in the guise of the other, there is expressive form."<sup>1</sup> After his return to Germany his subject matter frequently included Russian beggars and farmers, who in his hands became symbols of human existence.

Barlach and the dealer Paul Cassirer signed a contract in 1907 that allowed the artist to work full-time on his art. After almost a year in Florence at the Villa Romana, he withdrew in 1910 to Güstrow in Mecklenburg to lead an unpretentious and reclusive life. He was forty-two in 1912 when his first play was published and forty-seven when his first important exhibition—twenty wooden sculptures and graphic works—was mounted at the Galerie Cassirer in Berlin.

Barlach produced his first wooden sculptures in 1907-8. Their massive, block-like forms were also characteristic of his bronze figures, which were commissioned to commemorate the dead of the First World War. Although Barlach had served in the infantry only two months, his memorials were powerful antiwar statements. The artist presented the *Güstrower Ehrenmal* (Güstrow

war memorial) to the congregation of Güstrow Cathedral in 1927. The sculpture, which was suspended from the cathedral ceiling, was a life-sized human figure with the peaceful stylized visage of Barlach's friend Käthe Kollwitz (which the artist claimed was unintentional). In 1928 the Universitätskirche (University church) in Kiel commissioned *Gestkämpfer* (Warrior of the spirit), a fifteen-foot-high angel bearing a sword and poised on the haunches of a wolllike creature. For the cathedral in Magdeburg in 1929 Barlach cast six figures framing a cross inscribed with the dates of the war. Four of the figures were soldiers (one a skeleton) in helmets and uniforms, they were accompanied by two grieving figures, pathetic souls, the face of one covered by a hood, all tragic victims of an irrational fate.

Barlach's work was well received in Germany both publicly and privately. In 1930 he was given a retrospective exhibition at the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts), of which he had been a member since 1919, and he participated in the Venice Biennale. At the peak of his success, however, he became the target of National Socialist art criticism. In a letter dated December 27, 1930, to publisher Reinhard Piper, Barlach anticipated the problematic future he would face: he wrote that the National Socialists "are instinctively my enemies. They will make short shrift of me when the hour comes."<sup>2</sup> Barlach's critics denounced his often pessimistic imagery of humanity and found him "alien" and "eastern," overly influenced by his trip to Russia in 1906. Because he was represented by the Jewish dealers Cassirer and Alfred Flechtheim, rumors were initiated that he was also Jewish and of Slavic descent (author Adolf Bartels thought Barlach's name sounded Jewish and was convinced that he was foreign because "German dramatists don't succeed as easily").<sup>3</sup> In Güstrow in 1932 Fascist thugs broke his windows, and from 1933 onward his mail was censored and the police watched the home of this most unpolitical artist. About two months after

Adolf Hitler became chancellor, Barlach again wrote to Piper, "My little boat is sinking fast. The louder the *Heils* roar, instead of cheering and raising my arm in Roman attitudes, the more I pull my hat down over my eyes."<sup>4</sup>

Following an uncharacteristic public statement, a radio address Barlach gave in January of 1933 protesting the expulsion of Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann from the Preussische Akademie, he was forced to give up the house he had built in 1930 in Güstrow, ostensibly because the building permits had been declared null and void and were withdrawn.

In 1935 a cast of *Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John, fig. 158) was removed from view at the museum in Schwerin, and despite the successful opening of his drama *Die echten Sedemunds* (The genuine Sedemunds) in Altona, subsequent performances were forbidden. His works were removed from the 1936 exhibition of the Preussische Akademie with those of Kollwitz and Wilhelm Lehmbruck, and a volume of his drawings, ready for distribution, was confiscated.

Nonetheless, Barlach remained in Germany, although he was forbidden to exhibit, even privately, after 1937, and his public sculptures and monuments were destroyed. Figures sculpted for the niches of the Katharinenkirche (Church of Saint Catherine) in Lübeck were removed in 1936, the war memorial for Güstrow Cathedral was dismantled in 1937 and melted down for scrap metal. The monument in Kiel was cut into three parts in 1937–38 (a cast survives in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts), and owing to the protests of right-wing members of the congregation, the sculpture in Magdeburg Cathedral was moved to the basement of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin. The head of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture), Alfred Rosenberg, described the Magdeburg memorial as "figures [that] were small, half-idiotic, undefinable types of humanity with Soviet helmets,"<sup>5</sup> and Paul Schultze-Naumburg, National Socialist ideologue and author of *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race),



Figure 158  
Barlach, *Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John), 1926

declared Barlach's works "unheroic" and "racially undependable."<sup>6</sup>

It became difficult for Barlach to sell his work. A commission for a *Pietà* was rejected upon submission by the city of Stralsund, as was another work in Malchin. By August of 1937, 381 works by Barlach had been seized from museums and churches and removed from public view. Only the *Mater Dolorosa* in the Nikolaikirche (Church of Saint Nicholas) in Kiel and the wood carving *Der Hirt im Gewitter* (The shepherd in a storm) in Bremen remained. The spiritual kinship that Barlach had developed with suffering humanity and his eloquent rendering of hope and despair were perceived by his critics as alienation from nature and a perpetration of Bolshevism and a cult of the subhuman. His pacifist—some said defeatist—themes, which were considered an insult to the German spirit, and his frequent portrayal of "inferior racial types" earned him inclusion in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. Only one of his works was displayed: another cast of *Christus und Johannes*, "purged" from the museum at Kiel. This moving depiction of an encounter between Christ and Saint John was described at the exhibition as the portrayal of two monkeys in nightshirts. Adolf Ziegler and his committee judged the work to be a "mockery of the Divine" and placed it in the third gallery, the largest on the upper floor. Ironically, a Swiss woman attempted (unsuccessfully) to

buy the sculpture out of the Munich exhibition.<sup>7</sup> By the time *Entartete Kunst* traveled to Nuremberg the bronze had been removed.

After he was informed that he would no longer be allowed to exhibit, Barlach became ill and his health declined rapidly. He died in October 1938, approximately one year later. Permission to place a memorial plaque on the house where he was born was denied, and his death notices in the newspapers were limited by the authorities to ten lines of factual material only. *Das Schwarze Korps* (The black corps), the periodical published by the SS, however, "eulogized" the artist as un-German, Slavic, unbalanced, and a lunatic.<sup>8</sup> (D. G.)

#### Notes

1 Alfred Werner, *Ernst Barlach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 8.

2 Ernst Barlach, letter to Reinhard Piper, December 27, 1930, published in *Ernst Barlach: Die Briefe 1908–1938*, ed. Friedrich Dross (Munich: R. Piper, 1968–69), vol. 2, 245.

3 Carl Dietrich Carls, "Hitler wollte sie ausmerzen," *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, June 8, 1987.

4 Ernst Barlach, letter to Reinhard Piper, April 11, 1933, published in *Die Briefe*, vol. 2, 345.

5 Alfred Rosenberg in *Völkischer Beobachter*, no. 187, July 7, 1933, quoted in Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann, 1949), 60.

6 Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, "Antifaschistische Kunst in Deutschland: Bilder, Dokumente, Kommentare," in *Widerstand statt Anpassung: Deutsche Kunst im Widerstand gegen den Faschismus 1933–1945* (exh. cat., Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1980), 47.

7 Ernst Barlach, letter to Reinhard Piper, September 25, 1937, published in *Ernst Barlach: Leben und Werk in seinen Briefen*, ed. Friedrich Dross (Munich: R. Piper, 1952), 235.

8 Werner, *Ernst Barlach*, 42.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Christus und Johannes* (Christ and John)  
*Das Wiedersehen* (The reunion, Meeting again)  
1926

Bronze, 478 x 19 x 12 cm (18 7/8 x 7 1/2 x 4 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schult 306

Acquired in 1931 by the Kunstsalz zu Kiel  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16245

Location unknown, this version: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Museum of Art, Utica, New York  
Figure 158



Born 1889

Lindemwald, Silesia

Died 1953

Deal, New Jersey

To Hilla von Rebay, the director of the Museum of Non-Objective Paintings, as the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum was known in its early stages, Rudolf Bauer was the most significant painter of dramatic non-objective painting represented in the collection.<sup>1</sup> Bauer met Rebay at the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin in 1916, and they developed a stormy but close relationship. From 1915 to 1921 gallery owner Herwarth Walden had Bauer under contract to deliver oils, watercolors, and drawings to Der Sturm on a monthly basis. Bauer was also employed at the gallery itself, where he was exposed to the works of Expressionists, Futurists, Cubists, and other modernists. He preferred Wassily Kandinsky above all and adopted the Russian painter's formal approach.<sup>2</sup>

Bauer, along with others from Der Sturm (The storm), was a founding member of the Novembergruppe (November group), although he never exhibited with them.<sup>3</sup> With Rebay and Otto Nebel, a painter, poet, and another member of Der Sturm, Bauer founded Der Krater (The crater), an artists' group whose published manifesto was based on those of the Dadaists and Futurists. He subsequently began to call himself Bautama (probably a conflation of his name with that of Gautama Buddha), which is also the title of his lithograph in the Bauhaus Portfolio III of 1921, displayed in one of the ground-floor galleries of *Entartete Kunst*.<sup>4</sup> The work clearly demonstrates Kandinsky's influence, and abstract art was not favored by the National Socialists, who rejected it as decadent, meaningless scribbling, not in keeping with the artistic ideology of the Third Reich.

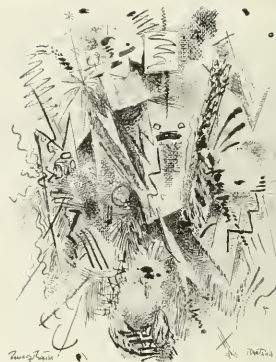


Figure 159

Bauer, *Bautama*, c. 1921

Except for a portfolio of dance prints by Bauer and the manifesto, *Der Krater* produced little as a group (Nebel went to the Bauhaus in 1924). The project did give Bauer and Rebay impetus for future museum projects, however. Bauer established a museum in a rented villa in Berlin, exhibiting works by Kandinsky, Rebay, and particularly himself (he claimed he was keeping his work together for a museum in the future). He was able to fund this enterprise with money he received from Solomon Guggenheim through Rebay, who was collecting Bauer's paintings on her patron's behalf. On March 1, 1936, Bauer went to Charleston, South Carolina, for the opening of an exhibition of the Guggenheim collection, on view were 27 works by Kandinsky, 5 each by Albert Gleizes and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, 2 by Fernand Léger, 1 by Paul Klee, and 61 by Bauer. When the Guggenheim Foundation was established in June of 1939 there were 215 paintings by Bauer in its inventory. The

Guggenheim Museum, first opened at 24 East 54th Street in New York City, was called the "Bauer-Haus" by Max Ernst.<sup>5</sup>

Guggenheim helped Bauer emigrate from Germany, and he arrived in New York on August 3, 1939, with all his pictures and possessions. He was installed in a house outside New York, and Rebay acted as intermediary and consultant in the signing of a contract whereby Bauer was to provide all his paintings to Guggenheim in exchange for full financial support. Bauer did not speak English and had to rely on Rebay's translations. He ultimately became dissatisfied with the arrangements, felt betrayed by Rebay, and stopped painting. Finally, in 1945 Bauer terminated their relationship. Rebay continued to show his pictures during her last years at the Guggenheim, but in fewer numbers. When James Johnson Sweeney became director in 1952, the Bauer works were placed in storage.<sup>6</sup> (D. G.)

Notes

- 1 Susanne Neuburger, *Rudolf Bauer 1889–1953* (Vienna: Museum moderner Kunst/Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1985), 20.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 44.
- 4 Mario-Andreas von Luttrichau, "Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Peter Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die Kunststadt München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 170.
- 5 Neuburger, *Rudolf Bauer*, 80.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 24.

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bautemps*  
Plate 1 from Bauhaus Portfolio III  
c. 1921  
Lithograph, 398 x 315 cm (15 5/8 x 12 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler III/1  
Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16284  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati  
Gallery  
Figure 159



Born 1884  
Barcelona, Spain  
Died 1933  
Davos, Switzerland

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Drei Hirten* (Three herdsmen)  
1920  
Painting, medium unknown,  
80 x 96 cm (31 1/2 x 37 3/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16004  
Location unknown



Born 1900  
Leonberg  
Death date  
unknown

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Madchen stehendes* (Standing girl)  
1930–31  
Bronze, height 65 cm (25 5/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1931 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16241  
Location unknown



# Willi Baumeister



Born 1889  
Stuttgart

Died 1955  
Stuttgart

The National Socialists dismissed Willi Baumeister from his professorial post at the Städtische Kunstschule (Municipal art school) in Frankfurt in March 1933. Baumeister reacted with the following entry in his diary: "I was never politically active—should I undertake something against the dismissal? No—it is directed against my 'Bolshevist art,' which has been created out of spiritual freedom. What can there be that is Bolshevist about it?"<sup>1</sup>

One month later Baumeister returned to his hometown of Stuttgart, where he began to work as a commercial graphic designer. He also continued to paint, though privately, in a locked room in his in-laws' home. Baumeister's refusal to work in an officially acceptable style, his development of an increasingly abstract pictorial language, and his shift to collage technique during the early 1940s suggest aesthetic decisions conditioned to some degree by contemporary cultural politics.<sup>2</sup>

Baumeister's career as an artist began in 1905, when he entered the Stuttgart Kunstakademie (Academy of art) to study painting. Between November 1914 and December 1918 he served in the German army, returning to the Kunstakademie in 1919. During the next four years he created a series of relief "wall paintings" partially inspired by Constructivist forms. In 1921 he contributed to the third Bauhaus Portfolio, his lithograph *Abstrakte Sitzfigur* (Abstract seated figure; fig. 161) was later included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.



Figure 160  
Willi Baumeister, *Figur mit Streifen auf Rosa III* (Figure with pink stripe III), 1920, oil, plywood, and sand on wood, 66 x 39.2 cm (26 x 15 1/2 in.), Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart. This work, although not in the Munich exhibition, was illustrated on the last page of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition guide (see p. 390).

Baumeister went to Paris in 1924, where he met Le Corbusier, Amédée Ozenfant, and Fernand Léger. He found a receptive public for his work, and the next year he was given a large one-man show at the Galerie d'Art contemporain.

At the same time his reputation developed in Germany. In 1927 *Tischgesellschaft* (Group at a table; 1925) was acquired by the Kunsthalle Mannheim (this work was later included in the defamatory exhibition *Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* [Images of cultural Bolshevism] held in Mannheim (fig. 7) and Munich in 1933, as well as in *Entartete Kunst*). Baumeister was appointed to the post at the Städtische Kunstschule in Frankfurt in 1928.

A year later he exhibited at the Galerie Flechtheim in Berlin and the Galerie Kahnweiler in Frankfurt. When *Atelier* was purchased by the museum in Frankfurt in 1929, the acquisition was satirized in the conservative *Frankfurter Nachrichten*: "The work should be exposed to general public judgment to advance the modern art education of the Frankfurt taxpayer."<sup>3</sup> In the same issue Baumeister's work was criticized as "proof of the spiritual and artistic aberrations of a period without discipline and culture."<sup>4</sup> Similar accusations were brought against Baumeister seven years later in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition guide (p. 390), in which one of his works (fig. 160) was reproduced next to paintings by Johannes Molzahn and Max Ernst under the slogan, "The ultimate in stupidity or impudence—or both!"

In the wake of the attack on his work in 1930, Baumeister began to reassess the significance of abstraction. Part of his theoretical reflection took the form of an intensive investigation of archaic art, partially stimulated by the work of archaeologist Hans Mühlestein.<sup>5</sup> Baumeister was one of several artists asked in 1931 by the editors of the Parisian art journal *Cahiers d'art* to respond to current debates about the validity and durability of an abstract style. In his reply Baumeister posited the eternal value of his abstract paintings, which he

felt bore a relationship to mankind's first artistic experiments.<sup>6</sup> This stance continued to inform his exploration of abstraction throughout his period of "inner exile."

When the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in 1937, Baumeister, fifty-one of whose works were eventually seized, visited it and the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition). In his diary he commented about his own paintings from the 1920s: "All four paintings no good, at that time not expressive enough, posterlike."<sup>7</sup>

Baumeister went to the second *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in 1938 and purchased the catalogue. Sometime late in 1939 or early in 1940 he began using reproductions from the publication to create collages, which he pasted onto small postcards and sent to friends. These "corrections" of works by Adolf Ziegler and Arno Breker were another form of Baumeister's dialectical engagement with officially sanctioned National Socialist art. The technique not only evoked Dadaist aesthetics, which had been particularly attacked in *Entartete Kunst*, but brought to the surface fissures in the new, ostensibly coherent national style championed by the National Socialists.<sup>8</sup> Baumeister's satirical cultural commentary did not escape censorship. The postcards were seized by the authorities, and he was called to Gestapo headquarters.

*I was confronted by the Gestapo censor with my entire correspondence for the last year and a half. Thank God that Hitler in the electric chair [a collage he had sent to an American newspaper] was not among the intercepted letters. I extricated myself by writing a long report to the Gestapo, explaining that these were plans for a book dealing with color modulation and patina.<sup>9</sup>*

Baumeister was in fact collaborating on a book that aimed at a scientific analysis and evaluation of painting techniques since the beginning of history. The project was part of his duties at Kurt Herbert's lacquer factory in Wuppertal, where he had been

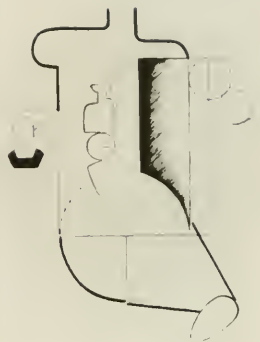


Figure 161  
Baumeister, *Abstrakte Sitzfigur* (Abstract seated figure),  
c. 1921

employed since 1938. The book, *Anfänge der Malerei* (The origins of painting), was published in 1941, although the names of its authors—Baumeister, Molzahn, Georg Mücke, and Oskar Schlemmer—were probably omitted because their "degenerate" status would have resulted in the book being banned.

Baumeister did not exhibit in Germany after 1933. In 1950 he described his feelings about his forced "inner exile": "The dismissal was bad, but the social ostracism that followed was worse. After the war started, things became especially uncomfortable because one had to show that one was working. I had no public. No one knew that I continued to paint."<sup>10</sup>

He lent four works to the 1938 exhibition *20th Century German Art* in London at the Burlington Galleries. A year later he showed at the Galerie Jeanne Bucher in Paris on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday. The press was asked not to review the exhibition in order to avoid negative ramifications for Baumeister in Germany.<sup>11</sup>

Baumeister nevertheless salvaged something positive from the experience. In 1942 he noted that because he had to remain independent from official organizations his own art took on a greater autonomy and, in a sense, became purer.<sup>12</sup> In 1943 he began his theoretical work about abstraction, *Das Unbekannte in der Kunst* (The unknown in art), published in 1947, a year after he was reinstated as a professor at the Kunstakademie in Stuttgart (P. K.).

#### Notes

- 1 Willi Baumeister, diary entry, March 31, 1933 (Stuttgart, Archiv Baumeister), cited in Felicitas Karg-Baumeister and Jochen Canobb, "Biographie," in *Willi Baumeister Gemälde* (exh. cat. by Angela Schneider, Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1989), 42.
- 2 Concerning the motivation for Baumeister's abstraction and Dada collage technique, see Peter Chametzky, "Marginal Comments, Oppositional Work: Willi Baumeister's Confrontation with Nazi Art," and René Hirner, "Anmerkungen zu Willi Baumeisters Hinwendung zum Archaischen," both in *Willi Baumeister Zeichnungen, Gouachen, Collagen* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1989), 266–68 and 47–48, respectively.
- 3 "Die Aufgaben der Künstlerhilfe," in *Frankfurter Nachrichten*, no. 28, supplement 1, January 28, 1930, quoted in Christine Hopfengart, "Baumeister und die Öffentlichkeit," in *Willi Baumeister Gemälde*, 117.
- 4 *Frankfurter Nachrichten*, no. 28, January 28, 1930, cited in Hirner, "Anmerkungen," 47.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 "De l'art abstrait, III. Réponse de Willi Baumeister," *Cahiers d'art* 6, no. 4 (1931): 215–16.
- 7 Willi Baumeister, diary entry, August 18, 1937 (see note 1), cited in Karg-Baumeister and Canobb, "Biographie," 45.
- 8 Chametzky, "Marginal Comments," 259, 263, 268.
- 9 Willi Baumeister, oral communication to Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, November 18, 1950, published in Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 87.
- 10 Baumeister to Lehmann-Haupt (see note 9).
- 11 *Zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung: Kunst in Deutschland 1933–1945* (exh. cat., Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1978), 94.
- 12 Willi Baumeister, letter to Heinz Rasch, June 20, 1942, cited in *Zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung*, 94–95.

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**Work in "Entartete Kunst"**

*Gelber Körper* (Yellow body)

c. 1918

Painting, medium unknown,

90 x 80 cm (35½ x 31½ in.)

Donated in 1921 to the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16068

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Handstand*

1925

Painting, medium unknown,

116 x 78 cm (45½ x 30½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann 271

Acquired in 1926 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16055

On commission to Buchholz, April 1939, location

unknown

*Tischgesellschaft* (Group at a table)

1925

Painting, medium unknown,

140 x 95 cm (55½ x 37½ in.)

Acquired in 1927 by the Kunstschule Mannheim

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16064

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Drei Monteur* (Three mechanics)

1929

Painting, medium unknown,

129 x 99 cm (50½ x 39 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann 261

Acquired in 1930 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16067

Lost

*Abstrakte Sitzfigur* (Abstract seated figure)

Plate 2 from Bauhaus Portfolio III

c. 1921

Lithograph, 38.7 x 27.5 cm (15½ x 10¾ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler III/2

Acquired by the Wälfraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162912

Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati

Gallery

Figure 101

■



Born 1900

Haag, Upper Austria

Died 1985

Santa Barbara,

California

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**Work in "Entartete Kunst"**

*Landschaft im Tessin* (Landscape in Ticino)

1924

Painting, medium unknown,

32.9 x 62.7 cm (13 x 24½ in.)

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16179

Location unknown



Born 1884

Leipzig

Died 1950

New York, New York

Upon hearing the broadcast of Hitler's speech at the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich on July 18, 1937, Max Beckmann finally comprehended the unmistakable professional and personal implications of National Socialist art policies. He recognized himself as one of the so-called *Kunstzwerge* (art dwarfs) that Hitler denied in his tirade.

Beckmann had already experienced ramifications of the regime's art politics: in March 1933 he was dismissed from Frankfurt's Städelschule/Kunstgewerbeschule (Municipal school/School of applied arts). Also in 1933 a gallery devoted to his paintings, which had been opened the previous year at the Kronprinzenpalais (Nationalgalerie), Berlin, by the director Ludwig Justi, was closed by Justi's Nazi-appointed successor, Alois Schardt. Works by Beckmann were included in a Stuttgart *Schandausstellung* (abomination exhibition) entitled *Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung* (Spirit of November: Art in the service of subversion), and a scheduled Beckmann exhibition at the museum in Erfurt was canceled.

This was unaccustomed treatment for an artist who had often "been raised to Mount Olympus,"<sup>1</sup> as a Frankfurt critic later observed. By age twenty-two, in 1906, he had already received recognition from the Berlin Künstlerbund (Art association) and his painting *Junge Männer am Meer* (Young men at the seashore) was honored with a prize that included a stipend to study at the Villa Romana in Florence. In 1913 Beckmann was given a solo exhibition at the Galerie Cassirer in Berlin. Hans Kaiser wrote the first Beckmann monograph, and the

respected critics Karl Schettler, Curt Glaser, and Max Osborn praised his work.

Beckmann enlisted as a medical orderly in the German army in 1915, and the misery and carnage that he witnessed provoked a nervous breakdown. As a result of his war experiences and his breakdown his style changed completely: angular forms and flat color replaced the romantic, painterly compositions of the prewar years. His new work was first exhibited in Frankfurt in 1919, and critics again responded positively. Directors Georg Swarzenski and Fritz Wichert purchased his *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition, fig. 164) and *Christus und die Ehebrecherin* (Christ and the adulteress, fig. 163) for the art museums in Frankfurt and Mannheim, respectively.

The years 1924–30 marked the height of Beckmann's popularity. A second monograph, written jointly by Glaser, Julius Meier-Graefe, Wilhelm Fraenger, and Wilhelm Hausenstein, was published in 1924. The dealer I. B. Neumann signed Beckmann to a three-year contract in July 1925, guaranteeing him an income of 10,000 reichsmarks per year against sales, and three months later the artist was engaged as a master teacher at the Städelschule in Frankfurt. In 1928 the first museum retrospective of his work was organized in Mannheim by Gustav F. Hartlaub, and the Nationalgalerie in Berlin purchased his *Selbstbildnis im Smoking* (Self-portrait in tuxedo). Beckmann received fourth honorable mention at the Carnegie International in the United States in 1929, in 1930 another retrospective followed in Basel and Zurich, and his first solo exhibition in Paris opened at the Galerie de la Renaissance with the German ambassador in attendance. The critic for *Le Figaro* dubbed him a "German Picasso."

Beckmann did not begin to understand the extent of the changes that would be effected by National Socialist art policies until 1932. The culmination of those policies was, of course, the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition of 1937. *Christus und die Ehebrecherin* and *Kreuzabnahme* were among the first paintings encountered by visitors as they entered the



Figure 162  
Beckmann, *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-portrait with red scarf), 1917



first room, which was devoted to pictures with religious themes. Hitler had reached a concordat with the Catholic Church in July 1933 and was sensitive to any affront to Christianity. The malformed, emaciated figure of Christ that dominates the *Kreuzabnahme* exemplified to the authorities a heinous disregard for the sanctity of the solemn moment depicted. Concomitantly, the subject of Christ forgiving an adulteress was deemed an unfit topic: the breaking of the marriage contract and the undermining of the family were not in keeping with National Socialist ideology, which stressed the family as central in the rebuilding of Germany.

The subject of *Pariser Fastnacht* (Parisian carnival, fig. 95) was a favorite theme for Beckmann. Here threatening sexual imagery dominated the representation of the secularized Lenten celebration. In the fourth room of the upper floor was the *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-portrait with red scarf, fig. 162) of Beckmann in his studio in Frankfurt, with the spires of the Dreikönigskirche visible to the left. The painting had been purchased by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart in 1926 for 3,000 reichsmarks and was consigned to the Galerie Fischer auction in Lucerne after its display in *Entartete Kunst*. It did not meet its reserve, was privately acquired for 55 Swiss francs after the auction, and returned to the Stuttgart museum in 1948.

The imagery of the artist's *Stilleben mit Musikinstrumenten* (Still life with musical instruments, fig. 167) was autobiographical. Beckmann had become interested in American jazz, the rage in Germany during the 1920s. The saxophone on the left is inscribed "Bar African," a reference to the origins of jazz; that on the right bears the words "[exhibiti]on New York" (Beckmann's first American solo exhibition had opened at Neumann's New York gallery in April 1926). To the National Socialists the painting represented references to an "inferior race" and exemplified the spirit of Weimar Germany, which they continually endeavored to discredit. Nearby was hung *Das Nizza* in

*Frankfurt am Main* (Nizza Park in Frankfurt am Main, fig. 165). Despite its benign subject, the spatial organization of the work did not meet National Socialist aesthetic standards and was attributed to defects in the artist's vision or to charlatanism.

There were eleven lithographs and etchings by Beckmann in the galleries on the ground floor. The portfolio *Berliner Reise* (Berlin journey) was represented by *Die Bettler* (The beggars, fig. 173), which addressed the predicament of the war-wounded and disparaged military conscription, *Enttäuschte II* (The disappointed II, fig. 174), depicting the apathy of the Germans after the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and *Nacktkanz* (Striptease, fig. 176), which suggested the implicit conflict between the classes as represented by performers and audience. *Liebespaar I* (Lovers I, fig. 170), an illustration of brutality depicted in "degenerate" art as inherent in male-female encounters, was from the portfolio *Gesichter* (Faces), and amoral carnality was also the theme of the etching *Umarmung* (Embrace, fig. 177).

Beckmann's inclusion in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition signaled the end of his career in Germany. His pronounced ideological differences with the new regime did not allow for compromise. On the opening day of the exhibition Beckmann and his wife fled to Amsterdam, and he never returned to Germany.

After the difficult war years in Holland, Beckmann determined to emigrate to the United States, and in 1947 he accepted a temporary teaching position at Washington University in Saint Louis. In 1949 he was invited to become a professor of painting and drawing at the Brooklyn Museum School of Art in New York, where he remained until his death on December 27, 1950 (D. G.).

#### Notes

1. H. T. Wüst, "Damit wir nicht vergessen, was früher gewesen ist," *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, July 1, 1939, reprinted in Joseph Wüll, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna Ullstein, 1983), 365.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Christus und die Ehebrecherin*

(Christ and the woman taken in adultery)

1917

Oil on canvas, 149.2 x 126.7 cm (58 3/4 x 49 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 197

Acquired in 1919 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15936

The Saint Louis Art Museum,

bequest of Curt Valentin, 1955

Figure 163

■

### *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition, Descent from the cross)

1917

Oil on canvas, 151.2 x 128.9 cm (59 1/2 x 50 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 192

Acquired in 1919 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15933

The Museum of Modern Art, New York,

Curt Valentin Bequest, 1955

Figure 164

■

### *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-portrait with red scarf)

1917

Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31 1/2 x 23 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 194

Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16026, Fischer lot 13

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1948

Figure 162

■

### *Nizza* (Nizza Park)

*Das Nizza in Frankfurt am Main*

(Nizza Park in Frankfurt am Main)

1921

Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 65.5 cm (39 1/2 x 25 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 210

Acquired in 1925 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16097

Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1939

Figure 165

■

### *Doppelbildnis Karnaval* (Double portrait, carnival)

*Maskenball* (Masked ball)

*Max B. mit Quappi* (Max B. with Quappi)

1925

Oil on canvas, 160 x 105.5 cm (63 x 41 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 240

Acquired in 1925 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16226, Fischer lot 12

Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1953

Figure 166

■



Figure 163  
Beckmann, *Christus und die Ehebrecherin* (Christ and the woman taken in adultery), 1917



Figure 164  
Beckmann, *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition), 1917



Figure 165  
Beckmann, *Nizza* (Nizza Park), 1921



Figure 166  
Beckmann, *Doppelbildnis Karneval* (Double portrait, carnival), 1925



Figure 167  
Beckmann, *Stilleben mit Musikinstrumenten* (Still life with musical instruments), 1926

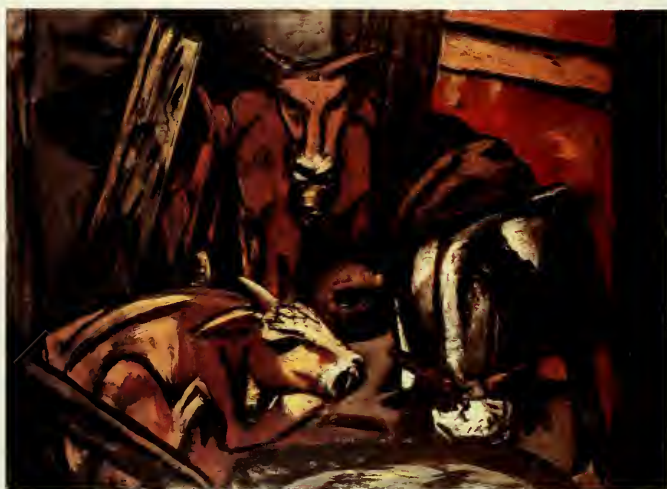


Figure 168  
Beckmann, *Ochsenstall* (Ox stall), 1933





Figure 169  
Beckmann, *Badekabine* (Bath cubicle), 1928

*Stillleben mit Musikinstrumenten*  
Still life with musical instruments,  
Saxophone, Saxophones  
1926  
Oil on canvas, 85 x 195 cm (33 1/2 x 76 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 257  
Acquired in 1927 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16124  
Städtische Galerie im Städelchen Kunstinstitut  
Frankfurt am Main, 1955  
Figure 167

*Der Strand* (The beach)  
1927  
Painting, medium unknown,  
173 x 300 cm (68 1/8 x 118 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 267  
Acquired in 1927 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16031  
Location unknown

*Badekabine* (Bath cubicle)  
1928  
Oil on canvas, 70 x 85 cm (27 1/2 x 33 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 297  
Acquired in 1930 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16135  
Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich,  
Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich, 1947  
Figure 169

*Pariser Faschnacht* (Parisian carnival)  
1930  
Oil on canvas, 214.5 x 100.5 cm (84 3/4 x 39 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 322  
Acquired in 1932 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16002  
Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich, 1974  
Figure 95

*Ochsenstall* (Ox stall)  
1933  
Oil on canvas, 86 x 118 cm (33 3/4 x 46 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gopel 375  
Acquired by exchange in 1934 by the Nationalgalerie,  
Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16128  
Museum Wiesbaden, Verein zu Förderung der  
bildenden Kunst in Wiesbaden e.V., Sammlung Hanna  
Bekker vom Rath, 1987  
Figure 168

*Liebespaar I* (Lovers I)  
Exhibited as *Umschlangenes Paar* (Embracing couple)  
Plate 4 from the portfolio *Gesichter* (Faces)  
1916  
Etching, 233 x 296 cm (9 1/4 x 11 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 88  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16451  
Location unknown, this print: Alan Frumkin,  
New York  
Figure 170



Figure 170  
Beckmann, *Liebespaar I* (Lovers I), 1916



*Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition)

Plate 11 from the portfolio *Gesichter* (Faces)

1918

Etching, 30.3 x 25.5 cm (11 7/8 x 10 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 131

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory nos. 16361 and 16450

Location unknown, this print. Collection of the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, Los Angeles, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley I. Talpis (Los Angeles only), Alan Frumkin, New York (Chicago only)

Figure 171

■

*Garderobe* (Dressing room)

Exhibited as *Paar* (Couple)

Plate 2 from the portfolio *Der Jahrmärkt* (The annual fair)

1921

Etching, 20.7 x 14.7 cm (8 1/8 x 5 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 192

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16453

Destroyed, this print. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.19b (Los Angeles only), Alan Frumkin, New York (Chicago only)

Figure 172

■

*Die Bettler* (The beggars)

Plate 7 from the portfolio *Berliner Reise* (Berlin journey)

1922

Lithograph, 46.5 x 33.5 cm (18 1/8 x 13 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 219

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16448

Destroyed, this print. Alan Frumkin, New York

Figure 173

■

*Die Enttäuschten II* (The disillusioned II)

Plate 6 from the portfolio *Berliner Reise* (Berlin journey)

1922

Lithograph, 48 x 38 cm (18 7/8 x 15 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 218

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16313

Destroyed, this print. Alan Frumkin, New York

Figure 174

■



Figure 171  
Beckmann, *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition), 1918



Figure 172  
Beckmann, *Garderobe* (Dressing room), 1921



Figure 173  
Beckmann, *Die Bettler* (The beggars), 1922



Figure 174  
Beckmann, *Die Enttäuschten II* (The disillusioned II), 1922



Figure 175  
Beckmann, *Fastnacht* (Mardi gras), 1922



Figure 176  
Beckmann, *Nacktlanz* (Striptease), 1922



Figure 177  
Beckmann, *Umarmung* (Embrace), 1922

*Fastnacht* (Mardi gras)

*Fastnachtszene* (Carnival scene)

1922

Etching, 321 x 245 cm (12½ x 9½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 231

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16452

Location unknown, this print: Collection of the  
Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of  
California, Los Angeles, gift of Mr and Mrs Stanley I  
Talpis (Los Angeles only); Alan Frumkin, New York  
(Chicago only)

Figure 175

*Nacktlanz* (Striptease)

Plate 4 from the portfolio *Berliner Rost* (Berlin journey)

1922

Lithograph, 475 x 375 cm (18½ x 14¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 216

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16314

Location unknown, this print: Alan Frumkin,  
New York

Figure 176

*Umarmung* (Embrace)

1922

Etching, 42 x 245 cm (16½ x 9½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hofmaier 230

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16402

Location unknown, this print: Alan Frumkin,  
New York

Figure 177

Unidentified print exhibited as *Christus und Thomas*  
(Christ and Thomas)

Etching, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16350

Location unknown

Unidentified print exhibited as *Drehorgelmann*  
(Hurdy-gurdy man)

Medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Original location unknown

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16449

Location unknown

Two unidentified graphic works

Medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Original location unknown

Room G2, NS inventory nos. 16454 and 16455

Location unknown

## Rudolf Belling



Born 1886  
Berlin

Died 1972  
Krailling

After his schooling and several jobs, Rudolf Belling apprenticed with a Berlin company specializing in small, three-dimensional decorations while he attended night classes in drawing and sculpture. He worked independently from 1908 onward, completing commissions for theater owner and producer Max Reinhardt and other theatrical patrons. In 1912 he began to study with the sculptor Peter Breuer at the *Kunstakademie* (Academy of art) in Berlin-Charlottenburg, and in 1914 he exhibited in the *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung* (Great Berlin art exhibition).

After the First World War, into which Belling was drafted in 1915, he became one of the original members of the revolutionary *Novembergruppe* (November group) in 1918 and a member of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' council for art). He had significant solo exhibitions in 1919 at *Galerie Carlitt* in Berlin (where a plaster version of *Dreiklang* [Triad, fig. 178] was shown), *Galerie Flechtheim* in Düsseldorf in 1920, and *Galerie Goyert* in Cologne in 1921.

On a more exotic note, Belling made the mask for the main character of the film *Der Golem* (The golem), designed the first kinetic fountain, made three-dimensional advertising structures with architect Wassili Luckhardt, and designed decorations for the *Scala Casino* in Berlin. In 1924 he received a one-man exhibition at the *Nationalgalerie*, which acquired a version of *Dreiklang* in wood. A number of his commissions at this time, until 1932, were from German and Dutch labor unions. In 1931 he was elected to membership in the prestigious *Preussische Akademie der Künste* (Prussian



Figure 178  
Belling, *Dreiklang* (Triad), 1924

academy of arts), and his work was represented in exhibits in New York and Zurich.

Belling's teaching abilities made it possible for him to leave Germany when the artistic climate worsened. In 1935 he exhibited and taught at the Anot Art School in New York, and in 1937, through the intervention of the architect Hans Poelzig, he emigrated to Turkey and taught at the Academy of Art and the Technical University in Istanbul until 1965. While he was in Turkey, his studio in Berlin containing many models for his work was destroyed in a bombing raid.

A number of Belling's works were confiscated and destroyed in Germany in the late 1930s. Ironically, his two works in *Entartete Kunst*, the Cubist-influenced *Dreiklang* and *Kopf* (Head, fig. 179), both impounded from the Berlin Nationalgalerie, were quickly removed from the exhibition when it was pointed out that his bronze of the boxer Max Schmeling was on view at the same time in the officially approved *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition).

In 1955 the Federal Republic of Germany awarded Belling a medal, and he was reinstated in the Preussische Akademie. In 1961 he received Berlin's city art prize. He returned to Germany from Turkey in 1966 and settled in Munich, where he was given a major retrospective exhibition in 1967 and an honorary doctorate by the Technical University<sup>1</sup> (P. G.).

#### Notes

1. See Willi Wöhradt, *Die neue Plastik*, 3d ed. (Berlin: E. Reiss, 1920); J. A. Schmollgen, Eisenwerth, "Zum Werk Rudolf Belling," in *Rudolf Belling* (exh. cat. by Helga Dorothea Hofmann, Munich: Galerie Wolfgang Ketterer, 1967); Waldemar Grzimek, *Deutsche Bildhauer des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts: Leben, Schulen, Wirkungen* (Munich: Heinz Moos, 1969); and Winfried Nerdinger, *Rudolf Belling und die Kunstströmungen in Berlin 1918–1921* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981).



Figure 179  
Belling, *Kopf* (Head), 1925



Born 1894  
Magdeburg  
Death date  
unknown

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Knabe mit Laternen* (Boy with paper lantern)  
*Martinusjunge* (Martinmas boy)  
1925  
Painting, medium unknown,  
77 x 73 cm (30 1/4 x 28 3/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1926 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14166  
Location unknown

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Dreiklang* (Triad)  
1924  
Wood, height 90 cm (35 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Nerdinger 20  
Acquired in 1924 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15029  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,  
1949, this version: bronze, cast after 1950, private  
collection  
Figure 178

*Kopf* (Head)  
*Portrait Toni Freuden* (Portrait of Toni Freuden)  
1925  
Brass, 38.3 x 22.5 x 22 cm (15 1/8 x 8 7/8 x 8 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Nerdinger 49  
Acquired in 1928 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15047  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Berlin,  
1949, this version: Walker Art Center, Minneapolis,  
gift of the T. B. Walker Foundation  
Figure 179





*Born 1885  
Hamm  
  
Died 1984  
Hagen*

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Der Schauspieler* (The actor)  
1927  
Wood, height c. 60 cm (23½ in.)  
Acquired by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen  
Room 3, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown



*Born 1887  
Elberfeld  
  
Died 1964  
Essen*

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Stilleben mit zwei Kannen* (Still life with two jugs)  
1921  
Painting, medium unknown, 74 x 56 cm (29½ x 22 in.)  
Acquired in 1923 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16221  
Location unknown



*Born 1879  
Hildburghausen  
  
Died 1969  
Hannover*

The son of a factory worker, Fritz Burger-Mühlfeld attended the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Munich in 1899 and then studied with Franz von Stuck and Gabriel von Hackel at the Munich Kunstakademie (Academy of art). In 1909 he began teaching a class in graphics at the Werkkunstschule (Craft school) in Hannover. He enlisted in the German army in 1914 and served at the front in France, Belgium, and Russia.

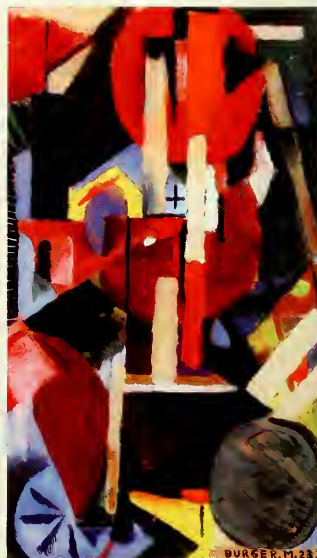


Figure 180  
Burger-Mühlfeld, *Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition), 1923

Upon his return in 1916 Burger-Mühlfeld cofounded the Hannoverische Sezession (Hannover secession) and began to participate, along with Otto Gleichmann, in the Sezession's exhibitions. In 1918 he was appointed professor at the Werkkunstschule. He developed his particular style of painting geometric compositions on glass at this time, he exhibited these works in 1923 at Herwarth Walden's Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin. His work was also included in exhibitions of the Berliner Sezession (Berlin Secession) and was acquired by several museums.

Two of Burger-Mühlfeld's paintings, *Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition, fig. 180) and *Im Theater* (In the theater) were seized in 1937 from the Provinzialmuseum in Hannover. *Abstrakte Komposition*, oil on glass, and another painting, *Kreisende Formen* (Circling forms), from an unspecified collection, were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Burger-Mühlfeld served in the army of the Third Reich on the Russian front in 1942. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, in 1963, he was given an exhibition at the Augsburger Schaezler-Palais.<sup>1</sup> (S. B.)

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Werner Schumann, *Burger-Mühlfeld* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1967).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Kreisende Formen* (Circling forms)

Exhibited as *Abstrakte Komposition*

(Abstract composition)

1922

Oil on glass, 42 x 24.5 cm (16½ x 9½ in.)

Original location unknown

Room 7, NS inventory no. unrecorded

Location unknown

*Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition)

*Gestaffelter Raum* (Layered space)

1923

Oil on glass, 46 x 27 cm (18½ x 10½ in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Provinzialmuseum, Hannover

Room 7, NS inventory no. 14211

Private collection

Figure 190



Born 1893

Zürich, Switzerland

Died 1970

Basel, Switzerland

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bildnis des Bildhauers Hermann Scherer*

(Portrait of the sculptor Hermann Scherer)

1926

Painting, medium unknown, 114 x 791 cm

(44½ x 31½ in.)

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen,

Stiftung von E. L. Kirchner

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15968

Location unknown



Born 1889

Krefeld

Died 1957

Amsterdam,

The Netherlands

Campendonk was an Expressionist from the Rhineland, a former pupil of the Dutch painter, mosaicist, and stained-glass designer Jan Thorn-Prikker at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Krefeld. Campendonk became the youngest member of the *Blaue Reiter* (Blue Rider) group in 1911. At the invitation of August Macke he moved to Sindelsdorf in Bavaria to be close to Franz Marc and to participate in the two *Blaue Reiter* exhibitions at Galerie Thannhauser and Galerie Goltz in Munich. Emulating the styles of Marc Chagall, Wassily Kandinsky, and Marc, Campendonk developed his own decorative style of painting, depicting images of idyllic scenery in which he placed fairy-tale people and animals. He participated in the *Erster deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon) in 1913 at Herwarth Walden's Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin, initiating an association that would come to haunt him later in life. Campendonk's commercial success before the First World War was sporadic. He told Walden that before the war the Frankfurt dealer Alfred Flechtheim had taken all his pictures, and whenever something sold he gave the artist 75 reichsmarks per month.<sup>1</sup>

After the war Campendonk became a member of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' council for art), another affiliation that was hurtful to his career when the National Socialists came to power a few years later. In 1921 his contact with Katherine Dreier's *Société Anonyme* provided for his first exhibition in the United States (he would succeed Kandinsky as vice-president of the *Société* in 1944). The 1920s marked a series of successes for the young



Figure 181  
Campendonk, *Bergziegen* (Mountain goats), 1917

artist an appointment to the municipal theater in Krefeld in 1922 as a stage designer was followed immediately by an offer from the Kunstgewerbeschule in Essen in 1923. In 1926 he accepted a position at the Düsseldorf Akademie as successor to his teacher, Thorn-Prikker, who had been so important in the development of modern art in the Rhineland. The academy was under the leadership of Dr. Walter Kaesbach, who was creating a center for modern art. Kaesbach also hired Paul Klee, whom Campendonk had met during his *Blauer Reiter* days. In addition to teaching in Düsseldorf, Campendonk worked mainly on stained-glass windows in Thorn-Prikker's style for churches and other public buildings. In early 1933, however, an attack that virtually destroyed his atelier signaled the beginning of the end of the artist's success in Germany.

The enactment of the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Professional civil service restoration act) on April 7, 1933, prepared the way for the dismissal of any art professional on either political or racial grounds. Campendonk received the news of his termination at the Düsseldorf Akademie while he was on vacation in Norway in the summer of 1933. He did not return to Düsseldorf but fled to Amsterdam by way of the Ardennes and Ostend in Belgium. Within weeks examples of his work appeared in the exhibition *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art), which opened in Dresden on September 23, 1933. A review of the exhibition in the December 16 issue of the illustrated journal of the National Socialist party, *Illustrierter Beobachter*, mentioned his *Badende* (Bather) of 1920–21, which was judged degenerate because of Campendonk's use of color and dissolution of form. *Badende* reappeared in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, one of six of his works culled from eighty-seven that had been removed from public collections and museums in Germany. His painting *Springendes Pferd* (Leaping horse) of 1911 was displayed in the same exhibition with the explanatory word *Dada* appended to it. It was immaterial to the National

Socialists that Campendonk's work was not at all socially critical or revolutionary, a fact that was patently obvious from his imagery of shepherds and animals in bucolic settings. His association with Walden's Galerie Der Sturm was enough to brand him a "cultural Bolshevik." Ironically, at the same time he was defamed in his native land, Campendonk was awarded the grand prize for a three-part window design at the *Exposition universelle* in Paris.

On May 10, 1940, Holland was occupied by the German Reich. With the help of Thorn-Prikker—and against considerable resistance from Dutch artists—Campendonk had been appointed to a position as professor at the Rijksakademie (National academy) in Amsterdam in 1935. Now, to avoid persecution, he withdrew and hid at the home of friends until the end of the war. Records in the state archives in Koblenz demonstrate that his was a wise decision. By 1942 Nazi surveillance had caught up with him: on August 8 National Socialist headquarters in The Hague requested from Düsseldorf any derogatory information that might be on record about the artist. The Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture) had been instructed to censure every activity of Campendonk in Germany because he had been promoted primarily by the "Communist" periodical *Der Sturm* (The storm) and because he had been a member of the Roten Arbeiterrates für die Kunst (Red workers' council for art). Again, on August 27, the Gestapo wrote to Düsseldorf for any information, specifically of a criminal or political nature, that might be on record about Campendonk. On September 11 Düsseldorf issued a response: "As far as can be determined, as an artist Campendonk followed Communistic ideas and was a promoter of degenerate art." More information was sent on September 24, to the effect that in the years after the First World War, at the beginning of his career, Campendonk's work was not in harmony with current artistic standards, although it appeared that his creations were less an expression of his political leanings than

a product of the times. Campendonk's success, and that of his students outside Germany, was also mentioned. The report concluded that it could not be determined from the personnel records at the Rheinische Kunstakademie (Rhenish academy of art) in Düsseldorf whether Campendonk was negatively perceived at the academy because of his political beliefs; it was only recorded that he was dismissed under the terms of the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums.<sup>2</sup> The defamatory methods employed by the Gestapo relied on insinuation and imputation, against which the artist had no recourse. The persecution caused trauma for Campendonk, as it did for many other exiles in similar situations, even years after the actual experience.

Campendonk remained in Amsterdam after the war, fulfilling a number of stained-glass commissions for public institutions in several cities, including Bonn, Düsseldorf, Essen, and Münster. In 1956, a year before his death, he was awarded the Quellinus Prize by the city of Amsterdam. (D. G.)

#### Notes

- 1 Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 75.
- 2 *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunst diktatur im 3. Reich* (exh. cat. by Barbara Lepper, Dunsburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983), 68–71.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Springendes Pferd* (Leaping horse)  
c. 1912  
Painting, medium unknown, 65 x 85 cm  
(25 1/4 x 33 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Firmenich 144  
Donated in 1924 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15984  
Location unknown

*Badende Frauen mit Fisch* (Bathing women with fish)  
Exhibited as *Badende, Meerweibchen* (Bather, mermaid)  
1915  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Catalogue raisonné: Firmenich 502  
D. Stegmann, on loan to the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16199  
Location unknown

*Bergziegen* (Mountain goats)  
Exhibited as *Blumen und Tiere* (Flowers and animals)  
1917  
Oil on canvas, 74.3 x 48.9 cm (29 1/4 x 19 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Firmenich 692  
Acquired in 1926 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16198  
A. Alfred Taubman  
Figure 191  
■

*Tiere und Hirte* (Animals and herdsman)  
Sindeldorf  
1920  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Catalogue raisonné: Firmenich 834  
Donated in 1921 to the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15981  
Location unknown

*Im Gebirge* (In the mountains)  
Exhibited as *Blumen und Tiere* (Flowers and animals)  
1922  
Oil on canvas, 98 x 140 cm (38 1/2 x 55 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Firmenich 891  
Acquired in 1922 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16090  
On commission to Buchholz, sold 1940; location unknown

*Zwei Frauen in einem Teich* (Two women in a pond)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Original location unknown  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16200  
Location unknown



# Karl Caspar



Born 1879  
Friedrichshafen  
Died 1950  
Brammenburg

Karl Caspar was the only artist based in Munich who was included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. A well-known figure in the city's artistic life and a professor at the Munich Akademie, where he had held a chair since 1922, Caspar was particularly admired, especially by the progressive clergy, for his religious paintings, which abstained from the sweetness and sentimentality that was dominant at the beginning of the century. His multipartite altarpiece of 1916 depicting the Passion of Christ, now in the crypt of the Liebfrauenkirche (Church of Our Lady) in Munich, was well received and led to a variety of commissions from that church.<sup>1</sup>

Caspar cofounded the Neue Münchner Sezession (New Munich secession) in 1914 and as a two-term president was instrumental in promoting a number of important exhibitions, including the work of Lovis Corinth and large collections of modern art. He served on the presidium of the Deutscher Künstlerbund (Association of German artists). Caspar had a number of national and international exhibitions and in 1927 received a prestigious commission to paint the choir of Bamberg Cathedral. The cities of Munich and Ulm organized large retrospective exhibitions in honor of his fiftieth birthday in 1929.

The persecution of Caspar by the National Socialists began in 1932, although as early as 1928 the party paper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, had printed insulting remarks about the artist and his work. He began to receive derogatory postcards from anonymous writers criticizing his painting. More publicly, in the June 15, 1932, issue of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, critic Franz Hofmann

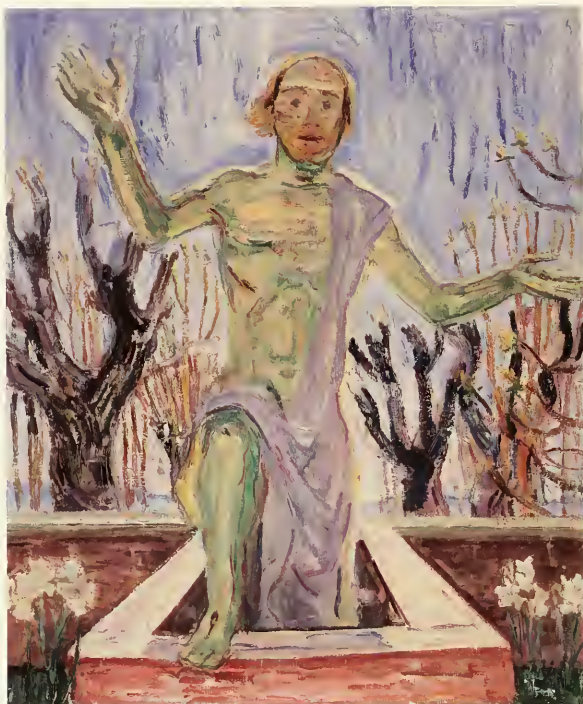


Figure 182  
Caspar, *Auferstehung* (Resurrection), 1926

described Caspar's pictures as looking "as if they have been painted with elbows dipped in paint."<sup>2</sup> In 1933, after he refused to sign a protest against author Thomas Mann in one of the Nazi-initiated "signatory actions" trumped up to discredit well-known enemies of the regime, Caspar was informed that his German sensibilities were clearly not reliable. He was also told that it appeared that he neglected to teach form properly in his classes and that he would have to learn to paint differently, in keeping with the new spirit. In order to continue working, Caspar became a member of the obligatory Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) in 1934, nonetheless, his design for a stained-glass window for Augsburg Cathedral was rejected.

In February 1935 Caspar was required to submit documentation of Aryan ancestry for himself and his wife, the painter Maria Caspar-Fischer. One of her works, accepted for the exhibition *50 Jahre Münchner Landschaftsmalerei und Bildnisplastik* (Fifty years of Munich landscape painting and portrait

sculpture) at the Neue Pinakothek in 1936, was removed by Adolf Wagner, National Socialist leader for the Munich district, because it was deemed "degenerate." In May 1937 the Caspars exhibited their work for the last time at the Kunsthaus Schaller in Stuttgart. That year Caspar was put in the position of having to guide Adolf Hitler through various artists' studios in Munich and had to listen to the Führer's comments even about his own work. On one such occasion Caspar reportedly told the chancellor, "Excellency, you don't understand anything about this."<sup>3</sup>

Caspar and his wife were represented in the seventh gallery on the upper floor of *Entartete Kunst*, along with faculty members of several other major German academies of art, under the heading, "These are the masters who have been teaching German youth!" His three paintings—*Auferstehung* (Resurrection, fig. 182), *Drei Frauen am Grabe* (Ostersonne) (Three women at the tomb [Easter sun]), and *Jacob ringt mit dem Engel* (Jacob wrestling with the angel)—were seen

for only a few days. Room 7 was closed to the public shortly after the exhibition opened (access was possible by special permission), perhaps because the gallery also contained a work by Edvard Munch and protests had been received from the Norwegian embassy.<sup>4</sup>

Despite his inclusion in *Entartete Kunst* Caspar was not dismissed from his chair at the Akademie. In August 1937 he asked for a leave of absence until his position was clarified, not until December did he receive an answer granting the leave. One month later his former student Hermann Kaspar was appointed by the National Socialists to take over his classes. There was obvious confusion in the press and some documents as a result of the similarity of the names, and Caspar was also confused with the sculptor Ludwig Kaspar, upon whose death Maria Caspar-Filser received a letter of condolence from the Akademie, calling Kaspar "one of our own."<sup>5</sup>

Caspar began to fear for his life, and after he experienced a physical breakdown, he and his family withdrew in 1939 to their country house in Brannenburg, where he was able to build a studio addition the following year. The forbidden painting materials he was able to obtain with the help of friends he gave to his wife, however, and confined himself to drawing until the end of the war. He was restored to his post at the Akademie in 1946, where as a representative of the defamed modern period he attracted large numbers of students. Caspar resumed his role in the art-politics of Munich but met with a series of disappointments in his efforts to transcend the tendency toward mediocrity that characterized the postwar activities of rebuilding and restoration. His proposal that Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Edwin Scharff be appointed to the Akademie was defeated on a secret ballot. Perhaps his greatest disappointment was the rejection of his design for the crypt of Munich Cathedral as "too daring" in 1953,<sup>6</sup> four years before his death. Caspar's work was still considered provocative and shocking.<sup>7</sup> (D. G., P. G.)

## Notes

1. Werner Hattmann, *Banned and Persecuted: Dictatorship of Art under Hitler*, trans. Eileen Martin (Cologne: DuMont, 1986), 333.
2. Armin Zweite, "Franz Hofmann und die Städtische Galerie 1937," in Peter Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die Kunststadt München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst'* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 265.
3. Karl-Heinz Meissner, "München ist ein heisser Boden. Aber wir gewinnen ihn allmählich doch," in Schuster, *Die Kunststadt München*, 47.
4. Zweite, "Franz Hofmann," 275.
5. Hattmann, *Banned and Persecuted*, 265.
6. Eduard Hindelang, ed., *Karl Caspar 1879–1950* (Langenargen: Museum Langenargen, 1979), 96.
7. See also Harro Ernst, *Der Maler Karl Caspar* (Munich: Akademie der Künste, 1953); Karl Caspar, *Das zeichnerische Werk* (exh. cat., Reutlingen: Hans-Thoma-Gesellschaft, 1973); Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., "München leuchtete": *Karl Caspar und die Erneuerung christlicher Kunst in München um 1900* (exh. cat., Munich: Haus der Kunst, 1984); and Karl-Heinz Meissner, *Oeuvre Verzeichnis der Graphik Karl Caspar* (forthcoming).



Born 1879  
Heidenheim  
Died 1908  
Brannenburg

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Landschaft bei Baldern* (Landscape near Baldern)  
*Winterlandschaft* (Winter landscape)  
1932

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich (on deposit by the artist)  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 15439<sup>8</sup>  
On commission to Boehmer, 1939, location unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Jakob ringt mit dem Engel* (Jacob wrestling with the angel)  
1917

Oil on canvas, 110 x 87 cm (43 1/2 x 34 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1918 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14262  
On commission to Boehmer, 1939, location unknown

*Drei Frauen am Grabe* (Three women at the tomb)  
*Ostersonne* (Easter sun)  
1919

Oil on canvas, 95 x 77 cm (37 3/8 x 30 3/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14260  
On commission to Boehmer, 1939, location unknown

*Auferstehung* (Resurrection)  
*Ostern* (Easter)  
1926

Oil on canvas, 97 x 80 cm (38 1/8 x 31 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1929 by the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14261  
Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich  
Figure 182



Born 1892  
Munich  
  
Died 1945  
Kischnijou, Russia



Born 1887  
Vitebsk, Russia  
  
Died 1985  
Vence, France

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Männliches Bildnis* (Portrait of a man)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16163  
Location unknown

The two paintings and two watercolors by Marc Chagall that were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition of 1937 in Munich were an indication of the Nazis' fear of imagination and their hatred for anything Jewish or Eastern European. The charming but powerful translations into visual imagery of the artist's childhood memories of the ghetto in Vitebsk and the tales and fables he heard there caused André Breton to hail him as the rediscoverer of the metaphorical content of painting.

Chagall began his art studies in Vitebsk in 1907 and later went to Saint Petersburg, where for three months he attended Leon Bakst's school. In 1910 a lawyer who had bought two of Chagall's early paintings provided him with the means for a trip to Paris, where he saw all the contemporary artistic innovations, from Fauvism to Cubism, each of which left its mark on his works. He was able to stay in France until 1914, because writer Blaise Cendrars persuaded the dealer Malpel to offer Chagall a contract that would pay him 250 francs per month in return for seven small paintings.

During an evening in the home of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire, Chagall met Herwarth Walden. A few of Chagall's works had been exhibited at Walden's Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin in 1913 in the famous *Erster deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon); in 1914 Walden put on Chagall's first one-man show, with more than two hundred



Figure 183  
Chagall, *Winter*, 1911/12



works on view Chagall went to Berlin for a short time to view his exhibition and then traveled on to Vitebsk to see his future first wife, Bella

When war broke out in 1914, Chagall was drafted into the Russian army and had a desk job in Saint Petersburg. He had a small exhibition with a group called Jack of Diamonds. After the revolution he was appointed art commissar for Vitebsk, a position he lost when some of the art professors, under the leadership of Kasimir Malevich, rebelled. Moving to Moscow, he painted sets for the newly founded Jewish State Theater. When the freedom of artists was curtailed, Chagall left Russia, returning in 1922 to Germany, where according to correspondence from his friend, poet and essayist Ludwig Rubiner, he had become famous during the war, in 1917 the Galerie Der Sturm had organized another one-man exhibition, included his paintings in many of its group exhibitions, and published a book on his work.<sup>1</sup> Chagall's imaginative, metaphorical images had a liberating influence on many of the German Expressionists and influenced the development of Surrealism.

After Chagall arrived in Berlin in 1922, a bitter argument with Walden ensued when the artist was offered compensation for the works that had been sold during the war in nearly worthless inflation currency. His anger subsided, however, as Walden continued to exhibit his work and published a second edition of the book in 1923. The Berlin art dealer and publisher Paul Cassirer commissioned Chagall to make a series of prints to accompany his autobiography, the text was later abandoned and the illustrations published as a portfolio, as well as being sold as single prints. The Galerie Lutz in Berlin gave Chagall another one-man exhibition. Despite his success in Germany Chagall returned to France in 1923 and remained there until the war. He received a one-man exhibition at the Galerie Barbazanges-Hodebert in Paris in 1924.

The inclusion of a Russian/French artist in *Entartete Kunst* was probably due to the fact that Chagall had achieved fame in



Figure 184  
Chagall, *Parim or Dorfszene (Village scene)* c. 1916/18

Germany through the Galerie Der Sturm exhibitions and the reproduction of many of his works in German journals. Three of the four works in the exhibition, the paintings *Dorfszene (Village scene)*, fig. 184), *Die Prise (The pinch of snuff [Rabbi])*, fig. 118), and *Winter* (fig. 183), were from early in his career (1911/18) and were hung in the "Jewish" gallery (Room 2) on the upper floor.

In 1941, shortly before the Nazis occupied France, Chagall accepted an invitation from the Museum of Modern Art to come to New York, where he remained until 1946, except for a six-month stay in Mexico. He then returned to France and settled in Saint-Paul-de-Vence. Among his works, his stained-glass windows in New York and Jerusalem and his illustrations for the Bible and Nicolai Gogol's *Dead Souls* gained him international acclaim.<sup>2</sup> (P. G.)

#### Notes

1. Marc Chagall, *Sturm-Bilderbuch*, no. 1 (Berlin: Der Sturm, 1917, 2d ed. 1923).
2. See Marc Chagall, *Ma Vie*, trans. Bella Chagall (Paris: Stock, 1931); Waldemar George, *Marc Chagall, Les peintres français nouveaux*, no. 31 (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1928); James Johnson Sweeney, *Marc Chagall (exh. cat., New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946)*; Franz Meyer and Hans Bolliger, *Marc Chagall: His Graphic Work* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957); Meyer, *Marc Chagall: Leben und Werk* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1961); Walter Erben, *Marc Chagall*, trans. Michael Bullock, rev. ed. (New York: Praeger, 1966).

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Winter*  
1911/12  
Watercolor and gouache on paper, 48.5 x 62.3 cm  
(19 1/2 x 24 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1928 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15957, Fischer lot 16  
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,  
Kupferstichkabinett, 1939  
Figure 183

*Die Prise (The pinch of snuff)*  
*Rabbiner (Rabbi)*  
1912  
Oil on canvas, 117 x 89.5 cm (46 1/4 x 35 1/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1928 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15956, Fischer lot 17  
Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939  
Figure 118

*Parim*  
*Dorfszene (Village scene)*  
c. 1916/18  
Oil on canvas, 50.5 x 72 cm (19 3/4 x 28 3/8 in.)  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15949  
Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louis E. Stern  
Collection  
Figure 184

*Manner mit Kuh (Men with cow)*  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16429  
Location unknown



## Lovis Corinth



Born 1858  
Tapien, East Prussia  
Died 1925  
Zandvoort,  
The Netherlands

Twelve years after the death of Lovis Corinth seven of his paintings were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. While he was not the only Impressionist and former member of the Berliner Sezession (Berlin secession) to be defamed, the National Socialists did pay him singular attention. In *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The myth of the twentieth century, 1930) Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg credited Corinth with a certain robustness but criticized him for favoring the "slimy, pallid mongrelization that characterized the new Syrian Berlin."<sup>1</sup> Hans Adolf Bühler, the organizer of the 1933 exhibition *Regierungskunst 1918–1933* (Government art 1918–1933) in Karlsruhe, included paintings by Corinth. *Entartete Kunst* organizer Adolf Ziegler used him as an example of the degenerate artists whose work museum and gallery directors had been inclined to exhibit prior to the advent of the National Socialist regime and went on to imply that Corinth had only become interesting to this group after his stroke, when he could only produce sick, obscure smears.<sup>2</sup>

Emblazoned across the wall on which Corinth's paintings were exhibited was the legend, "Decadence exploited for literary and commercial purposes," and under two of the works were labels reading, "Painted after the first stroke" and "Painted after the second stroke."<sup>3</sup> Corinth's style had indeed been transformed in 1911, when, at the age of fifty-three, he became ill. Deeper emotional intensity and a nervous restlessness thereafter characterized his work. From 1912 until his death he produced almost five hundred paintings and about one thousand graphics



Figure 185  
Corinth, *Kind im Bettchen* (Child in a crib), 1924

in the new style—about half his life's work. Not until the advent of the National Socialist government was his late style seen as a pathological mirror-image of his illness.

Corinth's first change in style—from the "realism" he adopted under the tutelage of academic painters William Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury in Paris to one influenced by Jugendstil and Arnold Böcklin in Munich in 1893—had been far better received. As a member of the Münchner Sezession (Munich secession), founded in 1892, Corinth rejected academicism and the techniques of the salon painters that he had studied at the Académie Julian in Paris. His first great success came in 1895 with the sale of his *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition), which had won second prize at the exhibition at the Munich Glaspalast. In 1898, simultaneous with a move to Berlin, he abandoned the Jugendstil influence. The newly founded Berliner Sezession and the Galerie Paul Cassirer were frequently exhibiting the work of

Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Georges Seurat, and Paul Signac; with Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt, Corinth became one of the main representatives of German Impressionism. He opened an art school in 1902 that attracted as its first student Charlotte Berend, who became his wife, and, beginning in 1907, August Macke. When the Freie Sezession (Free secession) was formed in 1913 with Liebermann at the head, Corinth took over the leadership of the Berliner Sezession, whose membership consisted of the younger generation.<sup>4</sup>

At this time Corinth achieved great fame as a portrait painter and continued to paint pictures of his friends and acquaintances after his stroke. In 1924 a portrait of the Weimar Republic's president, Friedrich Ebert, hinted at Corinth's interest in politics, as did a death-mask drawing of the



Figure 186  
Corinth, *Das trojanische Pferd* (The Trojan horse), 1924



Figure 187  
Corinth, *Vierwaldstättersee am Nachmittag* (Lake Lucerne in the afternoon), 1924



Figure 188  
Corinth, *Bildnis des Malers Bernt Gronvold* (Portrait of the painter Bernt Gronvold), 1923

revolutionary Karl Liebknecht in 1920. A portrait of Liebknecht as an orator appeared in Corinth's *Gesammelten Schriften* (Collected works) in 1920, with the caption, "Long live world revolution"<sup>5</sup> A self-portrait engraved on November 10, 1918, was titled simply *Revolution*. Included in *Entartete Kunst* was another of Corinth's portraits, a hollow-eyed, ghostlike depiction of the painter Bernt Grönvold (fig. 188), a friend from his student days, painted in 1923.

Two hundred ninety-five works by Corinth were confiscated from public institutions, only seven of these were exhibited in *Entartete Kunst*. Three paintings were from the Berliner Nationalgalerie: *Kind im Bettchen* (Child in a crib, fig. 185), sold at the Galerie Fischer auction in Lucerne in 1939; *Das trojanische Pferd* (The Trojan horse, fig. 186), described by gallery director Ludwig Justi as "loosely composed of spots of color," which was returned to the gallery with the proviso that it not be shown without special permission, and *Ecce Homo* (fig. 31), now in the Kunstmuseum Basel. Corinth finished *Ecce Homo* at Eastertime in 1925, three months before his death, having worked on it for more than ten years. The painting was bought for the Nationalgalerie by Justi, who placed it in an exhibition room specially prepared for it.<sup>6</sup> In 1931 the respected art journalist Karl Scheffler called the work "academic art in a state of pathological dissolution."<sup>7</sup>

The National Socialists condemned Corinth's late work as degenerate because of its "lack of technical and artistic skill."<sup>8</sup> In January 1958, twenty-one years after the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, the Nationalgalerie sponsored a retrospective of Corinth's paintings, featuring precisely those works produced after 1911 (D. C.)



Figure 189  
Corinth, *Walchenseelandschaft* (Walchensee landscape), 1924

#### Notes

- 1 Reinhard Merker, *Die bildenden Künste im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: DuMont, 1983), 63
- 2 Ibid., 145
- 3 Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 48
- 4 Mechthild Frick, *Louis Corinth* (Berlin: Henschel, 1984), 5–12
- 5 Frick, *Louis Corinth*, 11
- 6 Ibid., 10
- 7 Georg Bussmann, "Louis Corinth: The Late Works," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905–1985* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 436
- 8 Ibid.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bildnis des Malers Bernt Grönvold*  
(Portrait of the painter Bernt Grönvold)  
1923  
Oil on canvas, 80 x 60 cm (31½ x 23½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth p. 168, pl. XX  
Acquired in 1923 by the Kunsthalle Bremen  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16149, Fischer lot 24  
Kunsthalle Bremen  
Figure 188

*Regenstimmung am Walchensee*  
(Rainy mood on Walchensee)  
*Walchenseelandschaft* (Walchensee landscape)  
1923  
Painting, medium unknown, 70 x 100 cm  
(27½ x 39½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth 928  
Acquired in 1935 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16153  
On commission to Gurlitt, sold 1941, location  
unknown

# Heinrich Davringhausen

# Walter Dexel

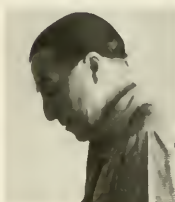
*Kind im Bettchen* (Child in a crib)  
Exhibited as *Kind im Laufstall* (Child in a cradle)  
1924  
Oil on canvas, 83 x 124 cm (32½ x 48 7/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth 946  
Acquired in 1926 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16150, Fischer lot 23  
Alfred Neven DuMont, Cologne, 1982  
*Figure 185*

*Das trojanische Pferd* (The Trojan horse)  
1924  
Oil on canvas, 105 x 135 cm (41½ x 53½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth 960  
Donated in 1926 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16152  
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1953  
*Figure 186*

*Vierwaldstattersee am Nachmittag*  
(Lake Lucerne in the afternoon)  
1924  
Oil on canvas, 57 x 75 cm (22½ x 29½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth 951  
Acquired in 1925 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16155  
Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1951  
*Figure 187*

*Wäldchenlandschaft* (Wäldchensee landscape)  
*Der Jochberg am Wäldchensee*  
(The Jochberg on Wäldchensee)  
1924  
Oil on canvas, 65 x 88 cm (25½ x 34½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth 958  
Acquired in 1928 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16154  
Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie, Regensburg  
*Figure 188*

*Eccit Homo*  
1925  
Oil on canvas, 189 x 148 cm (74¾ x 58¾ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Berend-Corinth p. 182  
Acquired in 1929 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16151  
Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939  
*Figure 11*



Born 1894  
Aachen  
Died 1970  
Nice, France

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Mond durchs Fenster* (Moon through the window)  
1922  
Oil on canvas, 70 x 80 cm (27½ x 31½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Heusinger von Waldegg 102  
Acquired in 1922 by the Ruhmeshalle,  
Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16117  
Location unknown



Born 1890  
Munich  
Died 1973  
Braunschweig

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Lokomotive* (Locomotive)  
c. 1921  
Oil on canvas, 70 x 82 cm (27½ x 32½ in.)  
Acquired in 1922 by the Ruhmeshalle,  
Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room 3, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

*Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition)  
Oil on glass, 34.7 x 46 cm (13½ x 18¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1929 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown



Birth date unknown

Death date unknown

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Blinder* (Blind man)

Plaster, dimensions unknown

Donated in 1921 to the Schlesisches Museum der

bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room 5, NS inventory no. 8350

Destroyed



Born 1891

Untermhaus

Died 1968

Siegen

Otto Dix was the commander of a machine-gun unit during the First World War and like many of his compatriots was unable to forget his war experiences. His art in subsequent years was ammunition aimed at the contemporary world and an indictment of militarism. Dix's attack on bourgeois society and its morality took the form of grotesque erotic imagery; grim humor characterized his depiction of sexual perversion. Because of *Das Mädchen vor dem Spiegel* (Girl in front of the mirror), exhibited in Berlin in 1923, he was brought to trial on a morals charge for the dissemination of obscene pictures. The artist Max Slevogt testified on his behalf, and he was acquitted.<sup>1</sup>

Dix's objective documentation of war undermined the German idea of heroism. It destroyed the naive illusions of his countrymen, whose misguided belief in an honorable death for the fatherland failed to take the reality of that death into account. The painting *Kriegskruppel* (War cripples), for example, included in the first Dada exhibition at Galerie Burchard in Berlin, shows a macabre parade of maimed survivors. His series of fifty pacifist etchings, *Der Krieg* (War), based on wartime sketchbooks and completed six years after the war's end, illustrated the daily life of the soldier and the horror of combat. *Der Schutzengraben* (The trench) was the centerpiece of an exhibition mounted by the group *Nie wieder Krieg* (No more war) and sent from city to city in Germany.<sup>2</sup> The Wallraf-Richartz-Museum's attempt to buy the painting in 1925 was thwarted by pressure exerted by Conrad Adenauer, then mayor of Cologne, who found the painting offensive to German sensibilities.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 190

Dix, *Kriegskruppel* (War cripples), 1920



Figure 191  
Dix, *Schädel* (Skull) from the portfolios *Der Krieg* (War)  
1924, 257 x 195 cm (10 1/4 x 7 7/8 in.)



Figure 192  
Dix, *Toter, Saint-Clément* (Dead man, Saint-Clément)  
from *Der Krieg*, 299 x 259 cm (11 1/4 x 10 1/4 in.)

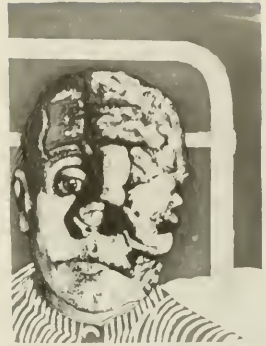


Figure 193  
Dix, *Transplantation* (Skin graft) from *Der Krieg*,  
198 x 149 cm (7 7/8 x 5 7/8 in.)



Figure 194  
Dix, *Mahlzeit in der Sappe, Lorettoböhe* (Mealtime in the trench, Loretto heights) from  
*Der Krieg*, 196 x 29 cm (7 7/8 x 11 1/4 in.)



Figure 195  
Dix, *Verwundeter, Herbst 1916, Bapaume* (Wounded man, autumn 1916, Bapaume) from  
*Der Krieg*, 197 x 29 cm (7 7/8 x 11 1/4 in.)



Figure 196  
Dix, *Pferdekadaver* (Horse cadaver) from *Der Krieg*, 145 x 197 cm (5 3/4 x 7 7/8 in.)



Figure 197  
Dix, *Sturmtruppe geht unter Gas vor* (Shock troops advance under gas) from *Der Krieg*,  
196 x 291 cm (7 7/8 x 11 1/4 in.)

After the war Dix continued his studies at the Kunstakademie (Academy of art) in Dresden. While there, he joined the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919) and the Rote Gruppe (Red group) in Berlin,<sup>4</sup> which comprised intellectuals pledged to ultraradical politics. He became a member of the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (International workers' aid) in 1921 and participated in the *Erste deutsche allgemeine Kunstausstellung* (First general German art exhibition) in Moscow in October of 1924. Russian critics found his work insufficiently clear and intelligible to be socially useful. "What can an Otto Dix offer against the decay of the bourgeoisie and mass prostitution?" asked one writer.<sup>5</sup> Dix nonetheless continued to produce socially engaged art that was well received by a large audience in Germany. In the autumn of 1925, at the suggestion of his dealer, Karl Nierendorf, Dix moved to Berlin. By 1926 his commercial success seemed assured. The Akademie in Dresden named him a professor in the fall of that year, less than five years after he had been a student there.

By 1930, however, the National Socialists were finding Dix's work to be subversive. A mural commissioned for the recently completed Hygienemuseum (Museum of hygiene) in Dresden was hacked from the wall, and the architect, director, and scientific staff all fell out of favor.<sup>6</sup> In 1933 party member Richard Müller, faculty head at the Akademie, became jealous of Dix's success and launched an attack on him, pointing out that in 1924 a monograph about Dix had been written by the Jew Willi Wollrad.<sup>7</sup> An official statement regarding Dix's dismissal, which had been instigated by Müller, indicated that "among his pictures are some that offend the moral feeling of the German people in the gravest way, and others are calculated to prejudice the German people's fighting spirit."<sup>8</sup> Dix's advanced students, some of whom were Communists, were also expelled and arrested. In May 1933 Dix was asked to withdraw from the Preussische Kunstakademie (Prussian academy of art).



Figure 98  
Dix, *Sonnenanfang* (Sunrise), 1913

In September 1933 the freelance artist Willy Waldapfel, a city councillor in Dresden, organized the exhibition *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art) in the courtyard of the Neues Rathaus, one of the earliest instances of the systematic abuse of artists. The press raged against "Jewish-Bolshevist trash" and especially against Dix. *Kriegskruppel* and *Die Schützengraben* were the focus of the exhibition, which later moved to Hagen, Nuremberg, Dortmund, Regensburg, Munich, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt. The paintings traveled through Germany as "witness to the undermining of the German people's determination to defend themselves." After the outbreak of the war *Die Schützengraben* was stored in Ernst Barlach's studio in Güstrow and then disappeared. Perhaps it was burned at the main fire station in Berlin shortly before the end of the war with other examples of "degenerate" art.<sup>9</sup>

Dix remained in Germany but left Dresden in the fall of 1933. In 1934 he was forbidden to exhibit his art, and he moved to Hemmenhofen, near the Swiss border, in 1936. As an habitual city-dweller he felt banished. "I painted landscapes. That was tantamount to emigration."<sup>10</sup>

Approximately 260 of his works were impounded from collections throughout Germany; 26 examples—paintings in oil, watercolor, and tempera, as well as portfolios and individual graphic works—were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in 1937. According to the exhibition guide, Dix fell into the category of "barbarism of representation—the progressive collapse of sensitivity to form and color, the conscious disregard for the basics of technique—and the total stupidity of the choice of subject matter."<sup>11</sup> Dix was variously described as inept, an intentional bungler, an imbecile, or as suffering from eye problems. Some months later, when the exhibition traveled to Frankfurt, H. T. Wüst wrote in the *Frankfurter Volksblatt*: "Only when one sees the individual works does one grasp the degree of decadence: art is prostituted and the prostitute becomes the ideal of this art. At its peak stands Otto Dix with his vulgar derision of the war-wounded. He is representative of the highest contemptuousness."<sup>12</sup>

Dix sent works to the protest exhibition intended as a response to *Entartete Kunst* that was staged at the Burlington Galleries in London in 1938 by art historian and critic Herbert Read and other supporters of modern German art. Several of his paintings were included in an exhibition at Galerie Wölflberg in Zurich the same year, and in



1939 a number of works were offered for sale at the Galerie Fischer auction in Lucerne, including *Die Eltern des Künstlers* (The artist's parents, 1921) and *Anita Berber* (1925). The collector Emanuel Fohn acquired *Hugo Erfurth* (1925), *Nelly* (1924), and the drawing *Die Eidechse* (The lizard, 1912) from the Propagandaministerium (Ministry of propaganda) in Berlin. Fohn sent these to Italy for safe-keeping and later presented them to the Neue Staatsgalerie in Munich.

Dix was arrested in 1939 during the action against "unreliable intellectuals" after an attempt on Hitler's life in Munich and spent a week in police custody in Dresden. A note in the artist's personal dossier, written by the minister-president of Saxony, Manfred von Killinger, asked, "Is the swine still alive, then?"<sup>13</sup>

In 1945 Dix was inducted into the army. He was taken to Kolmar as a prisoner of war and lived in deprivation until his identity was ascertained. Reassigned to the artists' detail, he painted large pictures of General de Gaulle for exhibition in the streets. Later he became a car sprayer for a local man named Dürr, who gave him a studio to work in. Dix accepted commissions from the fall of 1945 until his release in 1946.<sup>14</sup>

The city of Düsseldorf offered Dix a teaching position at its Akademie in 1948, but the offer was withdrawn after officials of the Kulturministerium (Ministry of culture) for the Rhineland and Westphalia examined the work that had so offended the German people under the National Socialists. During his remaining twenty years Dix continued his work and received a variety of honors both at home and abroad but was not invited to return to the faculty of the Dresden Akademie (D. G.).

#### Notes

- 1 Fritz Löffler, *Otto Dix: Life and Work*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 67.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 3 Friedrich Heckmanns, "Das Junge Rheinland in Düsseldorf 1919–1929," in Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionism 1915–1925: The Second Generation* (exh. cat., Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1988), 92.
- 4 Henry Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 51.
- 5 Ida Katherine Rugby, *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation* (exh. cat., San Diego: University Gallery, San Diego State University, 1983), 64.
- 6 Löffler, *Otto Dix*, 94.
- 7 Lothar Fischer, "Ich habe das gemacht, was ich wollte," in *Otto Dix* (exh. cat., Hannover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1987), 28.
- 8 Löffler, *Otto Dix*, 94.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 10 Hans Kinkel, "Begegnung mit Otto Dix," in *Otto Dix* (exh. cat., Hannover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1987), 21.
- 11 *Ausstellungsführer Entartete Kunst* (Berlin: Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung, 1937), 6, 8, see the facsimile and translation in this volume.
- 12 H. T. Wüst, "Damit wir nicht vergessen, was früher gewesen ist," *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, July 1, 1939, reprinted in Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 365.
- 13 Löffler, *Otto Dix*, 96.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 112.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Sonnenaufgang* (Sunrise)  
Landscape mit aufgehender Sonne  
(Landscape with rising sun)  
1913  
Oil on cardboard, 51 x 66 cm (20 1/4 x 26 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1923/25  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16158  
Private collection, Germany  
Figure 108

*Kriegskruppel* (War cripples)  
1920  
Oil on canvas, 150 x 200 cm (59 x 78 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1920/8  
Donated to the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16000  
Destroyed

*Der Schützengraben* (The trench)  
Exhibited as *Der Krieg* (The war)  
1920–23  
Oil on canvas, 227 x 250 cm (83 1/2 x 98 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1923/2  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum und Gemäldegalerie  
Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16001  
On commission to Boehmer, 1940, location unknown

*Arbeiter vor Fabrik* (Workers in front of a factory)  
1921  
Oil on canvas, 78.5 x 57.5 cm (30 7/8 x 22 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1921/5  
Acquired in 1923 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16219  
Private collection, England, 1987

*Bildnis des Juweliers Karl Krall*  
(Portrait of the jeweler Karl Krall)  
1923  
Oil on canvas, 90.5 x 60.5 cm (36 1/4 x 23 7/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Löffler 1923/9  
Acquired in 1923 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16196  
Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, 1961  
Figure 109



*Madchenbildnis* (Portrait of a girl)

c. 1923

Watercolor on paper, 511 x 374 cm (20% x 14% in )

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16306

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Figure 201

*Bildnis des Dichters Herbert Eulenberg*

(Portrait of the poet Herbert Eulenberg)

1925

Tempera on wood, 100 x 68 cm (39% x 26% in )

Catalogue raisonné Löffler 1925/9

Acquired in 1925 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16197

Location unknown

*Die Witwe* (The widow)

1925

Tempera on wood, 84 x 100 cm (33% x 39% in )

Catalogue raisonné Löffler 1925/3

Acquired in 1925 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16184

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Bildnis Franz Radziwill* (Portrait of Franz Radziwill)

1928

Mixed media on canvas, 80 x 60 cm

(31% x 23% in )

Catalogue raisonné Löffler 1928/12

Acquired in 1928 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16181

Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1958

Figure 200

*Dienstmädchen* (Maid/servant)

*Arbeiterin im Sonntagskleid* (Worker in Sunday dress)

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Catalogue raisonné Löffler 1920/2

Acquired by the Ruhmeshalle, Barmen/Wuppertal

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16218

Location unknown



Figure 199

Dix, *Bildnis des Juweliers Karl Krall* (Portrait of the jeweler Karl Krall), 1923



Figure 200  
Dix, *Bildnis Franz Radziwill* (Portrait of Franz Radziwill), 1928

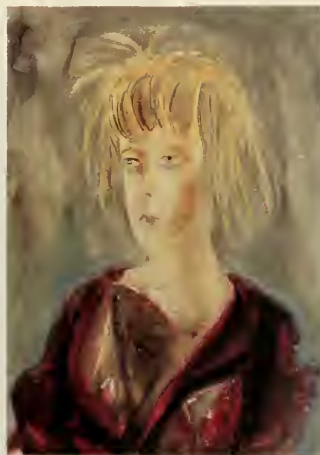


Figure 201  
Dix, *Mädchenbildnis* (Portrait of a girl), c. 1923

Unidentified watercolor exhibited as *Sapfenkopf*  
(Sap-head)  
Dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16266  
Bought in 1941 by Carlitt, location unknown

Unidentified watercolor exhibited as *Sapfenkopf*  
(Sap-head)  
Dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16305  
Location unknown

*Erinnerung an Spiegelsale von Brüssel*  
(Memory of the halls of mirrors in Brussels)  
1920  
Drypoint engraving, 281 x 191 cm (11 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 10 I–II  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16435  
Location unknown

*Fleischerladen* (Butcher shop)  
1920  
Drypoint engraving, 295 x 258 cm (11 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 7  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16432  
Location unknown

*Kriegskrüppel* (War cripples)  
1920  
Drypoint engraving, 254 x 396 cm (10 x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 6  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16434  
Location unknown, this print: The Museum  
of Modern Art, New York, Abby Aldrich  
Rockefeller Fund  
Figure 190  
■

*Schwanger* (Pregnant woman)

1920

Drypoint engraving, 25.8 x 16.7 cm (10 1/4 x 6 5/8 in.)

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16436

Location unknown

*Strasse* (Street)

1920

Drypoint engraving, 24.8 x 22.3 cm (9 3/4 x 8 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 5

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16433

Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart

*Lustmord* (Sex murder)

From the portfolio *Tod und Auferstehung*  
(Death and resurrection)

1922

Etching, 43.5 x 46.8 cm (17 1/4 x 18 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 44

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16400

Location unknown, this print: The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of the Print and Drawing Club  
Figure 203

*Leone*

Exhibited as *Damenkopf* (Head of a prostitute)

1923

Color lithograph, 49 x 39 cm (19 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 58 I–III

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16353

Location unknown, this print: Collection of the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, Los Angeles, gift of Mr and Mrs Stanley I. Talpis

Figure 202

*Der Krieg* (War)

Portfolios I–V

1924

50 etchings with aquatint

Catalogue raisonné: Karsch 70–119

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16483

Location unknown, these prints: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.51a–55j

Figures 191–97



Figure 202  
Dix, *Leone*, 1923



Figure 203  
Dix, *Lustmord* (Sex murder), 1922



Born 1886  
Königsstein  
Died 1979  
Munich

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Blumenfrau* (Flower woman)  
1927/28

Painting, medium unknown, 113 x 102 cm  
(44 1/2 x 40 1/2 in.)

Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit)

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16228  
Location unknown

*Landschaft* (Landscape)

Painting, medium unknown, 77 x 105 cm  
(30 3/8 x 41 1/8 in.)

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16092  
Location unknown



Born 1901  
Krefeld  
Died 1930  
Erfurt

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Volksfest* (Popular festival)  
1927

Oil on canvas, c. 80 x 100 cm (31 1/2 x 39 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1931 by the Museum für Kunst und  
Kulturgeschichte, Lubeck

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16223  
Location unknown

Born 1884  
Ellwangen

Died Sillenbuch,  
date unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Vision*

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16193  
Location unknown



## Max Ernst



Born 1891  
Brühl  
Died 1976  
Paris, France

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Erschaffung der Eva* (Creation of Eve)  
*Belle Jardinière*  
1923

Oil on canvas, 147 x 115 cm (57 7/8 x 45 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Spies 615

Acquired in 1929 by the Städtische Kunstsammlung

Düsseldorf

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15986

Probably destroyed

*Muschelblumen* (Shell flowers)

c. 1928

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16191

On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

## Hans Feibusch



Born 1898  
Frankfurt  
Living in London

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Zwei schwebende Figuren* (Two floating figures)

*Schwebende* (Floating)

1932

Oil on canvas, 50 x 100 cm (19 3/4 x 39 3/4 in.)

Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 2, NS inventory no. 15959

Destroyed

## Lyonel Feininger



Born 1871  
New York City  
Died 1956  
New York City

The confiscation of 378 of Lyonel Feininger's works from public collections in Germany and the inclusion of eight paintings, one watercolor, and thirteen woodcuts in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition reveal some salient incongruities of National Socialist cultural politics. Joseph Goebbels's 1937 decree had empowered Adolf Ziegler's committee to seize works of art by German artists. Feininger, however, was an American citizen who had come to Germany in 1887.<sup>1</sup> The large number of appropriated works reflects Feininger's commercial success in Germany, which began in 1919, when he was invited by Walter Gropius to become the first Bauhaus master.<sup>2</sup> Although in the early years of his career Feininger produced almost two thousand social and political caricatures parodying Wilhelm II's foreign and domestic policies and Wilhelmine society, these and his evident liberal leanings were not the focus of the National Socialists' attack on his work. His long-term tenure at the Bauhaus and his semiabstract "cubist" painting style were considered more politically inflammatory.<sup>3</sup>

Feininger went to Hamburg at the age of sixteen with the intention of studying music, but within a month he decided to enter the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts). A year later, in 1888, he moved to Berlin and in October passed the entrance examination for admission into the Berlin Akademie. He produced his first illustrations for *Humoristische Blätter* in 1890 and in 1894 began to create caricatures for the satirical weekly journal *Ullk*, an enclosure in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He soon became friendly with Franz Mehring, a

sociologist and historian of Marxism, then on the staff of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.<sup>4</sup> Despite our knowledge of these activities, a sufficient critical assessment of the artist's politics has not yet been written.

Feininger's reputation as a painter developed slowly over the next years. When the First World War broke out, Feininger, who had retained his American citizenship, was placed in a detention camp near Berlin as an enemy alien. Through the intervention of Herwarth Walden—who gave him his first one-man show at the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin in 1917—Feininger was able to take regular furloughs to Berlin.<sup>5</sup> Even so, he wrote to his wife, Julia, on August 8, 1917: "During these last three years of war I have, at times, been driven almost mad by the limitation of my freedom. Not being permitted [to go] whenever and wherever I wanted this, combined with many other impediments, has stunted my powers."<sup>6</sup>

At the end of the war the first broadly Socialist Expressionist artists' groups, the Novembergruppe (November group) and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art), were founded in Berlin. Feininger joined both, although he soon resigned from the Novembergruppe. In December 1919 the Arbeitsrat für Kunst issued its publication *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrats für Kunst in Berlin* (Yes! Voices of the workers' council for art in Berlin) with Feininger's woodcut *Das Rathaus* (The city hall) as the cover illustration.

Feininger had begun to experiment with woodcuts in 1918 and by 1919 had produced more than one hundred. In May of that year he took over the printmaking workshop at the Bauhaus, which he directed until 1925. Under his supervision the Bauhaus press published a series of portfolios, *Neue europäische Graphik* (New European graphics), as well as individual collections of graphic works by Oskar Schlemmer and Wassily Kandinsky. Feininger's own portfolio of twelve woodcuts (figs. 208–9), completed in 1921, was later exhibited in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. His woodcut *Die Kathedrale des Sozialismus*

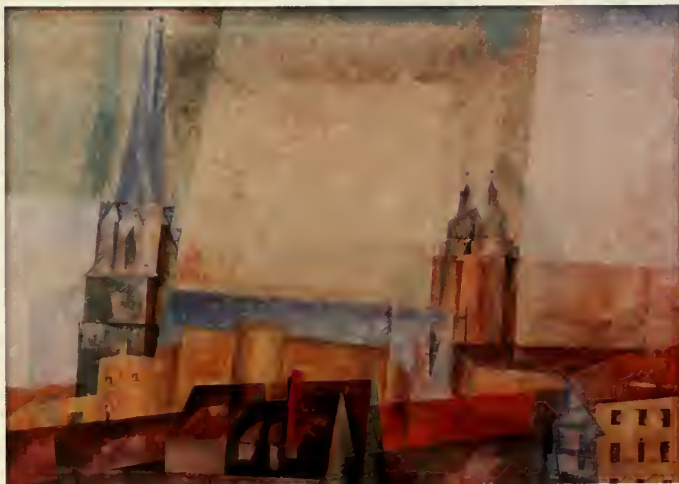


Figure 204  
Feininger, *Der Turm über der Stadt, Halle* (The tower above the city, Halle), 1931

(The cathedral of Socialism) of 1919, created for the Bauhaus manifesto published that April, suggests Gropius's Utopian vision that architecture would unify and lead the arts in the building of a new type of community modeled on the Gothic cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

Gropius's appointment of Feininger had been criticized from the outset by conservatives.<sup>8</sup> Although neither Gropius nor Feininger advocated radical political change, the pedagogic reforms they initiated were soon linked to revolutionary politics. On May 23, 1919, Feininger wrote to his wife, "This evening there will be a meeting of our antagonists, and they have announced a fight with daggers drawn. These now are the 'protectors of the fatherland,' and the Pan-Germans! And although our affair concerns art only, they are dragging party politics into it."<sup>9</sup>



Figure 205  
Feininger, *Gelmeroda III*, 1917

Feininger remained a member of the Bauhaus faculty until the school closed in 1933, but he broke in 1923 with Gropius's new orientation for the school, embodied in the theme of the exhibition held during that summer, "Art and Technology—A New Unity"<sup>10</sup> When the school moved from Weimar to Dessau Feininger stayed on staff but no longer conducted courses. Nevertheless, neither he nor his artwork was exempt from National Socialist campaigns against the school, which continued throughout the 1920s and picked up in the early 1930s. A little more than a month before the Dessau Bauhaus was closed, Feininger wrote to his wife on July 10, 1932, "Anything is to be expected from the present German government. What a God-sent opportunity for the Nationalists to make short work of objectionable modern art, to quash it!"<sup>11</sup>

Alois Schardt, the director of the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Halle, was an important early supporter of Feininger's work and remained a lifelong friend. In 1933 Schardt was appointed by National Socialist party officials as the provisional director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin. Shortly thereafter, in an effort to defend modern art, he reorganized the installation of the museum's holdings: instead of closing the modernist section, he supplemented the already rich collection with important loans from other German museums, including Feininger's Halle cycle of eleven paintings, which Schardt had commissioned and acquired between 1929 and 1931. Two of these, *Marienkirche mit dem Pfeil*, Halle (Church of Saint Mary with the Arrow, Halle; fig. 206), and *Der Turm über der Stadt*, Halle (The tower above the city, Halle; fig. 204), and two others, *Zürchow VI* and *Vollersroda III*, which Schardt had purchased for the Städtisches Museum earlier, were later included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Despite his unemployment after the closing of the Bauhaus in 1933, Feininger did not finally leave Germany until mid-1937. Certainly his age was a factor. Although modernist art had been banned since



Figure 206  
Feininger, *Marienkirche mit dem Pfeil, Halle* (Church of Saint Mary with the Arrow, Halle) 1930



Figure 207  
Feininger, *Scheunenstrasse* (Street of barns), 1914

mid-1933, Feininger continued to paint. In 1935 he wrote to his wife "About my work, other than the fact that I work, I want to say nothing. I believe it is better to remain silent. I will only say, that I hope."<sup>12</sup> In the same year Feininger, who had been accused of being Jewish, was required to produce papers proving his Aryan descent.<sup>13</sup>

In May of 1936 Feininger returned to New York for the first time since 1887. On June 12 he met with his West Coast dealer, Galka Scheyer, in Los Angeles, and during that summer he taught a course at Mills College in Oakland. With these activities he laid the groundwork for his final move to America.<sup>14</sup> In August he returned to Hamburg, where, a month earlier, the annual exhibition of the *Deutscher Künstlerbund* (League of German artists) had opened under the innocuous title, *Deutsche Kunst im Olympjahr* (German art in the Olympic year). Works by Feininger, Schlemmer, and Paul Klee were among the entries submitted by the membership. Ten days later the exhibition was closed and the group, which

had been in existence since 1905, was outlawed. On June 11, 1937, Feininger boarded a ship for New York, where he arrived with two dollars in his pocket.<sup>15</sup>

A month later *Entartete Kunst* opened in Munich. Feininger's works were hung in several areas of the exhibition, the most prominent being a series of seven prismatic architectural views in Halle and small towns around Weimar. These works were near a large group of paintings by Kandinsky.<sup>16</sup> The intention was apparently to remind the viewer of Feininger's Bauhaus years and to suggest that these artists' very different interests in abstraction amounted to nothing more than a jumble of canvases filled with meaningless smudges.

In the summer of 1937 Feininger taught once again at Mills College. He took up permanent residence in New York City the next year. In 1944 he had his first large exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, where he had a joint show with Marsden Hartley (P. K.).

#### Notes

1. See Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, trans. Robert and Rita Kimber (New York: Pantheon, 1979), 39, for a list of other non-German artists whose work was confiscated by the committee. Feininger's name is missing from the list, however.
2. Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 88.
3. See Ulrich Luckhardt, *Lyonel Feininger: Die Karikaturen und das zeichnerische Frühwerk* (Munich: Scaneg, 1987), 7, 10, and J. J., "Schund am Pranger," *Münsterscher Anzeiger*, July 22, 1937, quoted in Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 372.
4. Lothar Schreyer, *Lyonel Feininger: Dokumente und Visionen* (Munich: Albert Langen & Georg Müller, 1957), 6.
5. Lothar Schreyer, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus* (Munich: Paul List, 1966), 76.
6. Lyonel Feininger, letter to Julia Feininger, August 8, 1917, quoted in June L. Ness, ed., *Lyonel Feininger* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 88.
7. On the title of this woodcut, see Orrel Reed, Jr., in *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection* (exh. cat., Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, 1977), cat. no. 395.
8. "At the time of the first appointment by Gropius—of the Cubist Feininger—I expressed my astonishment to him. Gropius had presented me with





Figure 208  
Feininger, *Gelmeroda*, 1921



Figure 209  
Feininger, *Regentag am Strand* (Rainy day at the beach), 1921

a program that to me appeared a little radical but was quite acceptable in its essential points. And then he started right off with the appointment of Feininger" (Wilhelm von Bode, letter to Baron von Fritsch, January 13, 1920, quoted in Hans Maria Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago*, trans. Wolfgang Ibs and Basil Gilbert [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983], 33).

9 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Julia Feininger, May 23, 1919, quoted in Ness, *Lyonel Feininger*, 100.

10 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Julia Feininger, August 1, 1923, quoted in Wingler, *The Bauhaus*, 69.

11 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Julia Feininger, July 10, 1932, quoted in Ness, *Lyonel Feininger*, 214.

12 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Julia Feininger, 1935, quoted in *Entartete Kunst: Bildersturm vor 25 Jahren* (exh. cat., Munich: Ausstellungsleitung Haus der Kunst, 1962), n. p.

13 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Dr. Johannes K. Klemp, August 3, 1935, quoted in Diether Schmidt, ed., *In letzter Stunde: Künstlerbriefe 1933–1945*, vol. 2 of *Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964), 74.

14 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Dr. Johannes K. Klemp, April 3, 1936, quoted in Schmidt, *In letzter Stunde*, 76.

15 Lyonel Feininger, letter to Alois Schardt, 1942, quoted in *Entartete Kunst: Bildersturm*, n. p.

16 The group included a painting by Klee, *Der Gast der Don X*, mislabeled as a Kandinsky. In his documentation of the works in *Entartete Kunst*, Luttichau incorrectly identifies a work by Kandinsky, *Abstieg*, as a Klee.

Mario-Andreas von Luttichau, "Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 148.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Schwanenstrasse* (Street of barns)

1914

Oil on canvas, 125 x 100 cm (49 1/2 x 39 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 125

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16083

Arnold A. Saltzman Family

Figure 207

■

*Vollersroda III*

1916

Oil on canvas, 80 x 100 cm (31 1/2 x 39 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 164

Acquired in 1928 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16087

Location unknown

*Zirchow VI*

1916

Oil on canvas, 80 x 100 cm (31 1/2 x 39 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 162

Acquired in 1928 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16081, Fischer lot 41

Ex-coll. Karl Nierendorf, New York, 1948,

location unknown

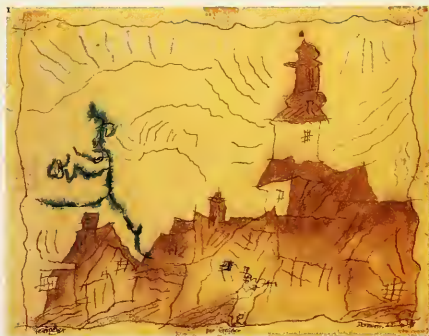


Figure 210  
Feininger, *Der Gager* (The fiddler), 1918

## Gelehrter III

1917

Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm (39 1/4 x 31 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 102

Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 5 NS inventory no. 16082

Private collection New York

Figure 205

## Der Geiger (The fiddler)

1918

Watercolor and ink, 239 x 306 cm (9 1/4 x 12 in.)

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang Essen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16430

Private collection, Hamburg (courtesy of Hauswedell

& Nolte, Hamburg)

Figure 210

## Tellow II

1918

Oil on canvas, 100 x 125 cm (39 1/4 x 49 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 185

Acquired in 1921 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16084

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, 1949

## Hopfhairen

Exhibited as *Tellow*

1920

Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 82.5 cm (25 3/4 x 32 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 215

Acquired by the Museum der bildenden Künste,

Leipzig

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15980

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, gift of friends and

family in memory of Catharine Roberts Seybold

Figure 20

## Marienkirche mit dem Pfaf, Halle

(Church of Saint Mary with the Arrow Hall)

1930

Oil on canvas, 100.7 x 85 cm (39 1/4 x 33 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 333

Acquired in 1931 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg), Halle

Room 5 NS inventory no. 16085

Staatliche Galerie Mortitzburg Halle, 1957

Figure 206

## Der Turm über der Stadt, Halle

(The tower above the city, Halle)

Exhibited as *Marienkirche* (Church of Saint Mary)

1931

Oil on canvas, 88 x 124 cm (34 1/4 x 48 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Hess 341

Acquired in 1931 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg), Halle

Room 5 NS inventory no. 16086

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Figure 204

## Benz

1919

Woodcut, 233 x 29 cm (9 1/4 x 11 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Prasse W 149

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16404

Location unknown (other prints exist)

## Zwölf Holzschnitte von Lyonel Feininger

(Twelve woodcuts by Lyonel Feininger)

Portfolio

1921

Catalogue raisonné: Prasse S 262

Acquired by the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16273

On commission to Boehmer, exchanged, location

unknown, these prints Philadelphia Museum of Art,

gift of Mr and Mrs. Carl Ziegler

Title page

1921

10.9 x 15.8 cm (4 1/4 x 6 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Prasse W 236

## Regentag am Strand (Rainy day at the beach)

1921

13.8 x 21.3 cm (5 1/2 x 8 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Prasse W 391

Figure 209

## Gelehrter

1921

21.8 x 17.2 cm (8 1/2 x 6 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Prasse W 891

Figure 208



Born 1897

Dresden

Died 1977

Berlin-Zehlendorf

Conrad Felixmüller was a *Wunderkind* at the age of fifteen, after a short period of study with Ferdinand Dorsch in a private art school, he was admitted to the Akademie in Dresden to study with Carl Bantzer. Moved by a performance of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* in 1913, he translated his impressions into his first portfolio of ten graphic works. In 1914 a second portfolio of woodcut interpretations of Else Lasker-Schüler's *Hebräische Balladen* (Hebrew ballads) and a portrait etching of Schoenberg led to his first graphics exhibition in I. B. Neumann's gallery in Berlin. Here he befriended Ludwig Meidner, began his collaboration with Herwarth Walden's *Der Sturm* (The storm) and, more importantly, with Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion* (Action), and established friendships with many of the individuals who wrote for these journals.

In January of 1917 the artist, together with Felix Stierner and Heinrich Schilling, founded the Dresden journal *Menschen* (Mankind), where Felixmüller published his expressionistic theory of art as well as many of his woodcuts. A group of his friends began to meet in his studio in Dresden in 1917 and formed the Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden (Expressionist working group) where poets, Walter Rheiner and Raoul Hausmann among them, read their works and where discussions on art and politics strengthened the participants' anti-war attitudes. In the same year the Galerie Arnold presented an exhibition of the work of some of the artists in this group: Peter August Böckstiegel, Felixmüller, Otto Lange, and Constantin von Mitschke-Collande.



Figure 211  
Felixmüller, *Erste Schritte* (First steps), 1919

Felixmüller was drafted in 1917 but refused to serve, and for four weeks he was confined to a mental institution. He returned to Dresden and in 1919 became a member of the Communist party (until about 1926). He founded the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919), which he left in 1920, and for a short time joined the Novembergruppe (November group) in Berlin.

Felixmüller enjoyed a period of considerable success in the 1920s and early 1930s. He designed costumes and stage sets for Friedrich Wolf's drama *Das bist du* (That is you) for the Staatstheater Dresden. A catalogue of his graphic work was published in 1919, and he subsequently published a number of portfolios of graphics. His work was exhibited in Dresden, Hannover, and Hamburg, among other cities, and he won prestigious prizes for his paintings in 1920, 1928, and 1931. In the mid-1920s his early, ecstatic Expressionism, with its strong, socially committed themes, underwent moderation, leading to a romantic realism.

In 1933 forty of his Expressionist works were branded "degenerate" by their inclusion in the *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art) exhibition in Dresden. Faced with this defamation, he moved to Berlin, but shortly thereafter he was also dismissed from the Verein Berliner Künstler (Society of Berlin artists). He was represented by six works in *Entartete Kunst* in Munich in 1937: four paintings, *Mann mit Kind* (Man with child), *Das Paar* (The couple), *Stadtmensch* (Urban man), and a self-portrait, a woodcut, *Erste Schritte* (First steps, fig. 211), and a pen drawing, *Revolution/Nächtlicher Bergarbeiterstreik* (Revolution/Miners' strike at night). A total of 151 of his works were confiscated, and many of them were destroyed by the Nazis.<sup>1</sup>

During the Second World War Felixmüller was drafted, taken prisoner by the Russians, and finally returned to Berlin in 1945. An exhibition of forty of his works was shown in that year in the museum in Altenburg. He published more portfolios of

woodcuts, designed the stage sets for Wolf's *Wie Tiere des Waldes* (Like animals in the forest), and in 1949 was appointed professor at the Martin-Luther-Universität in Halle, a post he held until 1962. Other exhibitions in Altenburg, Bologna, Leipzig, and Rome preceded a major retrospective in the former Nationalgalerie in Berlin in 1973 and in Dresden in 1975. He received a gold medal at the fourth International Graphic Biennale in Florence in 1974.<sup>2</sup> (P. G.)

#### Notes

1 Felixmüller's papers are preserved in the archives of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Many of his graphic works are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, and Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg.

2 See G. H. Herzog, ed., *Conrad Felixmüller: Legenden 1912–1976* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977); Gerhart Sohn, ed., *Conrad Felixmüller: Von ihm, über ihn* (Düsseldorf: Edition GS, 1977); *Conrad Felixmüller: Werke und Dokumente* (Nuremberg: Archiv für bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 1981); Dieter Gleisberg, *Conrad Felixmüller: Leben und Werk* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1982); Peter Barth, *Conrad Felixmüller: Die dresdner Jahre, 1913–1933* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Galerie Remmert und Barth, 1987); Sohn, ed., *Conrad Felixmüller: Das graphische Werk 1912–1977*, 2d ed. (Düsseldorf: Edition GS, 1987); and *Conrad Felixmüller: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik, Skulpturen* (exh. cat. edited by Christian Rathke, Schleswig: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum, Schloss Gottorf, 1990).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Mann mit Kind* (Man with child)  
1920  
Oil on canvas, 85 x 65 cm (33 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1922 by the Ruhmeshalle, Barmen/  
Wuppertal  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16015  
Location unknown

*Das Paar* (The couple)  
*Glückliche Ehe* (Happy marriage)  
c. 1920  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1924 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16170  
Location unknown

*Revolution: Nachtlicher Bergarbeiterstreik*  
(Revolution: Miners' strike at night)  
1921  
Pen and ink, 64.5 x 50.2 cm (25 3/8 x 19 3/4 in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16312  
Destroyed

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)  
1922/23  
Oil on canvas, c. 70 x 45 cm (27 1/2 x 17 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15979  
Location unknown

*Stadtmensch* (Urban man)  
1922/23  
Oil on canvas, 75 x 95 cm (29 1/2 x 37 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15983  
Location unknown

*Erste Schritte* (First steps)  
*Mutter und Kind* (Mother and child)  
1919  
Woodcut, 36 x 11.5 cm (14 1/8 x 4 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Sohn 170  
Acquired in 1919 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16354  
Location unknown, this print: Ludwig and Rosy  
Fischer Collection  
Figure 211



Born 1878  
Stolpi, Pomerania  
  
Died 1943  
Lublin-Maidanek,  
Poland

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Der neue Mensch* (The new man)  
1912  
Plaster cast, height 139 cm (54 3/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Museum für Kunst und  
Gewerbe, Hamburg  
Ground floor lobby, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

*Kleiner Kopf* (Small head)  
1916  
Plaster, height 32 cm (12 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Museum für Kunst und  
Gewerbe, Hamburg  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16234\*  
Lost.



Born 1896  
Neckarau  
  
Died 1973  
Regensburg

The summer of 1927 was a turning point in the career of Xaver Fuhr. The director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, Gustav Hartlaub, who had bought some of the artist's watercolors in 1920, helped convince the city of Mannheim to provide a studio to Fuhr as well as a monthly stipend. This was to enable the painter to function only as an artist, to prevent his having to continue working in a Daimler-Benz factory, a job he took after his military service in the field artillery in the First World War.

Recognition quickly came his way. An exhibition including four of Fuhr's works at the Berlin Akademie in the fall of 1927 received positive reviews in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and drew such favorable attention to the young artist that in 1928 he had exhibitions in four other German cities and participated in three more exhibitions in Berlin. In October 1928 he was given a solo exhibition in the Galerie Neumann-Nierendorf in Berlin, an important center of avant-garde activities, again to positive reviews. The Kunsthaus Schaller, a gallery in Stuttgart, presented an overview of Fuhr's work in April 1930, and he received an award from the Preussische Kunstakademie (Prussian academy of art) later in the year. Two of his paintings, *Bergkirche* (Mountain church) and *Gilluley*, were accepted for the thirtieth Carnegie Art International in 1931, and he received the Villa Romana prize for his painting *Prozession* (Procession). In 1932 the city of Frankfurt awarded Fuhr its annual art prize, recognizing the graphic qualities of his work.





Figure 212  
Fuhr, *Café-Terrasse* (Café terrace), c. 1928

Despite this recognition, Fuhr's personal financial situation was very bad because of the economic problems in Germany. He came from an extremely poor lower-middle-class family who could provide no financial help, and he was evicted from his city-provided atelier because he was unable to pay a monthly contribution of ten reichsmarks toward its upkeep. Although the city of Mannheim forgave Fuhr's nonpayment of taxes in January 1933, he never forgot his eviction and refused to exhibit in Mannheim again.

In April 1933 the newly named National Socialist director of the academy and museum in Karlsruhe, Hans Adolf Bühler, opened an exhibition entitled *Regierungskunst 1918–33* (Government art 1918–33) showing works by "degenerate Bolsheviks," including Fuhr. Mannheim also included Fuhr's work

among the "degenerate" art in the exhibition *Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism), which opened the same month, but, ironically, one of his still lifes was displayed in a *Musterkabinett* (model gallery) of "good" art to be emulated. Early in 1934 the city leaders advised the Kunsthalle to remove all works by Fuhr from view. This ambivalent attitude toward the artist continued for some time. Fuhr turned to Franz Lenk, an artist and member of the executive committee of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts), who was also represented by the dealer Nierendorf. "I ask you to help me [protect myself] against invisible obstructionists and slanderers—to arrange to have my works reinstalled at Mannheim, since I do not appreciate undeserved disciplinary action."<sup>1</sup> Lenk responded that a decision in Fuhr's case would be made soon but that

those concerned were overburdened. In the meantime the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hannover opened a Fuhr exhibition consisting of twelve paintings and twenty-five watercolors. It ran until 1935 and was well received, as was another exhibition of his work at the Galerie von der Heyde in Berlin in April 1935. Finally, in January 1936, the mayor of Mannheim informed Fuhr that the Kunsthalle was being allowed to rehang his pictures, only to rescind permission a few days later when county officials asked the mayor to wait until they consulted with the regional government in Baden.

Announcements appeared in the local press that Fuhr was not a member of the Reichskammer and was therefore forbidden to work as an artist. The Gestapo arrived at varying times during the day and night in order to attempt to surprise him at work; the officials searched for paintings and checked to see if his brushes were wet. Fuhr built a shelter in the cellar where he executed watercolors so as to avoid the smell of oil paint.

Fuhr did not have enough food or heat because of his financial problems, which were now exacerbated by the National Socialists, and he became physically and emotionally ill. Since he was not actually forbidden to exhibit, however, the Galerie Nierendorf Gallery included his work in group and solo exhibitions in 1936 and 1937, respectively. Favorable reviews remarking on the artist's continuing development were forthcoming, with the exception of criticism in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the National Socialist newspaper, which found Fuhr in profound disagreement with the artistic ideology of the time.<sup>2</sup>

Although Fuhr was vilified in *Entartete Kunst* in July 1937 by the inclusion of his oil *Café-Terrasse* (Café terrace, fig. 212), which had been acquired by the Nationalgalerie in 1929 for nine hundred reichsmarks,<sup>3</sup> Joseph Nierendorf included his work in an exhibition in Berlin that month. When Nierendorf was stopped, he sent Fuhr's works to his brother Karl in New York. The dealer Günther Franke also continued to represent

Fuhr in Munich. Suddenly in 1940, for no apparent reason, the artist was informed that he was admitted to the Reichskammer and could again work openly, only to be denounced to the secret police in 1942 for having made comments of a political nature critical of the government.<sup>4</sup> Influential friends interceded, but his home was bombed, and he moved to Nabburg, where he remained until 1950.

After the war Fuhr's work was again in demand and was exhibited in all of the major German cities. In 1946 the artist accepted a professorial position at the Munich Akademie and in 1949 was the subject of a monograph by Adolf Behne. Fuhr moved to Regensburg in 1950 but continued to commute to the Akademie in Munich until 1966. An exhibition on the occasion of his seventieth birthday was a critical and financial success, and the Nationalgalerie in Berlin purchased *Der Grosse Platz* (The large square, 1964) for sixteen thousand reichsmarks.<sup>5</sup> The last exhibition before Fuhr's death took place at the Museum der Stadt Regensburg in September 1973 in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday (D. G.)

#### Notes

1 Axel Hubertus Zienicke, *Xaver Fuhr 1898–1973: Gemälde und Aquarelle* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1984), 24.

2 Ibid., 26.

3 Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, "Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Peter Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 154.

4 Zienicke, *Xaver Fuhr*, 30.

5 Ibid., 38.



Born 1887

Munich

Died 1966

Cologne

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Kreuzifixus* (Crucified Christ)

Exhibited as *Christus* (Christ)

c. 1921

Wood, dimensions unknown

Lubeck Cathedral, acquired in 1922 by the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Lubeck (on deposit by the artist)

Room 1, NS inventory no. 162327

Probably destroyed



Born 1894

Rheydt

Died 1961

Essen

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*"Sonnwend"* Phantastischer Vogel

("Sonnwend" fantastic bird)

Exhibited as *Phantastisches Gebilde* (Fantastic creature)

Watercolor, 48 x 63 cm (18 7/8 x 24 3/4 in.)

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16311

Location unknown

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Café-Terrasse* (Café terrace)

c. 1928

Oil on canvas, 68 x 78 cm (26 3/4 x 30 3/4 in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16095

Private collection

Figure 212

■



Born 1887  
Mainz  
Died 1963  
Hannover

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Die Braut* (The bride)  
1925

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1925 by the Kunststhal Mannheim  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16185  
Location unknown



Born 1882  
Freiburg  
Died 1941  
Freiburg

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Gestalten im Freien* (Figures outdoors)

Etching, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16438  
Location unknown



Born 1893  
Berlin  
Died 1959  
Berlin

The fame of George Grosz rests largely on his satirical drawings published in a series of portfolios and books during the Weimar years by the radical Malik Verlag, headed by his friend Wieland Herzfelde. The series included *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (The face of the ruling class), 1919, *Ecce Homo*, 1922, *Spesserspiegel* (Mirror of the bourgeoisie), 1924, and *Über Alles die Liebe* (Love above all), 1931. These works were exhibited by the Hans Goltz and Alfred Flechtheim galleries in Berlin.

Grosz's work attracted both admirers and detractors. In 1920 the artist was arrested and fined five thousand reichsmarks for attacking the army in his portfolio *Gott mit uns* (God with us). Again in 1923, after publication of *Ecce Homo*, he was brought into court, this time on a charge of defaming public morals, and fined six thousand reichsmarks, while twenty-four plates were confiscated from the unsold copies of the portfolio.<sup>1</sup> In 1928 two images in the portfolio *Hintergrund* (Background), Grosz's illustrations for Jaroslav Hasek's play *Schwajk*, were deemed offensive: one plate depicted a German pastor balancing a cross on his nose, the other the crucified Christ in a gas mask. Grosz and Herzfelde were found guilty of blasphemy and sacrilege. The fine was two thousand reichsmarks each, but during the next year the state court in Berlin reversed the conviction, stating that the artist had "made himself the spokesman of millions who disavow war, by showing how the Christian church had served an unseemly cause that it should not have supported."<sup>2</sup>

Grosz considered himself a propagandist of the social revolution. He not only depicted victims of the catastrophe of the First World War—the disabled, crippled, and mutilated—he also portrayed the collapse of capitalist society and its values. His wartime line drawings show him to be a master of caricature. In a 1925 portfolio of prints Grosz ridiculed Hitler by dressing him in a bearskin, a swastika tattooed on his left arm. Until 1927 he also painted large allegorical paintings that focused on the plight of Germany. Count Harry Kessler, a leading intellectual and collector, called these “modern history pictures.”<sup>3</sup>

Grosz was called by some the “bright-red art executioner,”<sup>4</sup> and indeed his political radicalism was well known. He had joined the German Communist party in 1922. Although a trip to Russia later that year disillusioned him, he continued to work with Malik Verlag. Feeling out of step with Russia’s politics, Grosz resigned from the party in 1923, but the next year he became a leader of Berlin’s Rote Gruppe (Red group), an organization of revolutionary Communist artists that prefigured the *Assoziation revolutionärer bildender Künstler Deutschlands* (ASSO, Association of revolutionary visual artists of Germany).

By 1929 the political climate in Germany had shifted to the right, and, at best, Grosz’s work was considered anachronistic. The periodical *Kunst und Künstler* (Art and artists) commented, on the tenth-anniversary exhibition of the founding of the Novembergruppe (November group): “Dix’s *Barricade* [Barricade] and Grosz’s *Wintermarchen* [Winter tale] are now curiosities that only have a place in a wax museum, commemorating the revolutionary time. One doesn’t make art with conviction alone.”<sup>5</sup> In a somewhat more positive light, Grosz was described as a historical figure in the periodical *Eulenspiegel* in 1931: “No other German artist so consciously used art as a weapon in the fight of the German workers during 1919 to 1923 as did George Grosz. He is one of the first artists in Germany who consciously placed art in the service of



Figure 213  
Grosz, *Bildnis Max Hermann-Nesse* (Portrait of Max Hermann-Nesse), 1925



Figure 214  
Grosz, *Am Kanal* (At the canal), 1915/16



Figure 215  
Grosz, *Erinnerung an New York* (Memory of New York), 1915/16



society His drawings are worthwhile not only in the present but also as documents of proletarian-revolutionary art.<sup>6</sup> These comments were more indicative of the magazine's editorial stance than the tenor of the times, however. More in keeping with popular sentiment, *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (German art and decoration) described Grosz as one-sided and pathological, "too obstinate, too fanatical, too hostile to be a descendent of Daumier." Although according to the magazine's art writer he was a master of form, his social point of view was wrongly chosen.<sup>7</sup>

Grosz's reputation as a political activist and deflator of German greatness was no secret. Menacing portents and premonitions of disaster began to haunt him. A studio assistant appeared in a brown shirt one day and warned him to be careful, a threatening note calling him a Jew was found beside his easel. A nightmare he recounted in his autobiography ended with a friend shouting at him, "Why don't you go to America?"<sup>8</sup> When in the spring of 1932 a cable arrived from the Art Students League in New York, inviting him to teach there during the summer, he accepted immediately. After a short return to Germany, where he was advised that his apartment and studio had been searched by the Gestapo, who were looking for him, the artist emigrated in January 1933. He became an American citizen in 1938.

In the meantime Grosz was among the defamed artists whose works had been included in two *Schandausstellungen* (abomination exhibitions) in Mannheim and Stuttgart in 1933. In a letter of July 21, 1933, Grosz wrote that he was secretly pleased and proud about this turn of events, because his inclusion in these exhibitions substantiated the fact that his art had a purpose, that it was true.<sup>9</sup> The polemical articles about modern art, "art on the edge of insanity," as the official Nazi newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* called it, also regularly included Grosz, with particular attention paid to his portraiture. A portrait of Max Hermann-Neisse (fig. 213), later to appear in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, was singled out for the



Figure 216  
Grosz, *Metropolis*, 1916-17



Figure 217  
Grosz, *Strassenbild* (Street scene), 1915/16



Figure 218  
Grosz, *Kaffeehaus* (Coffee house), 1915/16



Figure 219  
Grosz, *Café*, 1915/16

“degenerate loathsomeness of the subject”<sup>10</sup>  
A total of 285 of Grosz's works were collected from German institutions, five paintings, two watercolors, and thirteen graphic works were included in *Entartete Kunst*.

Grosz participated in an anti-Axis demonstration in New York in 1940 and revealed his reaction to the Führer in an interview with Rundfunk Radio in 1958: “When Hitler came, the feeling came over me like that of a boxer, I felt as if I had lost. All our efforts were for nothing.”

Grosz returned to Germany permanently in 1958, somewhat disillusioned with his American interlude. He had wanted a new beginning and had tried to deny his political and artistic past, but he was appreciated in America primarily as a satirist, and the work from the period after the First World War was perceived as his best. The biting commentary that marked this early work was that of a misanthropic pessimist, not what he had become: an optimist infatuated with the United States. Grosz was unable to understand the American psyche to the degree that he had the German, and he returned to his homeland in an attempt to regain the momentum he had lost. He died in Berlin in an accident six weeks after his return. (D. C.)

#### Notes

1. Eva Ingersoll Gatliff, *George Grosz: Works in Oil* (exh. cat., Huntington, N.Y.: Heckscher Museum, 1977), 9.
2. John I. H. Baur, *George Grosz* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), 22.
3. Gatliff, *George Grosz*, 7.
4. *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunstskizzen im Reich* (exh. cat. by Barbara Lepper, Dunsburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983), 94.
5. Gatliff, *George Grosz*, 174.
6. *Ibid.*, 176.
7. *Ibid.*, 174.
8. Baur, *George Grosz*, 22.
9. George Grosz, letter to Felix J. Weil, July 21, 1933, published in Uwe M. Schneede, *George Grosz: Der Künstler in seiner Gesellschaft* (Cologne: DuMont, 1984), 192.
10. Armin Zweite, “Franz Hofmann und die Städtische Galerie 1937,” in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die ‘Kunststadt’ München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und ‘Entartete Kunst’* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 274.

## Work in “Entartete Kunst”

### *Abenteurer* (Adventurer)

1916

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1921 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15973

By exchange to Bochmer, July 16, 1940,  
location unknown

### *Metropolis*

*Blick in die Grosstadt* (View of the big city)

Exhibited as *Grosstadt* (Big city)

1916–17

Oil on canvas, 102 x 105 cm (40 1/4 x 41 1/4 in.)

Acquired in 1924 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16194, Fischer lot 42  
Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, Switzerland  
*Figure 210*

■

### *Der Boxer* (The boxer)

c. 1920

Painting, medium unknown, c. 120 x 90 cm  
(47 1/4 x 35 1/2 in.)

Donated in 1923 to the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16066  
Location unknown

### *Bildnis Max Hermann-Neisse*

(Portrait of Max Hermann-Neisse)

1925

Oil on canvas, 100 x 101.5 cm (39 1/4 x 40 in.)

Acquired in 1925 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16195  
Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1950  
*Figure 213*

### *Menschen* (Mankind)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16257  
Location unknown

### *Trapezkünstler* (Trapeze artists)

Exhibited as *Der Saltänzer* (The rope dancer)

1914

Etching, 168 x 121 cm (6 3/4 x 4 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Dückers E 16  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16365  
Location unknown, this print: The Art Institute of Chicago, Print and Drawing Club  
*Figure 221*

■

### *Gefangene* (Prisoners)

Exhibited as *Nach dem Stahlbad*

(After the chalybeate bath)

1915

Lithograph, 18.9 x 20 cm (7 1/2 x 7 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Dückers I 27  
Acquired in 1929 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16364  
Peter M. Grosz Collection  
*Figure 222*

■

### *Am Kanal* (At the canal)

*Häuser am Kanal* (Houses on the canal)

Exhibited as *Am Kai* (Along the quay)

Plate 3 from the *Erste George Grosz-Mappe*  
(First George Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 26.4 x 22.2 cm (10 3/8 x 8 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Dückers M I, 3  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16394  
Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.71c  
*Figure 214*

■

### *Cafe*

Plate 10 from the *Kleine Grosz-Mappe*  
(Little Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 19.5 x 13 cm (7 1/2 x 5 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Dückers M II, 10  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16363  
Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.72j  
*Figure 219*

■

### *Erinnerung an New York* (Memory of New York)

*Grosstadt in USA* (Big city in the USA)

Plate 1 from the *Erste George Grosz-Mappe*  
(First George Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 37.8 x 29.6 cm (14 7/8 x 11 5/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Dückers M I, 1  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16392  
Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M 82.288.71a  
*Figure 215*

■

*Kaffeehaus* (Coffee house)*Zeichelage im Caféhaus* (Drinking spree in the café)Plate 4 from the *Kleine Grosz Mappe*

(Little Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 218 x 138 cm (8½ x 5½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers M II, 4

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16396

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 72d

Figure 218

*Strassenbild* (Street scene)*Strassenbild mit Mond* (Street scene with moon)Plate 3 from the *Kleine Grosz Mappe*

(Little Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 234 x 14 cm (9¼ x 5½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers M II, 3

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16395

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 72c

Figure 217

*Texasbild für meinen Freund Chingachgook*

(Texas picture for my friend Chingachgook)

Wildwest

Plate 2 from the *Erste George Grosz-Mappe*

(First George Grosz portfolio)

1915/16

Lithograph, 269 x 271 cm (10½ x 10½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers M I, 2

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16393

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 71b

Figure 220

*Germanenköpfe* (Teutonic Heads)

1919

Etching, 33 x 53 cm (13 x 20½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers E 58

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16397

Location unknown



Figure 220

Grosz, *Texasbild für meinen Freund Chingachgook* (Texas picture for my friend Chingachgook), 1915/16

Figure 222

Grosz, *Gefangene* (Prisoners), 1915

Figure 221

Grosz, *Trapezkünstler* (Trapeze artists), 1914

Figure 223

Grosz, *"Maul halten und weiter dienen"* ("Shut up and do your duty"), 1927

## Strassenszene (Street scene)

1919

Lithograph, 387 x 26.5 cm (15 1/4 x 10 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers I 60\*

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16428

Location unknown (other prints exist)

## Arbeitslos (Unemployed)

Strassenszene mit Krüppel (Street scene with cripples)

1920/21

Lithograph, 22 x 17.5 cm (8 3/4 x 6 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers I 67

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16269

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and deaccession funds, 831.851

## 'Maul halten und weiter dienen'

("Shut up and do your duty")

Der Gekreuzigte (Crucified)

Plate 10 from the portfolio *Hintergrund* (Background) 1927

Etching, 152 x 181 cm (6 x 7 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers M VI, 10

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16413

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and deaccession funds, 831.791

Figure 223

## Akt (Nude)

Print, medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Catalogue raisonné: Duckers E32–34, E73–74

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16298

Destroyed

## Bild Nr. 22896/I (Image no. 22896/I)

Etching, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16260

Destroyed

## Unidentified print exhibited as Zwei Akte (Two nudes)

Etching, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16406

Location unknown



Born 1901

Dresden

Died 1958

Dresden

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### Knabe mit gebrochenem Arm (Boy with broken arm)

c. 1928

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1929 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16167

Location unknown



Born 1895

Villingen

Died 1963

Niebuhr

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### Figur (Figure)

1928

Marble, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe,

Hamburg

Room 3, NS inventory no. 16239

Probably destroyed

### Two unidentified works

Possibly watercolor, dimensions unknown

Original location unknown

Room G1, NS inventory nos. 16264 and 16265

Location unknown



# Raoul Hausmann



Born 1886  
Vienna, Austria  
Died 1971  
Limoges, France

In 1900 Raoul Hausmann came to Berlin, where he studied painting and sculpture. His first artistic ties were to Expressionist artists and writers. In 1912 he joined *Der Sturm* (The storm), in 1916 he became a regular contributor to the journal *Die Aktion* (Action), and a year later he joined the Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden (Expressionist working group of Dresden).

Hausmann opposed the First World War from its outbreak and in 1917 took part in the illegal distribution of the so-called Lichnowsky Brochure, which blamed the Germans for the war. This undertaking marked his earliest collaboration with Franz Jung, who was then living with Titus Tautz, one of the organizers of the Lichnowsky project. During the next few years Hausmann became increasingly involved with the circle of anarchist intellectuals who edited and contributed to the journal *Freie Strasse* (Free street), including Jung and Otto Gross.<sup>1</sup>

In April of 1918 Hausmann attended the first "Dada evening," when Richard Huelsenbeck read the German Dadaist manifesto. Hausmann joined the group and with this act aligned himself with the Dadaists' condemnation of the Expressionists. Although he had previously affiliated himself with them, he now accused the Expressionists of being middle-class Philistines whose work lacked social meaning and had become a luxury item in a capitalist art market. Following the 1920 *Grosse Internationale Dada Messe* (Great international Dada fair) Hausmann became even more critical of Expressionism. In June of 1921 he signed an open letter in *Der Gegner* (The opponent) to the Novembergruppe (November group)

decrying the failure of these Expressionists to live up to their alleged revolutionary goals. This letter was later cited in Wolfgang Willrich's 1937 *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art) as evidence of the signatories' consummate Bolshevik commitment.<sup>2</sup>

By late 1919 the Berlin Dadaists were themselves polarized into two groups. While Johannes Baader, Hausmann, Hannah Höch, and others opposed official party affiliation, the Communist sympathies of George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Wieland Herzfelde resulted in their production of socially engaged artworks that empathized with the proletariat. Despite Hausmann's reluctance to join the Communist party he continued in 1919 and 1920 to publish explicitly political essays in the journal *Die Erde* (The earth) attacking the majority Socialist government. Although his political orientation had originally been inspired by the anarchist tradition of Mikhail Bakunin and Max Stirner, as early as 1916 he began to focus on psychosexual issues rather than on class struggle.<sup>3</sup> His idea of revolution was greatly influenced in that year by Otto Gross's essay *Vom Konflikt des Eignen und Fremden* (On the conflict between what is one's own and what is strange to oneself), which he had read in *Freie Strasse*.<sup>4</sup> In the June 15, 1919, issue of *Die Erde* Hausmann published an essay, "Zur Weltrevolution" (On the world revolution), in which he called for the liberation of women. He argued for the "development of a feminine [weiblich] society, which would lead to a new promiscuity and, in connection with that, to Mother Right" (as opposed to the characteristic male features of paternal family right).<sup>5</sup> With these views he began to move away from his Dada convictions, and within a year he was holding anti-Dada soirées with Kurt Schwitters.

June 15, 1919, was also the date of the first issue of Hausmann's journal *Der Dada*, a short-lived publication of three numbers. In the second issue, published in December of the same year, Hausmann's lead article emphasized the need for social revolution.



Figure 224  
Hausmann, title page of *Der Dada*, no. 2, December 1919



Figure 225  
Grosz, Hausmann, and Heartfield, title page of *Der Dada*, no. 3, April 1920

"You say art is in danger—how so? Art doesn't exist any longer. It is dead. We do not want to know about spirit or art. We want to order economics and sexuality rationally. We wish the world to be stirred and stirring, unrest instead of rest."<sup>6</sup>

Hausmann joined the progressive artists' group *Kommune* (Commune) in 1922 and in October exhibited in the *Internationale Ausstellung revolutionärer Künstler* (International exhibition of revolutionary artists). In 1926 he started work on a novel, *Hyle*, and a few years later began exploring the medium of photography.

At the National Socialist party convention in 1934 Hitler promised that both political and aesthetic revolutions had come to an end in Germany.<sup>7</sup> He identified the "saboteurs of art" who posed a moral danger to German culture as the "Cubists, Futurists, and Dadaists."<sup>8</sup> When the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened a few years later, Hausmann, who had only one work appropriated by Adolf Ziegler's committee, was represented by the title page of the second issue of *Der Dada* (fig. 224) and the first sheet of the third issue (fig. 225) of the journal. These were tacked up on a partition on which the installers had created their own "Dada" collage of paint, modernist artworks, and slogans, surmounted by George Grosz's words: "Take Dada seriously! It's worth it!"

Hausmann left Germany in March of 1933. Little is known of his political stance in exile. He went first to Ibiza, where he remained until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, and then to Amsterdam, Zurich, and later to Prague. He arrived in Paris in 1938 and fled to Peyrat-le-Château in the south of France in 1939. In 1944 he moved to Limoges, where he resided until his death in 1971 (P. K.).

Notes

- 1 Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas: Die Berliner Dadasten und ihre Aktionen* (Gießen: Anabas, 1989), 123.
- 2 Wolfgang Iffrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels: Eine kunstpölitische Kampfschrift zur Gründung deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer Art* (Munich: F. F. Lehmann, 1937), 43.
- 3 Walter Fahnders and Martin Rector, *Linksradikalismus und Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der sozialistischen Literatur in der Weimarer Republik* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1974), vol. 1, 249.
- 4 Timothy O. Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 69.
- 5 Raoul Hausmann, "Zur Weltrevolution," *Die Erde* 12 (June 15, 1919): 170.
- 6 Raoul Hausmann, "Der deutsche Spiesser argert sich," in *Der Dada* 2 (December 1919): [1].
- 7 Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, trans. Robert and Rita Kimber (New York: Pantheon, 1979), 35.
- 8 Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik der Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 82.

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

Title page of *Der Dada*, no. 2  
December 1919  
Lithograph, 29 x 23 cm (11½ x 9 in.)  
Published by Malik Verlag, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown, this copy: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Resource Collections  
Figure 224

(with George Grosz and John Heartfield)  
Title page of *Der Dada*, no. 3  
April 1920  
Lithograph, 29 x 23 cm (11½ x 9 in.)  
Published by Malik Verlag, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown, this copy: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Resource Collections  
Figure 225



Born c. 1900  
Dresden  
Death date  
unknown

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bildnis, Mein Bruder* (Portrait, my brother)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16165  
Location unknown

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16172  
Location unknown

## Erich Heckel



Born 1883  
Döbeln

Died 1970  
Radolfzell

For eight years in Dresden, and then in Berlin, the artists' group known as Die Brücke (The bridge), founded in 1905 by Erich Heckel with Fritz Bleyl, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, sponsored exhibitions and provided a rallying point for artists of the avant-garde. Heckel was an architectural student in Dresden when he and his friend Schmidt-Rottluff, whom he had met as a schoolboy in Chemnitz, organized Die Brücke, soon to include Emil Nolde and Max Pechstein and in 1910 Otto Mueller. Heckel's participation in the group's activities shaped his artistic style and launched his career as a painter.

Heckel's first solo exhibition was held in 1913 at Fritz Gurlitt's gallery in Berlin. Two paintings from that year, *Die Genesende* (The convalescent), a triptych bought by the Museum Folkwang in Essen and now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard University, and *Gläsernen Tag* (Glassy day) are among his most famous. He had earlier been hired along with his colleague Kirchner to paint the chapel in Cologne erected by the wealthy collector Karl Ernst Osthaus to hold windows commissioned from the stained-glass artist Jan Thorn-Prikker. By the time he volunteered for Red Cross duty in 1914, Heckel had become a well-known and respected artist.

Heckel's unit in the First World War was under the command of Dr. Walter Kaesbach, an art historian whom he had met in 1912. Kaesbach prescribed a work schedule for his charges of twenty-four hours on duty and twenty-four hours off, which allowed Heckel to continue to produce paintings, watercolors, and graphics during the war. His work did not depict

scenes of war, however; the landscapes and seascapes dating from this period are a summary of the context rather than the content of his experiences.

Heckel was sent to Flanders with Kaesbach's group in 1915. There in Roeselare he met Max Beckmann, who was serving as a medical orderly at the front. Heckel encountered James Ensor at his next assignment, Ostend, where he decorated a room that was used as temporary quarters for sick and wounded soldiers and painted the *Madonna von Ostende* (Ostend Madonna) on a tarpaulin for a sailors' Christmas party (This work was among the first to be acquired in 1919 by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin for its modern section, the Neue Abteilung.) In 1916 Heckel began to contribute to Paul Cassirer's pacifist review *Der Bildermann* (The picture man) and many others of the short-lived periodicals published before and after the war, including the left-leaning *Der Sturm* (The storm), *Die Aktion* (Action), and *Die rote Erde* (The red earth).

After the war Heckel returned to Berlin and spent the following years traveling throughout Germany and to England, France, Italy, and Scandinavia. He joined the Novembergruppe (November group) and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art) in 1919, but his art at this time did not overtly testify to his dedication to the revolutionary cause.<sup>1</sup> In 1914, in response to a survey by the journal *Kunst und Künstler* (Art and artists), Heckel had said, "The unconscious and the involuntary are the sources of artistic power."<sup>2</sup> A direct, programmatic approach was not in keeping with his mode of expression. It has been said that, as was the case in so much postwar art, Heckel created a spiritualized apocalyptic atmosphere in his work,<sup>3</sup> that his figural images of the early 1920s were visions—people like marionettes, without expression.<sup>4</sup>

In the early 1930s Heckel's figures took on an ornamental character, and there was not much change in his work after the Nazis came to power, except for his abandonment of circus themes and still lifes before the end of the decade. He was slow to realize the

implications of Adolf Hitler's art-related policies. As late as August 1934 Ernst Barlach, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Nolde, and others signed an appeal to support Hitler, with the hope that they might be able to continue to work in peace, if not with honor.<sup>5</sup> Heckel also signed, despite a recent ugly confrontation at a lecture given by Paul Schultze-Naumburg, in which the writer stated that all Expressionists were Jews. When Heckel objected, two members of the SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troop) made it clear that there was to be no disagreement.<sup>6</sup>

Painters and critics who were not proponents of the approved *völkisch* (popular national) art continued to argue that works by Heckel (and Barlach and Kirchner) were truly German and had even been prophetic of the increasing power of the National Socialists. The poet Gottfried Benn published an article in November 1933 in *Deutsche Zukunft* (German future) wherein he called German Expressionism the "last great resurgence of art in Europe" and declared that the "antiliberal and irrational aspects of such art qualified modern painters and sculptors to contribute to the National Socialist cultural program."<sup>7</sup>

There was for a time a certain ambivalence in the treatment of Heckel by the National Socialist authorities: one of his paintings was removed in 1935 from a Munich exhibition of contemporary art from Berlin, yet in 1936 he was inducted into the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of fine arts) without applying for membership, upon the dissolution of the union (*Wirtschaftsverband*) to which he belonged. Soon thereafter, in 1937, Heckel was declared "decadent" and was forbidden to exhibit, and 729 of his works in public institutions were impounded because he "destroyed the sense of race."<sup>8</sup>

Paul Ortwin Rave, then a curator at the Nationalgalerie, was assigned to accompany Adolf Ziegler's commission on its visit of July 7, 1937, to the Neue Abteilung in the Kronprinzenpalais for the purpose of confiscating works for the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. "Discussion especially about

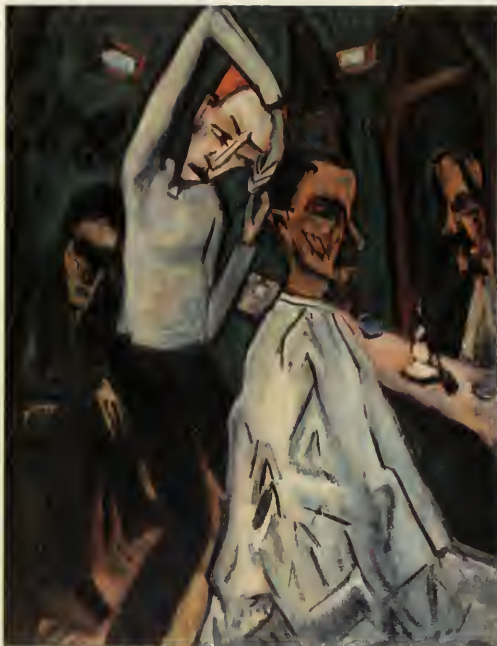


Figure 226  
Heckel, *Barbershop* (Barbershop), 1917



Figure 227  
Heckel, *Gehölz am Meer* (Woods by the sea), 1913

[Heckel's] picture *Sylt*," he noted, "criticized by [commission member Hans Schweitzer] for its lack of aerial perspective, Ziegler deemed it not suspicious enough but did not like the painting technique in *Flusstal mit Badenden* [River valley with bathers]. Comments [were made] regarding a Heckel painting seized the previous day in Cologne, *Göteborg*, which had been bought in 1935 for RM 5,000, to the shame of the director there."<sup>9</sup>

In all, seven oils, four watercolors, and two graphics by Heckel were displayed in *Entartete Kunst*. Among those seized were two that purportedly glorified idiots, cretins, and paralytics at the expense of healthy Aryans: *Beim Vorlesen* (Reading aloud), exhibited as *Unterhaltung* (Conversation), and *Sitzender Mann* (Seated man). Also drawing indignant onlookers was the nude *Mädchen mit Rose* (Girl with rose), exhibited as *Ruhendes Mädchen* (Girl resting), labeled to show that it had been purchased with "the taxes of the

German working people" by the Landesmuseum in Hannover in 1923 for one million marks.<sup>10</sup>

Heckel led a quiet existence in various rural locations from 1932 to 1939, from 1940 to 1942 he lived in Austria. In January 1944 his atelier in Berlin, in which he had worked since 1919, was destroyed by bombs, and many works, especially drawings, were lost. He became Otto Dix's neighbor in Hemmenhofen on Lake Constance before the end of the war and encountered Kaesbach again, who had lived there since 1933. In 1949 Heckel became professor of visual arts at the Kunstakademie (Academy of art) in Karlsruhe, where he remained until 1955.

Heckel and Schmidt-Rottluff were the longest surviving members of Die Brücke and were instrumental in founding the Brücke-Museum in Berlin. Before his death Heckel gave many of his own works as well as portfolios prepared by the group to the fledgling institution (D. G.).

#### Notes

- 1 Biographical information can be found especially in Paul Vogt, *Erich Heckel* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1965) and *Erich Heckel 1883–1970. Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen und Graphik* (exh. cat. edited by Zdenek Felix, Essen: Museum Folkwang, 1983).
- 2 Ida Katherine Rigby, "An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Expressionist Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Rifkind Foundation" (exh. cat. San Diego: University Gallery, San Diego State University, 1983), 80.
- 3 *Erich Heckel* (Museum Folkwang), 37.
- 4 Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde* (New York: Ekvevier, 1976), 88.
- 5 Reinhard Merker, *Die bildenden Künste im Nationalsozialismus: Kulturideologie, Kulturpolitik, Kulturproduktion* (Cologne: DuMont, 1983), 56.
- 6 Vogt, *Erich Heckel*, 86.
- 7 Henry Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 73.
- 8 Vogt, *Erich Heckel*, 87.
- 9 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed. ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 143.
- 10 Vogt, *Erich Heckel*, 87.



### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Madchen mit Rose* (Girl with rose)

*Ruhendes Madchen* (Girl resting)

1909

Oil on canvas, c. 76 x 90 cm (29 1/8 x 35 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1909/7

Acquired in 1923 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15996

Location unknown

*Geholz am Meer* (Woods by the sea)

1913

Tempera on canvas, 72.5 x 80 cm (28 1/2 x 31 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1913/57

Acquired by the Kunsthalle Bremen

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16142

Karl Ernst Osthaus-Museum, Hagen, Sammlung Berg

Figure 227

*Landschaft mit Mühle* (Landscape with mill)

1913

Painting, medium unknown, 81 x 94 cm (31 3/8 x 37 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1913/35

Acquired (donation?) in 1923 by the Landesmuseum,

Hannover

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16109

Location unknown

*Selbstportrat* (Self-portrait)

Exhibited as *Kopf* (Head)

1913

Ink and opaque color, 46.1 x 33.9 cm (18 1/8 x 13 3/8 in.)

Acquired in 1927 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16315

Location unknown

*Sitzender Mann* (Seated man)

1913

Oil on canvas, 110 x 70 cm (43 3/8 x 27 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1913/24

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16049

Location unknown

*Badende am Meer* (Bather by the sea)

1914

Oil on canvas, c. 90 x 55 cm (35 3/8 x 21 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1913/25

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16017

Location unknown

*Bem Vorlesen* (Reading aloud)

*Unterhaltung* (Conversation)

1914

Oil on canvas, 95 x 80 cm (37 1/8 x 31 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1914/4

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16047

Private collection, Germany

*Flämische Familie* (Flemish family)

1916

Oil on canvas, 110 x 77 cm (43 3/8 x 30 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1916/4

Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16027

Location unknown

*Barbierstube* (Barbershop)

*Bem Friseur* (At the hairdresser's)

1917

Oil on canvas, 95.2 x 71.8 cm (37 1/2 x 28 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 1912/25

Acquired in 1926 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16222

Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1948

Figure 228

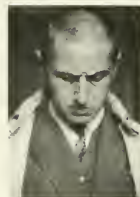
*Zwei Aktte im Atelier* (Two nudes in the studio)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16169

Location unknown



Born 1890

Hannover

Died 1964

Bremen

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Marekönigin* (May queen)

1919

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15942

Location unknown

# Jacoba van Heemskerck



Born 1870  
The Hague,  
The Netherlands  
Died 1923  
Domburg,  
The Netherlands

The Dutch painter and graphic artist Jacoba van Heemskerck studied in The Hague, in Hilversum at the Laren School, and with F. Hart Nibbrig. For a year she worked in the Atelier Eugène Carrière in Paris and exhibited in Amsterdam, Brussels, London, and Paris. A meeting with Rudolf Steiner, founder of the Anthroposophical Society, was of great importance for her; Steiner's Theosophy, Rosicrucianism, and other occult concepts were important sources for abstract artists. Another, less exotic influence was Paul Scheerbart's book *Glasarchitektur* (Glass architecture), which inspired her to design stained-glass windows.

Heemskerck became well known in Germany while remaining nearly unrecognized in her native land. Her woodcuts and linocuts appeared regularly in the journal *Der Sturm* (The storm) after she had been discovered by the editor, Herwarth Walden.<sup>1</sup> She was represented in the *Erster deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon) of 1913, and in 1914 the Galerie Der Sturm exhibited her work with that of Marianne von Werefkin, followed by a retrospective in 1916.

Heemskerck received a total of ten exhibitions at Der Sturm, more than any other artist, and Walden even tried to organize an art school for her, the *Sturmschule für Holland* ("Sturm" school for Holland), in the Netherlands.

Heemskerck was represented in the famous 1926 exhibition of the newly founded Internationale Vereinigung der Expressionisten, Futuristen, Kubisten, und Konstruktivisten (International association of Expressionists, Futurists, Cubists, and Constructivists) in Berlin. Since she was not German (and since she had died fourteen years earlier), her inclusion in *Entartete Kunst* was probably due to her association with Der Sturm and Expressionism in general. Her abstract linocut of about 1921, *Komposition* (Composition, fig. 228), was included in the Bauhaus portfolio *Neue europäische Grafik Deutsche Künstler* (New European graphics German artists), which was displayed in *Entartete Kunst*.<sup>2</sup> (P. G.)

## Notes

1. Adolf Behne published a review of Heemskerck's work under the title "Biologie und Kubismus" (Biology and Cubism) in *Der Sturm* 6 (1911-12), September 1-2.
2. See also Lothar Schreyer, *Jacoba van Heemskerck*, *Sturm Bilderbuch* no. 7 (Berlin: Der Sturm, 1924); A. B. Loosjes-Terpstra, *Moderne Kunst in Nederland 1900-1914* (Utrecht: H. Dekker & Gumbert, 1959); "Zwanzig Jahre vergessen: Gesamtschau von Hollands erster Kubistin in Amsterdam," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 27, 1960; A. H. Huussen, Jr., and Herbert Henkels, *Jacoba van Heemskerck 1870-1923: Kunstenaar van het Expressionisme* (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1983).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Komposition* (Composition)  
Exhibited as *Abstraktes Litho* (Abstract litho)  
Plate 6 from Bauhaus Portfolio III  
c. 1921  
Linoleum cut, 299 x 402 cm (11 1/4 x 15 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler III/6  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau?  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16422  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbanati Gallery (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Philip Pinsol (Chicago only)  
Figure 228



# Hans Siebert von Heister



Born 1888  
Düsseldorf  
Died 1967  
Berlin

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Wab* (Woman)  
1922  
Print, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1922 by the Städtische Kunstsammlung Düsseldorf  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16408  
Location unknown



Figure 228  
Heemskerck, *Komposition* (Composition), c. 1921



Born 1881  
Haynau, Silesia

Death date  
unknown

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Das Ich* (The ego)

1918

Alabaster, height 115 cm (45 1/4 in.)

Acquired in 1932 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 3, NS inventory no. 16238

Probably destroyed



Born 1880  
Gummersbach

Death date  
unknown

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Taufe* (Baptism)

1919

Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm (39 3/8 x 31 1/2 in.)

Acquired in 1919 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen

Düsseldorf

Room 7, NS inventory no. 14167

Location unknown



Born 1895  
Cologne

Died 1936  
Cologne

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Melancholie* (Melancholy)

c. 1918

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1929 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15989

Probably destroyed

*Das Paar* (The couple)

Possibly *Proleten* (Proletarians)

1924

Print, medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen

Düsseldorf

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16294

Destroyed

# Karl Hofer



Born 1878  
Karlsruhe  
Died 1955  
Berlin

Karl Hofer was a professor at the Berlin Akademie when the National Socialists came to power in 1933. He had been a harsh critic of Hitler's cultural policy since the end of the 1920s and took issue with the party's plan to create an "art for everyone." Hofer attacked the officially sanctioned neo-Biedermeier style, which he called "the ultimate in inferiority and imitation."<sup>1</sup> On July 13, 1933, a letter from the artist appeared in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, presenting his view that there was no need for a *Kulturkampf* (cultural battle). In his view Hitler's apparent love for art and the small percentage of Jews among the visual artists, who seemingly were the primary targets, made the plan superfluous.<sup>2</sup> Hofer accused the National Socialists of promoting an art that was pure kitsch: "The masses and kitsch go together. Every strong, new expression of the human spirit is misunderstood by the surrounding populace. Today the eternal levelers are again at work." In response, an article by Waldemar Wünsche entitled, "Karl Hofer und die neue Kunst" (Karl Hofer and the new art) in the National Socialist periodical *Deutsche Kulturwacht* (German cultural sentinel) accused Hofer of being elitist and anti-Volk (people), whereas the National Socialists claimed they looked to "the Volk's innate sense for good art." Wünsche described the works of Hofer and his friends as not "truly revolutionary and thereby creative and futuristic but rather decadent—[belonging] to an overwrought past. If they are not understood, it is not because of narrow-mindedness, reaction, or lack of true understanding for art, but because of a healthy regard for life that rejects everything that



Figure 229  
Hofer, *Schlafende Menschen* (People sleeping), 1919

tries to destroy the life of the nation." The article also criticized Hofer for ignoring the threat posed to German art by Jewish critics like Julius Meier-Graefe and Jewish dealers like Paul Cassirer and Alfred Flechtheim.<sup>3</sup>

Hofer was clearly under attack. On April 1, 1933, a large poster had appeared at the academy describing him as a member of the destructive Marxist-Jewish element and urging students to boycott his classes.<sup>4</sup> Hofer responded in the periodical *Angriff* (Attack) to the rhetorical question, "How much longer will the Akademie continue to dance to the pipe of the Jew Hofer?" with "I have never piped, and regrettably have never seen the Akademie dance, and am no Jew."<sup>5</sup> In 1934 Hofer lost his professorship and was forbidden to work and exhibit by the Prussian minister of education, Bernhard Rust.

Hofer's objections to the policies of German fascism, which he described as "idealism gone astray [and] the bourgeoisie gone off the rails,"<sup>6</sup> were among the most vociferous. The dealer Günther Franke wrote later that "politically Hofer had spoken out so loudly against the regime that it was a wonder he did not come under the wheel."<sup>7</sup> Hofer himself, in his book *Aus Leben und Kunst* (Of life and art), 1952, admitted, "I was not very careful in what I said, and today it appears to me to be a miracle that I'm still alive."<sup>8</sup> Hofer remained in Berlin during the National Socialist rule, experiencing an existential alienation coupled with the psychological violence inflicted by the government.

In spring 1933 Hofer was still allowed to exhibit, and his paintings appeared in the *Berliner Sezession* (Berlin secession) along with works by Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee, Ernst Nay, and Oskar Schlemmer. In the foreword of the catalogue their works



were described as having a German spirit.<sup>9</sup> Although Hofer's paintings were not as bold in form and color as those of the other German artists represented, shortly after the exhibition the National Socialists began to confiscate them from public and private institutions, until ultimately 313 had been seized. Eight paintings appeared in *Entartete Kunst* in 1937. His *Sitzender Akt auf blauem Kissen* (Seated nude on blue cushion), confiscated from Max Perl's gallery in 1935, was hung in Room 3 near the slogans "An insult to German womanhood" and "The ideal—cretin and whore."

Early influences on Hofer had included Hans von Marées and the classical art he saw in abundance during his residence in Rome from 1903 to 1908. He then moved to Paris, where he was influenced by the work of Paul Cézanne (and was interned as an enemy alien when he lingered too long in France in 1914). After the war Hofer lived in Berlin, taught at the Akademie from 1919 to 1933, and became chairman of the Freie Sezession (Free secession). He was inducted into the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts) in 1923 but was dismissed in 1938, after having been made an inactive member. Ironically, that summer Hofer was awarded first prize by the Carnegie Institute at its International Exhibition in Pittsburgh, receiving foreign recognition while being denounced in his own country. Nine of his pictures impounded by the National Socialists were sent to the Galerie Fischer sale in Lucerne in June 1939. Those that failed to sell at auction were sold for approximately fifty reichsmarks each in 1941.<sup>10</sup>

On March 1, 1943, Hofer's studio was bombed and over 150 paintings and many drawings and writings were destroyed. His apartment, where he resumed painting, was destroyed the following November. Hofer had photographed many of the lost works and repainted as many as fifteen of them, including *Schwarze Zimmer* (Black rooms), originally painted in 1928. This work, a nightmarish image of a naked man beating a drum, with other figures scattered through

bare, labyrinthine rooms, has often been described as a premonition of the catastrophe to come in Germany. The dealer Karl Buchholz, one of those entrusted by the Nazis with the sale of "degenerate" art, continued to make clandestine sales of Hofer's symbolic, disturbing pictures to old patrons, and the artist said that ironically he "never sold so much as at that time."<sup>11</sup>

At the end of the Second World War Hofer received a professorship at the Berlin Hochschule für bildenden Künste (College of fine arts), which he set about rebuilding, and became president of the West Berlin Kunstakademie (Academy of art). He was a founding member of the Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung (Cultural federation for democratic renewal) and hoped for cooperation with the Germans in the Soviet-occupied zone. By 1948, however, as the Communist agitation against "formalism" intensified, a fierce campaign was launched against Hofer in the Eastern zone. The German artists showed their faith in him by electing him president of the new Deutscher Künstlerbund (League of German artists), founded in 1950. But as the proponent of a realistic style, although he himself had turned to abstraction briefly in 1930 to 1931, Hofer disputed with artists such as abstractionist Willi Baumeister over the power of representational art. A sharp encounter in 1955 with Baumeister and Will Grohmann accelerated the controversy, and Nay and Fritz Winter resigned from the Künstlerbund in protest at Hofer's behavior. Until his death a short time later, Hofer continued to denounce non-objective art as the reflection of the soulless premises of contemporary life.<sup>12</sup> (D. G.)

## Notes

- 1 Werner Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted: Dictatorship of Art under Hitler*, trans. Eileen Martin (Cologne: DuMont, 1986), 253.
- 2 Reinhard Merker, *Die bildenden Künste im Nationalsozialismus: Kulturideologie, Kulturpolitik, Kulturproduktion* (Cologne: DuMont, 1983), 132.
- 3 Ida Katherine Rigby, *Karl Hofer* (New York: Garland, 1976), 205, and Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 48.
- 4 Rigby, *Karl Hofer*, 205.
- 5 Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 48.
- 6 Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted*, 253.
- 7 Rigby, *Karl Hofer*, 232.
- 8 Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 48.
- 9 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunst diktatur im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 56.
- 10 Rave, *Kunst diktatur*, 129.
- 11 Rigby, *Karl Hofer*, 215.
- 12 Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted*, 259.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Schlafende Menschen* (People sleeping)  
1919  
Oil on canvas, 58 x 81 cm (22 7/8 x 31 7/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1922 by the Ruhmeshalle,  
Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16018  
Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, 1987  
Figure 229

*Der erwachende Gefangene* (The awakening prisoner)  
1922  
Oil on canvas, 82.5 x 123 cm (32 1/2 x 48 3/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16020  
Collection Hans Raitt, Italy, 1974

*Freundinnen* (Friends)  
1923/24  
Oil on canvas, 100 x 81 cm (39 3/8 x 31 7/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 160457  
Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1947  
Figure 230

*Tischgesellschaft* (Group at a table)  
1924  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 116 cm (47 1/2 x 45 5/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Ruhmeshalle,  
Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16030  
Location unknown



Figure 230  
Hofer, *Freundinnen* (Friends), 1923/24



Figure 231  
Hofer, *Zwei Freunde* (Two friends), 1926

*Zwei Freunde* (Two friends)  
1926  
Oil on canvas, 100 x 70 cm (39 1/4 x 27 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1928 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16037  
Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 1966  
Figure 231

*Sitzender Akt auf blauem Kissen*  
(Seated nude on blue cushion)  
1927  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit from 1935 confiscation from Max Perl)  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15987  
Location unknown

*Insulanerin* (Island girl)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Donated in 1932 to the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16032  
On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

*Stilleben mit Gemüse* (Still life with vegetables)  
Oil on canvas, 43 x 67 cm (16 7/8 x 26 1/8 in.)  
Acquired by exchange in 1935 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16156  
On commission to Boehmer, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Mond und Sonne* (Moon and sun)  
Print, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16403  
Location unknown



Born 1892  
Dresden  
  
Died 1955  
Dresden

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve)  
Exhibited as *Josef und Potiphar*  
(Joseph and Potiphar) by Christoph Völl  
Wood, dimensions unknown  
Donated to the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16233  
Destroyed

*Mädchen mit blauem Haar* (Girl with blue hair)  
Plaster, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1919 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16242  
Location unknown

*Weiblicher Akt* (Female nude)  
Wood, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16243  
Location unknown

*Nacktes Weib* (Female nude)  
Etching, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16256  
Location unknown



Born 1888  
Schwarzenegg,  
Switzerland  
  
Died 1967  
Zurich, Switzerland

Nine works by Johannes Itten were confiscated from German public collections, and two of his lithographs (figs. 232–33) appeared in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. Yet Itten's Swiss nationality should have made his work exempt from appropriation by the Ziegler committee and inclusion in the exhibition. Curiously, despite his "degenerate" status after 1933 and the fact that he was a foreigner and not a member of the Nazi party, Itten was allowed to remain in his academic post in Krefeld until 1937.

Itten began his career as an educator and received a diploma in 1912 as a secondary school teacher. In 1913 he decided to become a student of the painter Adolph Hölzel and with this changed his vocation to painting. Although he had briefly attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Geneva in 1909 and 1912, he was bored with the academic instruction he received there. Hölzel's progressive methods caught his attention and shaped his future approach to teaching.

Itten had his first one-man show at the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin in 1916. Later that year he moved to Vienna and opened a private art school. In February of 1919 Walter Gropius, acting upon a suggestion from Alma Mahler, who had met Itten in 1917, invited the artist to become a member of the Bauhaus faculty. Itten arrived in Weimar in October of the same year and brought fifteen of his Viennese students with him. Shortly thereafter he accepted responsibility for the stained-glass workshop at the Bauhaus until Paul Klee took it over in 1922.

Itten's main pedagogic concern, however, was the conception and leadership of his *Vorkurs* (preliminary course). Two essential features of the course were inspired by Hölzel's methods: the incorporation of various breathing and gymnastic techniques and a design theory based upon contrasts.<sup>1</sup> Itten's interest in the Persian philosophy of Mazdaznan also played an important role in his approach to teaching: meditation and yoga were intended to help the students free their innate creativity. Although Itten's ideas attracted a number of students, they did not find widespread acceptance among the school's faculty. He resigned from the Bauhaus on October 4, 1923, partly because he disagreed with Gropius's intention to reorganize the school's curriculum with the aim of unifying art and technology.

In 1926 Itten formed the *Moderne Kunstschule* (Modern art school) in Berlin, where he continued to train his students (several of whom had originally studied with him at the Bauhaus) to "awaken their slumbering talent for art and to intensify individual originality."<sup>2</sup> Itten's former colleague Georg Muche, who had assisted him with the *Vorkurs* in Weimar, joined the *Moderne Kunstschule* in 1928 following his own departure from the Bauhaus. In December of 1931 Itten also became director of the newly founded *Höhere Fachschule für Textil-Flächenkunst* (Technical college for textile art) in Krefeld, and after the school opened on January 12, 1932, he began to spend alternate weeks in Krefeld and Berlin. When the National Socialists came to power in 1933, three of Itten's instructors in Berlin—Max Bronstein, Lucia Moholy, and Gyula Pap—were pressured to leave the *Moderne Kunstschule*.<sup>3</sup> Itten was forced to close the Berlin school by Easter of 1934, when the National Socialists decreed that a Swiss national could not hold two academic posts in Germany.

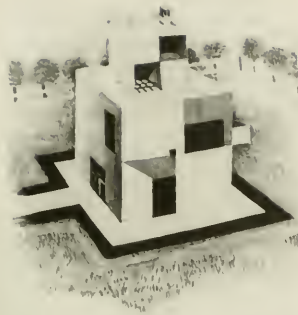


Figure 232  
Itten, *Haus des weissen Mannes* (House of the white man),  
c. 1921

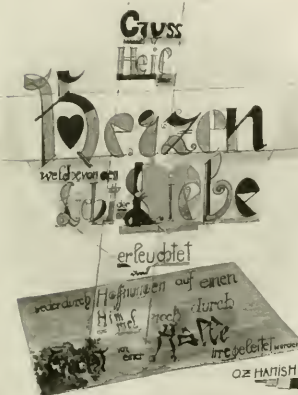


Figure 233  
Itten, *Spruch: Herzen der Liebe* (Proverb: Hearts of love),  
c. 1921

In an effort to demonstrate his accomplishments at Krefeld, Itten organized the textile school's first exhibition in 1934. Ironically, although Itten had opposed Gropius's program to unite art and industry in 1923, he was now forced to make this practical aim the basis of his own program at Krefeld. He later wrote to Gropius on November 14, 1937: "The success of my Krefeld work is undisputed. Industry confirms that our school work brings them what they need. All of the matriculated students are active in industry and many of them are unusually successful. If I were not Swiss and a former Bauhaus member, the government and industry would undoubtedly expand my

work on a broader basis into an academy of textile and fashion industry. But my opponents are a well-organized superior force, so that on March 1, 1938, I will most probably pack up as a 'degenerate' and alien Swiss."<sup>4</sup> Itten hoped that Gropius would help him to establish a "Bauhaus and Textile Institute" in America. On January 4, 1938, he again wrote to Gropius about the possibility and introduced the idea of emigration. A few months later he wrote to his future wife, Anneliese Schlösser, that he was learning English from phonograph records since he lacked the funds to attend a Berlitz school.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, Itten's provisional two-year contract at the Krefeld school had expired in 1934, and although he remained in his position for another three years, he was repeatedly criticized. Not only was he accused of harboring Communists, but he was threatened with replacement if he did not become a German national. Itten refused to take up German citizenship and finally resigned on November 26, 1937.<sup>6</sup> The school closed temporarily on March 31, 1938, it reopened later in the year under the directorship of Itten's former colleague, Muche, who was a German citizen.

Itten went to the Netherlands late in 1937, where he taught composition and color courses in Amsterdam at the Stedelijk Museum and in several other cities. In July 1938 he applied for the directorship of the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) and Kunstgewerbemuseum in Zurich. He was appointed on November 24 and held the position until 1953. The basic tenets of his Bauhaus *Vorkurs* informed his pedagogic method. Despite the deprivations of war he was able to mount a varied exhibition program at the museum. In 1943 Itten began to direct the textile school of Zurich's silk industry, a post he retained until 1960. In 1949 he was contracted to expand and lead the Rietberg Museum for non-European art. The museum opened on May 24, 1952, and Itten served as its director until his retirement on March 31, 1956.

Itten's book *Kunst der Farbe* (The art of color) was published in 1961. A year later

he began to write a condensed version of his *Vorkurs* lectures, which had appeared in a small edition in 1930 but had been banned following the National Socialists' rise to power. The second edition finally appeared in 1980, thirteen years after Itten's death. (P. K.)

#### Notes

- 1 Marcel Franciscano, *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of Its Founding Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 194, 198–99.
- 2 Johannes Itten, *Design and Form: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus*, trans. John Maass (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 9.
- 3 Magdalena Droste, *Aus der Ittenschule Berlin 1926–1934* (exh. cat., Baden: Galerie im Trudelhaus, 1984), 6.
- 4 Johannes Itten, letter to Walter Gropius, November 14, 1937, published in Willy Rotzler, ed. *Johannes Itten Werke und Schriften* (Zurich: Orell Fussli, 1978), 85.
- 5 Johannes Itten, letter to Anneliese Schlösser, March 3, 1938, published in Rotzler, *Johannes Itten*, 87.
- 6 Rotzler, *Johannes Itten*, 404 n. 182, 429.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Haus des weissen Mannes*: House of the white man  
Plate 4 from Bauhaus Portfolio I  
c. 1921

Lithograph, 252 x 242 cm (97 1/2 x 9 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler I/4  
Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16285?  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati  
Gallery (Los Angeles only); The Art Institute of  
Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben  
Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim  
Purchase Fund (Chicago only)

Figure 232

*Spruch: Herzen der Liebe* (Proverb: Hearts of love):  
Plate 3 from Bauhaus Portfolio I

c. 1921  
Color lithograph, 296 x 23 cm (11 5/8 x 9 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler I/3  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau?  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16426  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati  
Gallery (Los Angeles only); The Art Institute of  
Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben  
Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim  
Purchase Fund (Chicago only)

Figure 233



# Alexej von Jawlensky



Born 1864  
Kuslowo Torschok,  
Russia

Died 1941  
Wiesbaden

Alexej von Jawlensky first visited an exhibition of paintings in 1880 at an international exposition in Moscow. This experience profoundly affected the sixteen-year-old and became the turning point in his life. He began to study drawing, and some years later, while still in military school and a regular visitor to Moscow's Tretiakov Gallery, he decided to become a painter. The passionate pursuit of art prompted Jawlensky to abandon his career as an officer in the czar's infantry regiment in Saint Petersburg and move to Munich. He was accompanied by Marianne von Werefkin, the daughter of the commanding general of the Peter and Paul Fortress in Saint Petersburg. Both had been students of Ilya Repin, the "Courbet of Russia," who was considered to be on the leading edge of modern Russian art. Werefkin was far more advanced as a painter, her work having been shown to great acclaim in a number of exhibitions in Russia. She and Jawlensky continued their studies at the school of Anton Azbé in Munich, where they met fellow Russian Wassily Kandinsky. With Gabriele Münter, the three Russians founded the Neue Künstler Vereinigung (New artists association) in 1909; the precursor of the Blaue Reiter (Blue rider) group.

Werefkin, ambitious on Jawlensky's behalf, gave up painting to serve as her companion's mentor and muse. Inclined toward mysticism and convinced of the role she was destined to play in the development of the "new art," Werefkin was, in a sense, the intellectual counterpart to Kandinsky, both complementing Jawlensky and Münter in their honest simplicity and deliberate striving. Werefkin became the driving force

in the activities of the Munich group, urging them to seek synthesis in art and to pursue the great "nothing"—abstraction.

In his travels in France in 1905 Jawlensky had met Henri Matisse; he returned in 1907 to work in the Frenchman's atelier. Likening color and form in painting to melody and rhythm in music, Jawlensky painted Fauve-like landscapes and figures. By 1913 the faces of his figures had become elongated and the colors more muted. A subtle structural element—a cross—can be discerned in the composition of these faces, with the eyes forming the horizontal and the nose the vertical line.

At the beginning of the First World War Jawlensky was exiled as an enemy alien in Switzerland, where he lived in Saint Prex on Lake Geneva and in Ascona. The *Variationen* (Variations) he painted there incorporated a refinement of the crosslike structure of the faces, which became more abstract. Especially in 1917 in Ascona his depictions of heads assumed a mystical, introspective aspect, which the artist retained and enhanced in subsequent years by further simplification.

Jawlensky lost his Russian citizenship after the war. Deciding to become a German citizen, he moved to Wiesbaden in 1921, where a large exhibition of his work had been organized by his representative, Galka Scheyer, whom he had met in 1916. At her suggestion Jawlensky made six lithographs of abstract heads, which were published by the Nassauisches Landesmuseum in Wiesbaden, and another for the fourth Bauhaus portfolio, all of which were destined to appear in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition (figs. 234–40). Jawlensky preferred to work in color; consequently, his oeuvre includes few graphic works. Only one etching, *Kopf* (Head) of 1923, is known to exist. "The artist must say with his art through form and color what is godlike in him,"<sup>1</sup> Jawlensky said.

In 1924 Scheyer undertook to promote modern German artistic ideas abroad and took to the United States works by Lyonel Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, and Paul



Figure 234  
Jawlensky, *Kopf* (Head), c. 1922

Klee, now organized as the "Blue Four," so named as a reference to Der Blaue Reiter and because blue was regarded as a spiritual color. Rather than forming a tightly structured official association, the Blue Four only intended to exhibit together and "to express the spiritually based friendship of the four artists," according to Klee.<sup>2</sup> Scheyer gave lectures and presented exhibitions across the United States, meeting with moderate success, particularly in California. Unfortunately, the works that Jawlensky had entrusted to Scheyer were auctioned as enemy possessions in the United States after the Second World War.

Jawlensky's health began to deteriorate in 1929. Crippling arthritis hampered his ability to work. In order to paint he would hold the brush in both hands and move his entire upper body. In this way he produced the *Meditationen* (Meditations), the dark and glowing heads that are regarded as his finest works. These final examples of his series were known only to a circle of close friends because the National Socialists deprived him of the right to exhibit in 1933 and forbade his work to leave Germany. In spring 1933 Franz Hofmann, art critic for the National Socialist *Völkischer Beobachter*, declared works by Jawlensky (as well as Max Beckmann, Marc Chagall, and George Grosz) to be "artistically absolutely worthless. In the future nothing is more important than the protection of the German people from these examples of spiritual poison."<sup>3</sup> To the National Socialists modern art was synonymous with Bolshevism, even if, in this case, the artist was a pious Russian artist.

toocrat. According to National Socialist doctrine, the *Weltjudentum* (Jewish world kingdom) included the Soviet Union, where an inferior (that is, non-Nordic) race flourished. Said Hitler in 1942: "We will mold the best of the [Slavs] to the shape that suits us, and we will isolate the rest of them in their own pig-sties, and anyone who talks about cherishing the local inhabitant and civilizing him, goes straight off into a concentration camp!"<sup>14</sup>

Jawlensky's lithographs of heads were among seventy-two of his works gathered by the National Socialists from German museums. The six lithographs of heads and two oil paintings were displayed in *Entartete Kunst* in Room 2 on the ground floor with works by Beckmann, Otto Dix, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Oskar Kokoschka, Emil Nolde, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. They had been impounded because they were the work of a foreigner (despite his German citizenship) and a "Bolshevist" (despite his apolitical stance). The unnatural forms of the figures and the strident use of color in the oil paintings, as well as the simplicity of the graphic works, were characteristic of degenerate art as defined in 1937 by Hitler and Bernhard Rust, minister of education.<sup>15</sup> All art that did not adapt to the trivial naturalism favored by the party or did not relate thematically to the ideology of the National Socialists was "unclean" and did not belong in the "art temples" of the Reich.

In 1938 Jawlensky was forced to stop working because of illness brought on by financial hardships (Werfein died that year, having been estranged from Jawlensky for many years). Because of the Nazi interdiction against his exhibiting he was forced to turn to friends, including Emil and Ada Nolde, for assistance. He endured embarrassment about his financial difficulties and despair about his inability to work until his death in 1941 at age seventy-seven (D. G.).



Figures 235–40  
Jawlensky *Köpfe* (Heads), 1922

#### Notes

1. Clemens Weiler, *Alexej Jawlensky* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1959), 103.
2. *Ibid.* 119.
3. Armin Zweite, "Franz Hofmann und die Stadtische Galerie 1937," in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 274.
4. Adolf Hitler, luncheon conversation, August 6, 1942, published in *Hitler's Table Talk: 1941–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 617.
5. *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunstdektatur im 3. Reich* (exh. cat. by Barbara Lepper, Dursburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983), 27.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Sizilianerin mit grüner Schal*  
(Sicilian girl with green shawl):  
1912  
Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 48.5 cm (21¼ x 19½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Weiler 108  
Acquired in 1922 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16216  
On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Kind mit grüner Halskette* (Child with green necklace)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16217  
On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Köpfe* (Heads):  
Exhibited as *Sechs Köpfe* (Six heads):  
Portfolio of six prints  
1922  
Lithographs, various dimensions  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16427  
Destroyed, this portfolio: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rinkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M82.288103a–f  
Figures 235–40

*Kopf* (Head):  
Plate 7 from Bauhaus Portfolio IV  
c. 1922  
Lithograph, 178 x 12.3 cm (7 x 4½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wingler IV/7  
Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16282  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati Gallery  
Figure 234

## Eric Johanson

Born 1896  
Dresden

Died 1979  
Lörbruna Gard, Sweden

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Fabrik* (Factory)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1924 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16161  
Location unknown

## Hans Jürgen Kallmann



Born 1908  
Wollstein, Posen

Death date  
unknown

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Hyäne* (Hyena)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1936 by the Walfrat-Richartz-Museum,  
Cologne  
Room 6, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

## Wassily Kandinsky



Born 1866  
Moscow, Russia

Died 1944  
Neuilly-sur-Seine,  
France

Wassily Kandinsky studied law and economics at the University of Moscow between 1886 and 1893. During 1889 and 1890 he also published several articles in *Ethnograficheskoe Obozreni* (Ethnographic review). In 1896 he changed fields and moved to Munich to study painting, which had always interested him. Five years later he founded the Phalanx exhibition society and art school where he taught drawing and painting. In 1909 he was a cofounder of the Neue Kunstlervereinigung München (New Munich artists' association). Two years later he formulated a program, with Franz Marc, for *Der Blaue Reiter* (The blue rider) exhibition group that, like their conceptualization of the *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* (The blue rider almanac), was informed by Kandinsky's early ethnographic interests.

By January of 1910 Kandinsky had completed his manuscript *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the spiritual in art) and had begun to paint his first abstract compositions. His nonrepresentational style was influenced by his study of Theosophy and by Symbolist and Jugendstil trends and emerged in reaction to the materialistic culture of Europe on the brink of the First World War.<sup>1</sup> Although Kandinsky's political stance remains unassessed, his early abstraction did have utopian goals inasmuch as he hoped it would help to heal the "crack in the inner soul of mankind" and bring about the "epoch of the great spiritual."

Kandinsky's aesthetic objectives were eagerly received by some, but at an early date they were also attacked by divergent factions of the art world. In the March 1913 issue of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* a particularly vicious critic assailed the "horrible

smear of colors—and tangle of lines—of the works, “the monumental arrogance” of the painter, and “the gall of the Sturm gang who have sponsored this exhibit and who proclaim this barbaric painting to be a revelation of a new art of the future.”<sup>2</sup> These accusations were reactivated in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition where Kandinsky’s abstract paintings were treated as a mass of incomprehensible smudges by the omission of titles and, in two cases, by being hung sideways.<sup>3</sup>

The outbreak of the First World War necessitated that Kandinsky, as an enemy alien, return to Russia, a move that he made reluctantly. “For the sixteen years [sic] that I have lived in Germany I have devoted myself to the German *Kunstleben* [artistic life]. How should I suddenly feel like a foreigner?”<sup>4</sup> Kandinsky’s Russian ancestry and participation in that country’s art scene, particularly between 1917 and 1921, when he directed the theater and film sections of the People’s Commissariat for Enlightenment and assisted Rodchenko with the purchase and distribution of artworks for the Museums of Painterly Culture, were later interpreted by the National Socialists as evidence of his Communist leanings. A painting from this period that was included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, *Zweierte Rot* (Two kinds of red), now lost, was denigrated as a carrier of Bolshevik radicalism. Goebbels’s seemingly arbitrary designation of 1910 as the terminus ante quem for works that could be confiscated from German public collections may have been partially determined by such semiabstract paintings as Kandinsky’s *Improvisation Nr. 10* (fig. 241), included in the second exhibition of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München in 1910 and later included in *Entartete Kunst*.

In reality, Kandinsky’s intuitive approach to painting, in which color and form were meant to appeal to the viewer’s inner self, garnered a cool reception from younger and more strident members of the Russian avant-garde after the revolution.<sup>5</sup> Although he developed a program of ped-

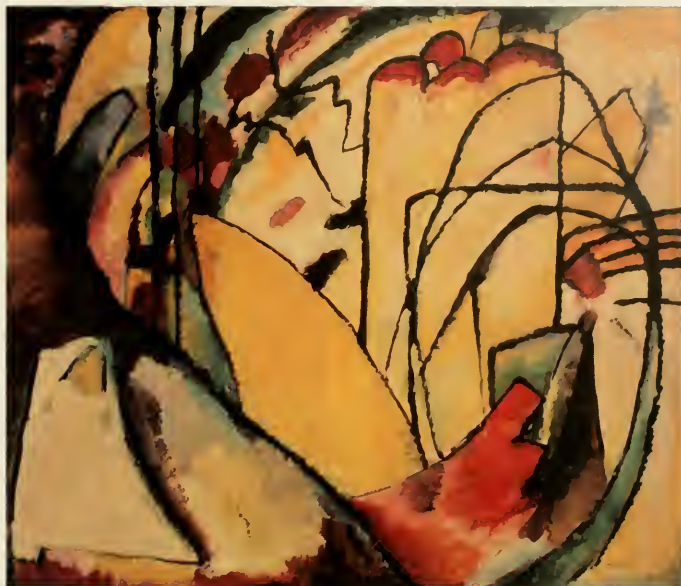


Figure 241  
Kandinsky, *Improvisation Nr. 10* (Improvisation no. 10), 1910

agogical reform for the Institute of Artistic Culture in June of 1920, Kandinsky was opposed to “any general state academic direction whatsoever.”<sup>6</sup> His presumably apolitical stance, and particularly his refusal to become a member of the Communist party, resulted, according to his wife, Nina, in his being passed over for the presidency of the Russian Academy of Artistic Sciences in October of 1921.<sup>7</sup> In March 1922 Walter Gropius invited Kandinsky to join the staff of the Bauhaus. These circumstances in tandem with the restive political atmosphere in Russia suggest that Kandinsky’s acceptance of the appointment, at fifty-six years of age, was an eager one.

In 1928 the Kandinskys became German citizens. Early in January of 1932 Kandinsky began to question the stability of his position in the uncertain political atmosphere of Germany.<sup>8</sup> By June he wrote to his American dealer, Galka Scheyer: “Things also appear to be bad for the Bauhaus: the new government (in Anhalt) is no friend of the Bauhaus, something that probably could end in a closing.”<sup>9</sup> Kandinsky was right, a decree was passed in

August of 1932 closing the Bauhaus in Dessau, effective October 1. In December Kandinsky moved to Berlin, where the Bauhaus had reopened, only to be closed for the last time on July 20, 1933. His loyalty to the school was later decried on the walls of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition—which opened almost four years to the day of the closing of the Bauhaus—with the phrase, “Kandinsky, teacher at the Communist Bauhaus in Dessau.”

Kandinsky was well aware of the National Socialists’ attitude toward him in 1933 and of the danger of remaining in Germany, as revealed in a letter he wrote to Scheyer on October 7, 1933: “The Führer recently said the ‘modern’ artists are either swindlers (money!)—in that case they belong in prison—or overly convinced fanatics (ideal!)—in that case they belong in a mental asylum. In Germany my position is especially bad, because I have three qualities, of which each one alone is bad: 1) former Russian, 2) abstractionist, 3) former Bauhaus instructor until the last day of its existence.”<sup>10</sup> Under these circumstances Kandinsky was forced to leave



Germany a second time and emigrated to Paris late in December of 1933

Many avant-garde artists, including Kandinsky, believed that Hitler's National Socialist regime would be short-lived. Soon after his emigration he wrote to his biographer Will Grohmann: "We are not leaving Germany for good—I couldn't do that, my roots are too deep in German soil."<sup>11</sup> Kandinsky's political attitude appears to have been naïve. Not only did he initially defer judgment on the National Socialists, but early in 1933 he advised Willi Baumeister to join Alfred Rosenberg's *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Combat league for German culture). Kandinsky blamed the increasing politicization of aesthetics on journalistic reportage and felt that Baumeister was the right person and the *Kampfbund* was the appropriate forum for clearing the "fog" through "more intelligent, calmer, and objective clarifications" than those offered in the press.<sup>12</sup> As late as 1935 Kandinsky asked his nephew, who was then traveling to Berlin, to approach the government and explain that "the reasons I have not been in Germany for almost two years now have nothing to do with politics but only with art."<sup>13</sup>

Despite the presence of an active émigré art colony in Paris, Kandinsky chose not to ally himself with activities of the *Freie Künstlerbund* (Free artists league), though efforts were made to draw him into the group.<sup>14</sup> His sympathy toward the Italian Futurists alienated him from many members of the Parisian avant-garde, particularly the Surrealists, whose anti-Futurist sentiments and alleged revolutionary political orientation sharply contrasted with Kandinsky's stance;<sup>15</sup> he nevertheless maintained his friendship with André Breton.

Kandinsky had to sell his work in order to support himself; his letter of October 7, 1933, to Scheyer revealed this in no uncertain terms. Fortunately he had a close relationship with the distinguished editor and gallery owner Christian Zervos, who



Figure 242  
Kandinsky *Komposition "Ruhe"* (Composition "Silence"), 1928

gave him an exhibition at his *Galerie Cahiers d'Art* in February of 1934.<sup>16</sup>

When the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in July of 1937 Kandinsky was represented by fourteen works (a total of fifty-seven were confiscated from German museums). His previous success in Germany was denounced with the defamatory slogan, "Crazy at any price," painted on the wall near a large group of his works.

Finally, late in 1937, when the Burlington Galleries' London exhibition *20th Century German Art* was under discussion, Kandinsky seems to have adopted a more critical attitude toward National Socialist cultural politics. At this point he wrote a letter to Irmgard Burchard, one of the organizers of the exhibition, stating that he "had campaigned for the 'Entartete' exhibition in many countries."<sup>17</sup> His use of the term *entartete* both refers to the original provisional title of the proposed London

exhibition—*Banned Art*—and suggests that at that time he supported its progressive platform to some extent. By mid-1938 Kandinsky had decided to side with the emergent conservative line of the organizing committee. His decision to lend five works to the exhibition was probably not meant as a defiant act against National Socialist cultural policy; he felt art issues should remain separate from political ones.<sup>18</sup> When the exhibition opened in July, no overt reference was made to the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

In 1938 Kandinsky's anti-Fascist sentiments were at last publicly expressed when he signed a petition to support Otto Freundlich and helped to purchase one of the artist's works for donation to the Jeu de

Paume. When Kandinsky's German passport expired in 1939, the artist applied for and was granted French naturalization before war was declared. This saved him from being interned in an enemy alien camp, a fate that many foreign artists then living in Paris were not able to avoid.<sup>19</sup> Despite the difficulties of life under the Nazi occupation, at seventy-six years of age Kandinsky had a one-man show, albeit a clandestine one, at the Galerie Jeanne Bucher. He died two years later, before the liberation of Paris. (P. K.)

#### Notes

I am grateful to Peg Weiss for sharing unpublished material from her forthcoming book, *Kandinsky and "Old Russia": The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman* (New Haven: Yale University Press), and for calling my attention to certain of Kandinsky's letters to Galka Scheyer, which will be published in Peg Weiss, ed., *The Blue Four: A Dialogue with America. Selected Correspondence of Lyonel Finninger, Aileen Javlenky, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee with Galka Scheyer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

1 On Jugendstil and Symbolist influences in Kandinsky's work see Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich*, on his Theosophical interests see Sixten Ringbom, *The Sounding Cosmos* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1970), on his abstraction as a reaction to materialist culture see Martin Dams, "Ideologiekritische Anmerkungen zur abstrakten Kunst und ihrer Interpretation—Beispiel Kandinsky," in Martin Warnke, ed., *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1970), and on Kandinsky's utopian aspirations and the ethnographic interests of Marc and Kandinsky see Peg Weiss, "Kandinsky in Munich: Encounters and Transformations," in *Kandinsky in Munich 1896–1914* (exh. cat., New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1982), especially 68–72.

2 Cited in Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, trans. Robert and Rita Kimber (New York: Pantheon, 1979), 49.

3 See the essay in this volume by Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, and also his "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst': Die Münchner Ausstellungen 1937," in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 107. Note that Lüttichau incorrectly attributes the watercolor *Abstieg* to Klee (see also page 148); it is by Kandinsky.

4 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Herwarth Walden, August 2, 1914, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Sturm-Archiv (Handschriftenabteilung), Nr. 171, cited by Clark Poling in *Kandinsky: Russian and Bauhaus Years, 1915–1933* (exh. cat., New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1983), 13.

- 5 John Bowlit and Rose Carol Washton Long, *The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art* (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1984), 28.
- 6 L. Zhadova, "Vkhutemas-Vkhutein," *Dekorative i iskusstvo* Moscow, no. 11, 1970, 40, cited in Bowlit and Long, *The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky*, 33.
- 7 Nina Kandinsky, *Kandinsky und ich* (Munich: Kindler, 1976), 86, cited in Poling, *Kandinsky*, 28.
- 8 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Galka Scheyer, January 15–17, 1932, by permission of Peg Weiss.
- 9 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Galka Scheyer, June 3, 1932, by permission of Peg Weiss.
- 10 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Galka Scheyer, October 7, 1933, by permission of Peg Weiss.
- 11 Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky: Life and Work* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), 221.
- 12 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Willi Baumeister, April 23, 1933, published in Gotz Adriani, ed., *Baumeister Dokumente—Texte—Gemeinde* (Tübingen: DuMont Schauberg, 1971), 105.
- 13 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Aleksandr Kojève, cited in Christian Derouet, "Kandinsky in Paris, 1934–1944," in *Kandinsky in Paris 1934–1944* (exh. cat., New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1985), 20.
- 14 Hélène Roussel, "Die emigrierten deutschen Künstler in Frankreich und der Freie Künstlerbund," *Exilforschung: Ein internationales Jahrbuch* 2 (1984): 191.
- 15 Derouet, *Kandinsky in Paris*, 50.
- 16 Kandinsky's friendship with Zervos began in the autumn of 1927, see Vivian Endicott Barnett et al., "Chronology," in *Kandinsky in Paris*, 256. Kandinsky mentioned the importance of a conversation he wanted to have with Zervos, presumably about moving to Paris, in his letter of October 7, 1933, to Galka Scheyer (see note 10).
- 17 Cordula Frowein, "The Exhibition of 20th Century German Art in London 1938: Eine Antwort auf die Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst' in München 1937," *Exilforschung: Ein internationales Jahrbuch* 2 (1984): 223.
- 18 Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Herbert Read, May 9, 1938, cited in Frowein, "The Exhibition of 20th Century German Art," 222.
- 19 Derouet, *Kandinsky in Paris*, 21.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Improvisation Nr. 10* (Improvisation no. 10)  
1910  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 140 cm (47 1/4 x 55 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 337  
Acquired by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16057  
Beyerle Collection, Basel  
Figure 241

*Zweierte Rot* (Two kinds of red)  
1916  
Oil on canvas, 79 x 99 cm (31 1/8 x 39 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 516  
Acquired in 1928 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15977  
Location unknown

*Abchluss* (Termination)  
1924  
Watercolor, 33.5 x 48.4 cm (13 1/4 x 19 in.)  
Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16078  
Private collection  
Figure 243

*Dynamische Studie* (Dynamic study)  
1924  
Watercolor?, 23 x 28 cm (9 x 11 in.)  
Acquired in 1927 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16080  
In exchange to Fohn, December 12, 1939, location unknown

*Abstieg* (Descent)  
1925  
Watercolor, 48 x 32 cm (18 7/8 x 12 1/2 in.)  
Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16077  
K. Nakayama  
Figure 246

*Die Kreuzform* (The cross form)  
1926  
Oil on canvas, 52.5 x 42 cm (20 7/8 x 16 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 797  
Acquired in 1927 by the Ruhmeshalle, Wuppertal/Barmen  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16190  
Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster  
Figure 244



Figure 243  
Kandinsky, *Abschluss* (Termination), 1924

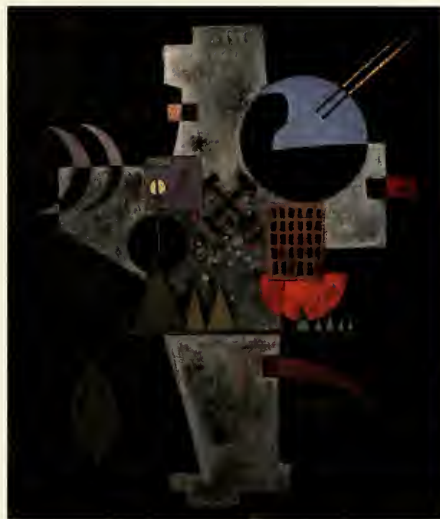


Figure 244  
Kandinsky, *Die Kreuzform* (The cross form), 1926

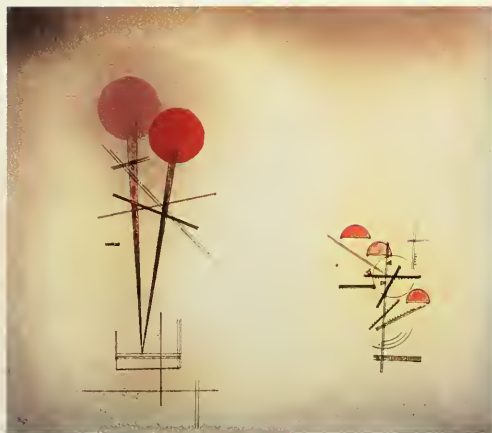


Figure 245  
Kandinsky, *Zwei Komplexe* (Two complexes), 1928



Figure 246  
Kandinsky, *Abstieg* (Descent), 1925



Figure 247  
Kandinsky, *Lyrishes* (Lyrical), 1911, from *Klänge* (Sounds), published 1913,  
14.5 x 21.6 cm (5 7/8 x 8 1/2 in.)



Figure 248  
Kandinsky, *Komposition* (Composition), 1922



Figure 249  
Kandinsky, plate 6 from *Mappe "Kleine Welten"* ("Small  
worlds" portfolio), 1922, woodcut, 27.3 x 23.3 cm  
(10 3/4 x 9 1/4 in.)



Figure 250  
Kandinsky, plate 9 from *Mappe "Kleine Welten"*, drypoint  
engraving, 23.8 x 19.7 cm (9 1/4 x 7 3/4 in.)



Figure 251  
Kandinsky, plate 3 from *Mappe "Kleine Welten"*,  
lithograph, 27.8 x 23 cm (11 x 9 in.)



*Giftgrüne Sichel* (Yellow-green crescent)

1927

Watercolor, c. 50 x 35 cm (19 1/2 x 13 1/2 in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16076

Ex-collections Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and Heinz Berggruen, location unknown

*Belastung* (Burden)

1928

Watercolor, c. 50 x 35 cm (19 1/2 x 13 1/2 in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16075

Christie's London, 1969, location unknown

*Komposition "Ruhe"* (Composition "Silence")

1928

Oil on canvas, 52 x 79 cm (20 1/2 x 31 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 860

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16073

Debra Weese-Mayer and Robert N. Mayer

Figure 242

*Zwei Komplexe* (Two complexes)

1928

Watercolor, wash, India ink, and pencil on paper,

39.2 x 45.6 cm (15 1/2 x 18 in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16079

The Hilla von Rebay Foundation

Figure 245

Unidentified watercolor, probably *Nach rechts*  
(To the right)

1929

Watercolor, 24.8 x 51 cm (9 3/4 x 20 1/2 in.)

Acquired in 1929 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16080

Private collection, New Jersey

*Klänge* (Sounds)

Volume of poems with fifty-six woodcuts

1911–12, published by Piper Verlag, Munich, 1913

Acquired by the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16484

Location unknown, this volume: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and deaccession funds, 8311021–56

Figure 247

*Komposition* (Composition)

Plate 8 from Bauhaus Portfolio IV

1922

Color lithograph, 27.4 x 24.4 cm (10 3/4 x 9 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler IV/8

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162817

Location unknown, this print: Forella Urbinati

Gallery

Figure 248

*Mappe "Kleine Welten"* ("Small worlds" portfolio)

Portfolio of twelve prints

1922

Color lithograph, color woodcut, drypoint engraving, various dimensions

Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 164–75

Acquired by the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16271

Destroyed, these prints: plates 3 and 9. Collection of the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, Los Angeles, from the Fred Grunwald Collection, plate 6. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of the Graphic Arts Council in memory of

Albert Cahn (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago only)

Figures 249–51

*Mappe "Kleine Welten"* ("Small worlds" portfolio)

Portfolio of twelve prints

1922

Color lithograph, color woodcut, drypoint engraving, various dimensions

Catalogue raisonné: Roethel 164–75

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16272

Location unknown

*Abstrakt Nr. 23796* (Abstract no. 23796)

Lithograph, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16439

Destroyed

Born 1892

Karlsruhe

Died 1940

South Africa

Painter Hanns Katz was one of the few Jewish artists whose work was included in the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich. Very little is known of his life. He studied at the Staatliche Akademie der bildenden Kunst (State academy of fine art) in Karlsruhe under Wilhelm Trübner and also briefly in Paris with Henri Matisse. He pursued studies in natural sciences and philosophy at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, and Würzburg.

During the First World War, unlike many of his German contemporaries, Katz was a conscientious objector. He supported the causes of the workers and was often criticized for his beliefs. After the war, Katz served as cabinet minister in the short-lived Communist government of Hungary.

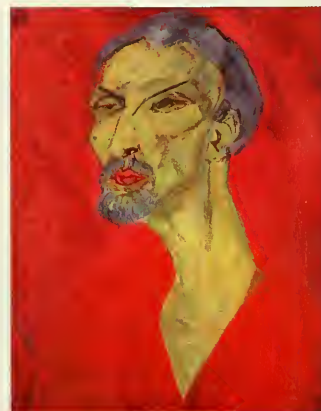


Figure 252

Katz, *Männliches Bildnis* (Male portrait), 1919/29

# Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

although he shortly thereafter became disillusioned with Communism. The murder of his friend Gustav Landauer prompted Katz to execute a striking portrait of the pacifist writer.

Katz supported himself as a house painter and decorator, although he continued to pursue his own painting career as well. His work was little known. After moving to Frankfurt in 1920 with his wife, he had a few small exhibitions. During the 1920s Katz made two trips to North Africa and taught art at Marburg University. He was a member of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* (Jewish cultural league) and worked in the *Studio für bildende Kunst* (Studio for fine art), which was established and maintained by the Kulturbund.

After the death of his first wife in 1932, Katz married again and with his new wife emigrated to South Africa in 1936. He continued to paint in oil and watercolor, inspired by the South African landscape, until his death from cancer in 1940.<sup>1</sup> (S B)

## Notes

1 Albert Werth, "Hanns Ludwig Katz," *Lantern* 38, no. 3 (1987).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Männliches Bildnis* (Male portrait)

*Herrnbildnis auf Rot* (Portrait of a gentleman in red)

Exhibited as *Bildnis* (Portrait)

1919/29

Oil on canvas, 65 x 49.5 cm (25 1/4 x 19 1/2 in.)

Donated in 1921 to the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

Room 2, NS inventory no. 15948

Kunsthalle in Emden, Stiftung Henri Nannen, 1987

Figure 252



Born 1880  
Aschaffenburg

Died 1938  
Frauenkirch,  
Switzerland

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's suicide in 1938 was one of the most haunting repercussions of the destructive forces unleashed by the Nazis against modern art and artists. Recognized as one of the founders of German Expressionism and one of the most gifted members of *Die Brücke* (The bridge), he was a prominent target for the enemies of modernism. He was dismissed from the *Preussischer Akademie der Künste* (Prussian academy of art) in Berlin, 639 of his works were confiscated in the campaigns of 1937–38, and 32 were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Kirchner entered the *Technische Hochschule* (Technical college) in Dresden in 1901 to study architecture. In 1903–4 he studied painting in Munich, attending art classes at the school of Wilhelm von Debschitz and Hermann Obrist. His visits to the museums and exhibitions in Munich and a short stay in Nuremberg, where he saw Albrecht Dürer's original woodblocks, made him decide to become a painter. After his return to Dresden he formed *Die Brücke* on June 7, 1905, with his new friends Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Theirs was a polemical program, calling on all youth to fight for greater artistic freedom against the older, well-established powers.

In November 1905 *Die Brücke* exhibited their work—watercolors, drawings, and woodcuts—for the first time as a group at the *Galerie P. H. Beyer & Sohn* in Leipzig. They worked together in rented storefront studios and sought other artistic companions as well as supporters, called "passive members." Emil Nolde joined the group for a short time, among the other



Figure 253

Kirchner, *Stillleben* (Still life), 1913 (1907)

artists who joined were Cuno Amiet, Axel Gallén-Kallela, Otto Mueller, and Max Pechstein.

The idealism and enthusiasm of Kirchner and the other young *Brücke* artists can be measured by their extraordinary production. The rapid development of their personal styles was partly a result of their frenetic activity, including life drawing and painting at the Moritzburg lakes near Dresden, at the island of Fehmarn, and in their studios, as well as the production of woodcuts, lithographs, and an incredible number of drawings. In his search for an increasingly simplified form of expression, Kirchner was strongly influenced, as were his colleagues, by the art of the Oceanic and African peoples. When the group relocated to Berlin in 1910–11, Kirchner's response to the confrontation with the metropolis resulted in the bold works that epitomize the hectic life in Berlin.



Figure 254  
Kirchner, *Fünf Frauen auf der Straße* (Five women on the street), 1913

Die Brücke continued to exhibit as a group in the major German cities (Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, and Leipzig) and in traveling exhibitions to smaller communities. The group's fifth annual graphics portfolio (1910) was devoted to Kirchner's work. In 1912 Die Brücke was invited to participate in the Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne, where Heckel, Kirchner, and Schmidt-Rottluff were also commissioned to create a chapel. In that year they also exhibited in Moscow and Prague, at the second Blaue Reiter (Blue rider) show in Munich, and in Berlin at the Galerie Gurlitt. Kirchner was regarded as the leader of the group, but

when in 1913 it was suggested that he compose a history of Die Brücke, the others took offense at his egocentric account, and the group broke up.

At the outbreak of the First World War Kirchner volunteered for the army, but he could not stand the discipline and constant subordination. He suffered a nervous breakdown and was temporarily furloughed and moved to a sanatorium, where he was able to complete several important paintings and the color woodcuts to illustrate Chamisso's story of Peter Schlemihl (1916). A growing dependency on Veronal (sleeping pills), morphine, and alcohol did not hinder him from painting frescoes for the Königstein Sanatorium and a number of other works



Figure 255  
Kirchner, *Straßenszene* (Street scene), 1913/14

In 1917 Kirchner moved to Switzerland, where he was supported by the collector Dr. Carl Hagemann, the architect Henri van de Velde, and the family of his physician, Dr. Spengler. He slowly recovered, while continuing to work on paintings and woodcuts. His works were exhibited in Switzerland and Germany. In 1921 he had fifty works on view at the Kronprinzenpalais (Nationalgalerie) in Berlin, which were praised by critics and established his reputation as the leading Expressionist. In 1925–26 he made his first long trip back to Germany. He stayed for a while in Dresden with his biographer, Will Grohmann, and visited the dancer Mary Wigman. His intense work on paintings,

woodcuts, and sculpture expanded to include designs for the weaver Lise Guyer and, more importantly for the decoration of the great hall of the Museum Folkwang in Essen, work never to be completed, since the Nazis seized the museum in 1933

From 1936 onward Kirchner was increasingly disturbed by news of the Nazis' attack on modern art, occupation of Austria, and ban on the exhibition of his work in Germany. The stress of these circumstances and the onset of illness led him to destroy all of his woodblocks and some of his sculpture and to burn many of his other works. On June 15, 1938, he took his own life.<sup>1</sup> (P. C.)

#### Notes

- 1 Donald E. Gordon, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, mit einem kritischen Katalog sämtlicher Gemälde* (Munich: Prestel, 1968), Roman Norbert Ketterer, ed., *E. L. Kirchner Zeichnungen und Pastelle* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1979), with bibliography by Hans Bolliger, Lucius Grisebach et al., *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, 1880–1938* (exh. cat., Berlin Nationalgalerie, 1979), Eberhard W. Kornfeld, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Nachzeichnung seines Lebens* (Bern: Kornfeld, 1979), Annemarie und Wölff-Dieter Dube, *E. L. Kirchner. Das graphische Werk*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Munich: Prestel, 1980), Karl Heinz Gabler, *E. L. Kirchner. Zeichnungen, Pastelle, Aquarelle*, 2 vols. (exh. cat., Aschaffenburg: Museum der Stadt, 1980)

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

##### *Badende (Bather)*

1905/10

Wood, height 100 cm (39 1/8 in.)

Acquired in 1930 by the Museum für Kunst und

Gewerbe, Hamburg

Room 3, NS inventory no. 16246

Location unknown

##### *Russische Tänzerin (Russian dancer)*

1909/26

Oil on canvas, 92 x 79 cm (36 1/8 x 31 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 75

Acquired in 1929 by the Schlesisches Museum der

bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16043

Private collection, on permanent loan to the

Kunststätte Bielefeld, 1959

Figure 256

■



Figure 256  
Kirchner, *Russische Tänzerin* (Russian dancer), 1909/26



*Das Boskett* (The bosquet)

*Platz in Dresden* (Square in Dresden)

1911

Oil on canvas, 120 x 150 cm (47 1/4 x 59 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 198

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16137, Fischer lot 62

Collection Zschokke, Basel

*Auf der Strasse* (On the street)

Exhibited as *Strassencke* (Street corner)

1912

Pen, brush and ink, 54 x 38.4 cm (21 1/4 x 15 1/8 in.)

Acquired in 1925 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16316

Location unknown

*Fünf Frauen auf der Strasse* (Five women on the street)

1913

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm (47 1/4 x 35 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 362

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16041

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Figure 254

*Gelbe Tänzerin* (Yellow dancer)

*Frau mit gehobnem Rock* (Woman with lifted skirt)

1913

Oil on canvas, c. 150 x 70 cm (59 x 27 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 304

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15985

Location unknown

*Sich kämmender Akt* (Nude combing her hair)

1913

Oil on canvas, 125 x 90 cm (49 1/4 x 35 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 361

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15993

Brücke-Museum, Berlin

Figure 257

*Stilleben* (Still life)

*Fruchte mit Gläsern* (Fruit and glasses)

1913 (1907)

Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 74.5 cm (39 5/8 x 29 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 269

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16116

Marlborough International Fine Art

Figure 253



Figure 257

Kirchner, *Sich kämmender Akt* (Nude combing her hair), 1913



Figure 258  
Klee, *Im Cafégarten* (In the café garden), 1914

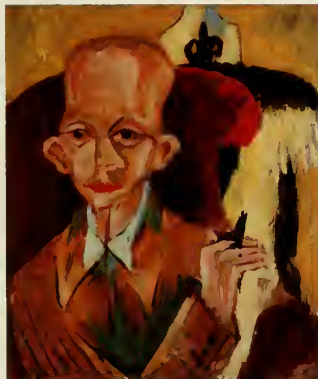


Figure 259  
Klee, *Bildnis Oskar Schlemmer* (Portrait of Oskar Schlemmer), 1914



Figure 260  
Klee, *Kartenspieler Knabe* (Boy playing cards), 1914/15

#### *Strassenszene* (Street scene)

1913/14

Oil on canvas, 120.5 x 91 cm (47 1/4 x 35 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 364

Acquired in 1920 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16042

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, purchase  
Figure 255

#### *Abschied* (Parting)

*Bohlo und Hugo* (Bohlo and Hugo)

1914

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm (47 1/4 x 35 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 426

Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15998

Location unknown

#### *Bildnis Oskar Schlemmer* (Portrait of Oskar Schlemmer)

1914

Oil on canvas, 69 x 58 cm (27 1/8 x 22 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 416

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16025

Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt

Figure 259

■

#### *Graf und Freund* (Graf and friend)

Exhibited as *Vater und Sohn* (Father and son)

1914

Oil on canvas, 125 x 90 cm (49 1/8 x 35 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 423

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16039

Private collection

#### *Im Cafégarten* (In the café garden)

*Damen im Café* (Ladies at the café)

1914

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 76 cm (27 3/8 x 29 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 374

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15992, Fischer lot 61

Brücke-Museum, Berlin

Figure 258

■

#### *Kartenspieler Knabe* (Boy playing cards)

*Der Sohn Hardt* (Hardt's son)

1914/15

Oil on canvas, 69.3 x 62.3 cm (27 1/8 x 24 5/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gerdion 418

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16028

Bayerische Staatsgemaltesammlungen, Munich,  
Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich

Figure 260

■



Figure 261  
Kirchner, *Die roten Tänzerinnen* (The red dancers), 1914



Figure 262  
Kirchner, *Tanzpaar* (Dancing couple), 1914

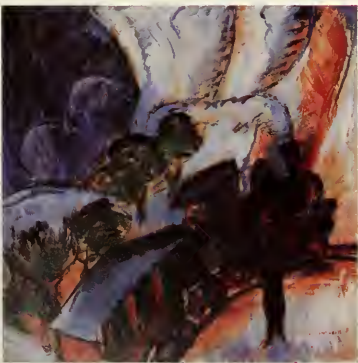


Figure 263  
Kirchner, *Bahnhof in Königsberg* (Railroad station in Königsberg), 1917





Figure 264  
Gauguin, *Selbstbildnis als Soldat* (Self-portrait as soldier), 1915

*Die roten Tänzerinnen* (The red dancers)  
1914  
Oil on canvas, 96 x 95 cm (37 1/2 x 37 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 391  
Acquired in 1928 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16230  
Private collection  
Figure 261

*Tanzpaar* (Dancing couple)  
1914  
Oil on canvas, 91 x 65 cm (35 1/2 x 25 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 389  
Acquired in 1925 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15997  
Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Figure 262

*Nackter Mann* (Male nude)  
1915  
Watercolor, 150 x 91 cm (59 x 38 1/2 in.)  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16419  
Location unknown

*Schmied von Hagen* (Blacksmith of Hagen)  
1915/16  
Wood, height 32 cm (12 1/2 in.)  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Ground-floor lobby, NS inventory no. 15053  
Location unknown

*Selbstbildnis als Soldat* (Self-portrait as soldier)  
Exhibited as *Soldat mit Dirne* (Soldier with whore)  
1915  
Oil on canvas, 692 x 61 cm (27 1/4 x 24 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 435  
Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15999  
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College,  
Oberlin, Ohio, Charles F. Olney Fund, 1950  
Figure 264

*Bahnhof in Königstein* (Railroad station in Königstein)  
1917  
Oil on canvas, 94 x 94 cm (37 x 37 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 476  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16094  
Deutsche Bank AG  
Figure 263



*Frau des Künstlers* (The artist's wife)

Exhibited as *Die Gattin des Künstlers* (The artist's wife)

1917

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 60.5 cm (27 7/8 x 23 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 500

Acquired in 1919 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16016

Private collection, Switzerland

Figure 266

*Blick ins Tobel* (View into the ravine)

1919/20

Oil on canvas, 121 x 90 cm (47 1/4 x 35 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 595

Acquired in 1937 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16104

Kunsthalle Bielefeld

Figure 267

*Winterliche Mondlandschaft*

(Winter landscape in moonlight)

Exhibited as *Gebirgslandschaft* (Mountain landscape)

1919

Oil on canvas, 120 x 121 cm (47 1/4 x 47 3/4 in.)

Acquired in 1923 by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum,

Magdeburg

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16114

The Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Curt Valentin in

memory of the artist on the occasion of Dr William R

Valentin's sixtieth birthday, 1940

Figure 265

*Bauernmahlzeit* (Farmers' meal)

1920

Oil on canvas, 133 x 166 cm (52 1/4 x 65 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 644

Acquired in 1924 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle

Room 3, NS inventory no. 16006

Private collection, Germany

Figure 268

*Krank in der Nacht* (Sick man at night)

*Der Kranke* (The sick man)

1920 (1922)

Oil on canvas, 90.5 x 100 cm (35 3/4 x 39 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 683

Acquired in 1930 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16024

Sprengel Museum Hannover

Figure 269



Figure 265

Kirchner, *Winterliche Mondlandschaft* (Winter landscape in moonlight), 1919

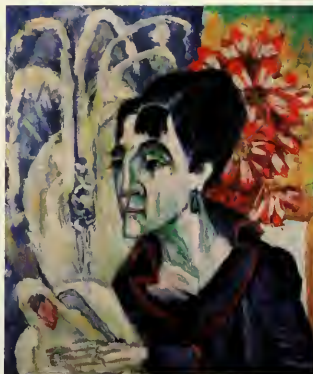


Figure 266

Kirchner, *Frau des Künstlers* (The artist's wife), 1917



Figure 267

Kirchner, *Blick ins Tobel* (View into the ravine), 1919/20



Figure 268  
Kirchner, *Bauernmahlzeit* (Farmers' meal), 1920



Figure 269  
Kirchner, *Kranker in der Nacht* (Sick man at night), 1920 (1922)



Figure 270  
Kirchner, *Das Wohnzimmer* (The living room), 1923

*Das Paar* (The couple)  
1923/24  
Wood, height 170 cm (66 7/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Museum für Kunst und  
Gewerbe, Hamburg  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16236?  
Location unknown

*Das Wohnzimmer* (The living room)  
1923  
Oil on canvas, 90 x 150 cm (35 3/8 x 59 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 731  
Acquired in 1924 by the Museum für Kunst und  
Kultugeschichte, Lübeck  
Room C1, NS inventory no. 16192  
Hamburger Kunststhal, 1957  
Figure 270

*Die Meister der Brücke* (The masters of Die Brücke)  
1926/27  
Oil on canvas, 168 x 126 cm (66 1/8 x 49 3/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 855  
Acquired in 1928 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16040  
Museum Ludwig, Cologne  
Figure 116

*Straßenszene* (Street scene)  
1926  
Oil on canvas, 119 x 100 cm (46 7/8 x 39 3/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gordon 848  
Acquired in 1926 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16013  
Private collection, Switzerland

*Berglandschaft* (Mountain landscape)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room C1, NS inventory no. 16168  
Location unknown

*Sitzende Frau* (Seated woman)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16420  
Location unknown

Unidentified print exhibited as  
*Des Künstlers jüngste Tochter beim Tanz*  
(The artist's youngest daughter dancing)  
Medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16300  
Location unknown



# Paul Klee



Born 1879  
Münchenbuchsee,  
Switzerland  
  
Died 1940  
Muralto, Switzerland

Adolf Ziegler and his arts committee chose seventeen works by Paul Klee for inclusion in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in 1937. The chronological brackets encompassing the works displayed in the exhibition begin with the first year of Klee's commercial success, 1919, and continue through the 1920s, the period during which he received his greatest acclaim, as a Bauhaus master. Yet Klee's carefully concealed personal stance vis-à-vis political events in Germany, both before and after 1933, makes it difficult to assess his reaction to National Socialist cultural politics.

During the first years of his career Klee learned that the alliance between the practice of politics and the production of modernist art was at best an uneasy one, which had personal and economic ramifications.<sup>1</sup> His decision to develop a nonreferential abstract style in 1915 and his life-long cultivation of an image as an artist withdrawn from worldly affairs—first pictorially formulated in 1919 with *Versunkenheit* (Absorption)—grew out of his response to the First World War and the November Revolution in Germany. Ironically, Klee's abstraction and his posture of removal were later cited by the National Socialists as evidence of his mental derangement.

In Munich Klee had affiliated himself since 1911 with the prestigious *Blaue Reiter* (Blue rider) group, though his sales did not pick up until the May 1919 exhibition of the *Neue Münchner Sezession* (New Munich secession).<sup>2</sup> Klee had been dismissed from the Bavarian flying school at Gersthofen

three months earlier and was interested when the student Oskar Schlemmer sent him a letter in June about the prospect of a teaching position at the Stuttgart Akademie der bildenden Künste (Academy of fine arts). Despite an active campaign by Schlemmer and his fellow students at the Akademie, Klee's appointment never materialized, partially for reasons that have an uncanny resemblance to charges the National Socialists leveled against him four-teen years later: the childlike appearance of his work.<sup>3</sup>

Nineteen hundred and twenty marked the first high point of Klee's artistic career: a large exhibition was mounted at the Hans Goltz Galerie Neue Kunst in Munich, two monographs were published, and on

November 25 he was invited to join the teaching staff of the newly created Bauhaus. Three of the seventeen works included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition—*Wohn?*

(Where to?, fig. 271), *Rhythmus der Fenster* (Rhythm of the windows), and *Der Angler* (The angler, fig. 272)—date from this year.

Partially because the Bauhaus was never far removed from political controversy, Klee was eager by 1930 to leave his post. His decision to join the faculty at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie (Academy of art) in October 1931 may also have been motivated by a desire to affiliate himself with a traditional institution, one that offered a more secure economic future.<sup>4</sup>

In 1933, two months after the National Socialists rose to power, Klee's house in



Figure 271  
Klee, *Wohn?* (Where to?), 1920





Figure 272  
Klee, *Der Angler* (The angler), 1921

Dusseldorf was searched by party members and his letters to his wife, Lily, were temporarily confiscated. One month later Klee, who had been publicly accused of being a Galician Jew, was instructed to produce papers documenting his Aryan heritage. On May 1 he received notice that as a "degenerate" artist he was suspended from his position at the Akademie, effective immediately, on September 22 the "suspension" was converted into a formal termination, and on December 23 Klee and his wife emigrated to his childhood home in Bern.

In Switzerland Klee was free from censorship but not from the charge that he was a "degenerate" artist, an accusation to which the conservative art establishment reacted adversely.<sup>5</sup> By the end of 1933 Klee's market had all but dried up in Germany. This led him to contact the dealer Daniel

Henry Kahnweiler in Paris, with whom he signed a contract. During the next years, despite careful strategies, his economic situation became quite desperate. In June of 1936 Lily Klee wrote to Galka Scheyer: "This year in France, as well as in Switzerland, the crisis has had an impact as never before. It is also the result of the terribly uncertain political situation in Europe. Nobody wants to spend. Artists are the first to suffer."<sup>6</sup> To compound matters, Klee's health began to deteriorate in November 1935, and by 1936 his illness had become worse. The condition was later diagnosed as scleroderma, an incurable disease affecting the skin and internal organs.

A little more than a year later the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in Munich. *Swamp legend* (fig. 273) hung prominently with contemporary works by the Dada artists George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and Kurt Schwitters. Klee's affiliation with the anarchist Dada group, which had begun in 1917 and continued through 1919, was not one of clear political endorsement. In another section of the exhibition Klee's autobiographical statement, "I cannot be grasped in the here and now, for I live just as well with the dead as with the unborn," was reproduced on a wall between two of his watercolors. This quotation, part of a longer text drafted by Klee for Leopold Zahn's 1920 monograph, furthered Klee's self-styled image as an artist unconcerned with political fluctuations. In *Entartete Kunst*, however, the lines were used to suggest Klee's psychological instability. Klee's work was ridiculed as "confusion" and "disorder" on the basis of its "primitive" appearance. The lithograph *Die Heilige vom innern Licht* (The saint of the inner light, fig. 275), created for a Bauhaus portfolio in 1921, was compared in the exhibition guide (p. 383) to a work by a mental patient, which was proclaimed less distorted and more comprehensible than Klee's.

The National Socialists' equation of Klee's art with work produced by schizo-

phrenics and non-European cultures was not without reference. Klee was intrigued by the current debate over the primordial origins of art and had raised the issue in a review of 1911.<sup>7</sup> Eleven years later Hans Prinzhorn argued for similar connections in his *Bilderei der Geisteskranken* (Image-making by the mentally ill). Klee acquired the book soon after its publication and enthusiastically characterized it to Lothar Schreyer as "outstanding."<sup>8</sup> Prinzhorn's book was a clinical analysis of children's creative activity, ethnic artifacts, and schizophrenic patients' work and the bases on which they could be compared to modernist artworks. Fifteen years later the National Socialists distorted Prinzhorn's analogies to suggest the incompetence of Klee and his colleagues. In erasing the distinction between the concept *Bilderei* (image-making) and the word *Kunst* (art),<sup>9</sup> the National Socialists reduced avant-garde creative activity to demented tinkering.

Dr. Adolf Dresler's *Deutsche Kunst und entartete Kunst*, published a year after the opening of *Entartete Kunst*, further promoted this line of thought. The enclosure of the word *Kunst* in quotation marks called into question the very identification of "degenerate" art as art. Klee's abstract style was unfavorably compared to conventional representational images produced by officially sanctioned artists. One work was ridiculed with the statement, "Our image shows a typical example of this idiotic art, a fisherman by Paul Klee"; another was derided as "Not the collage of a very untalented child, but—Paul Klee: *Trees*."<sup>10</sup>

Throughout his career Klee developed and refined a childlike style, seen, for example, in *Die Zwitschermaschine* (The twittering machine, fig. 117), *Rechnender Greis* (Old man adding, fig. 276), and *Hoffmanneske Szene* (Hoffmannesque scene, fig. 277). In 1919, when Klee's opponents had criticized his style for lacking "the strong will for structure and for pictorial construction," they refrained from political accusations, despite a contemporaneous attempt to link Klee's modernist art with the initiative for



Figure 273  
Klee, *Sumpflgende* (Swamp legend), 1919



Figure 274  
Klee, *Das Vokaltuch der Kammerangerin Rosa Silber* (The vocal fabric of the chamber singer Rosa Silber), 1922



Figure 275  
Klee, *Die Heilige vom innern Licht* (The saint of the inner light), 1921

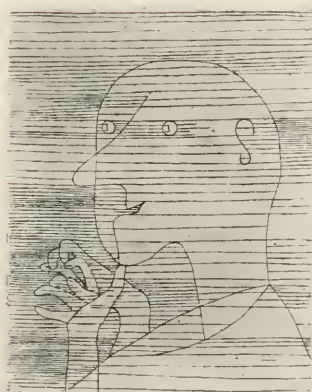


Figure 276  
Klee, *Rechnender Greis* (Old man adding), 1929

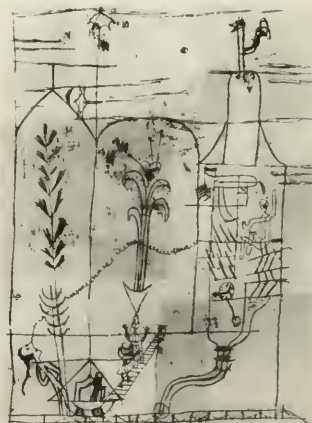


Figure 277  
Klee, *Hoffmanneske Szene* (Hoffmannesque scene), 1921

a "revolutionary" pedagogic program advocated by some of Klee's supporters at the Stuttgart Akademie.<sup>11</sup> By 1934 the controversy surrounding childlike art had become a highly charged political issue. Following the closing of *Entartete Kunst* in Munich an audience developed in the United States for the works of the banned artists, due partly to the public's desire to counteract any aspect of Fascist politics Klee had contacts in both California and New York, and between November 1937 and March 1940 he had ten museum and gallery exhibitions in Cambridge, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. Klee's sales picked up as he began to build his reputation in America. In the meantime, the National Socialists had rounded up 102 works by Klee, a number that testified to the degree of his commercial success in Germany.

Despite Klee's patent avoidance of politically engaged art, between February and October 1933 he created a cycle of more than two hundred drawings in which he claimed to have chronicled the National Socialist revolution.<sup>12</sup> These drawings and several circumstances of the last two years of his life may represent enterprises fueled by Klee's carefully concealed anti-Fascist sentiment. On April 20, 1938, the Freie Künstlerbund (Free artists league) was formed in Paris, and Paul Klee was one of many artists contacted. That year the group participated in the organization of *20th Century German Art* at the Burlington Galleries in London. Klee was represented by fifteen works in this exhibition, originally intended as a direct response to *Entartete Kunst*.<sup>13</sup> Several months later, between November 4 and 18, the Freie Künstlerbund mounted their own first large collective exhibition, *Freie Deutsche Kunst* (Free German art), in the Maison de la

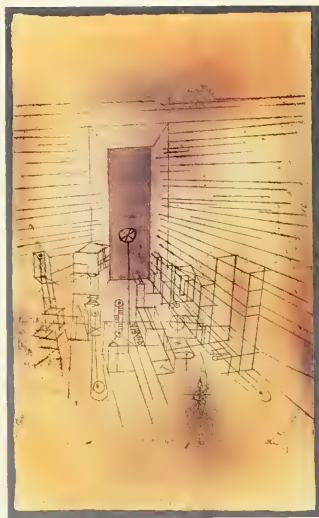


Figure 278  
Klee, *Grotzenzimmer mit der hohen Türe (Neue Fassung)* (Grotzen chamber with the tall door [new version]), 1925

Culture in Paris. Two paintings by Klee appeared in this show, which united extremely diverse aesthetic styles in an unmistakably anti-Fascist front.<sup>14</sup>

During the last years of his life Klee applied several times for Swiss citizenship, which was constantly delayed because of his "degenerate" status.<sup>15</sup> His continued application suggests his desire to sever all connections to Fascist Germany. Klee died a week before the case was scheduled for final review.

Klee's response to political pressures that affected his personal life and professional career is difficult to assess, given the image of aloofness he perpetuated. His composure extended even to his deteriorating physical condition. In 1939, the last full year of his life, Klee produced more works than ever before. This suggests that, however naively, Klee postulated creative artistic virility as a philosophical victory over both his own diseased physique and a distanced, degenerate political body he knew that neither would endure as long as his work and his reputation as an artist (P. K.)

#### Notes

- 1 O. K. Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career, 1914-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 186-87.
- 2 Ibid., 187; Wolfgang Kersten, "Paul Klee's Beziehung zum blauen Reiter," in *Der Blaue Reiter* (exh. cat., Bern: Kunstmuseum Bern, 1986), 261-73.
- 3 Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career*, 215.
- 4 O. K. Werckmeister, "From Revolution to Exile," in Paul Klee, ed. Carolyn Lancher (exh. cat., New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1987), 47.
- 5 O. K. Werckmeister, *Paul Klee in Exile, 1933-1940* (Tokyo: Fuji Television Gallery, 1985), 41.
- 6 Lily Klee, letter to Galka Scheyer, June 28, 1936; Galka Scheyer Correspondence, K1936-6, cited in Werckmeister, *Paul Klee in Exile*, 31.
- 7 Paul Klee in *Die Alpen* 6 (1912): 302, reprinted in Paul Klee, *Schriften, Rezensionen und Aufsätze*, ed. Christian Geelhaar (Cologne: Dumont, 1976), 97-98.
- 8 Lothar Schreyer, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus* (Munich: List, 1966), 91.
- 9 Sander Gilman, "The Mad Man as Artist: Medicine, History, and Degenerate Art," *Journal of Contemporary History* 20 (1985): 594. Gilman translates *Bildner* as "artistry."
- 10 Adolf Dresler, *Deutsche Kunst und entartete Kunst* (Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1938), 62, 66.
- 11 Heinrich Altherr, letter to Oskar Schlemmer, November 8, 1919, Oskar-Schlemmer-Archiv, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, cited in Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career*, 218. On the "revolutionary" art program at the Akademie, see *ibid.*, 214.
- 12 Alexander Zschokke, "Begegnung mit Paul Klee," *Da*, October 1948, 74-76; Jürgen Glaesemer, *Paul Klee: Handzeichnungen II, 1921-1936*, (exh. cat., Bern: Kunstmuseum, 1984), 337, claims that there are 150 drawings; Werckmeister, *Paul Klee in Exile*, 109, states there are about 200.
- 13 Cordula Frowein, "The Exhibition of 20th Century German Art in London 1938: Eine Antwort auf die Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst' in München 1937," *Exilforschung: Ein internationales Jahrbuch* 2 (1984): 216.
- 14 Inka Graeve, "Freie Deutsche Kunst, Paris 1938," in *Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstsammlungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (exh. cat., Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 344. Concerning the anti-Fascist orientation of the exhibition see Helene Roussel, "Die emigrierten deutschen Künstler in Frankreich und der Freie Künstlerbund," *Exilforschung: Ein internationales Jahrbuch* 2 (1984): 194.
- 15 Werckmeister, *Paul Klee in Exile*, 40-41.



## Work in 'Entartete Kunst'

### *Sumpflösende* (Swamp legend)

1914

Oil on canvas, 47 x 41 cm (18½ x 16¼ in.)

Mrs. Lissitzky Kuppers, on loan to the Landesmuseum, Hannover

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15975

Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich

Figure 273

### *Rhythmus der Fenster* (Rhythm of the windows)

1920

Oil on canvas, 52.5 x 42 cm (20½ x 16½ in.)

Acquired in 1924 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16212

Ex-collection Goulandris

### *Wohin?* (Where to?)

*Junges Garten* (Young garden)

1920

Oil on paper, 22.8 x 29.2 cm (9 x 11½ in.)

Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16215

Museo Civico, Locarno

Figure 271

### *Der Angler* (The angler)

1921

Watercolor, transfer drawing, and pen and ink on

paper mounted on cardboard, 47.6 x 31.2 cm

(18¾ x 12¼ in.)

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16308

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, John S.

Newberry Collection

Figure 272

### *Mond über die Stadt* (Moon over the city)

1922

Painting, medium unknown, 39.5 x 52.2 cm

(15½ x 20½ in.)

Acquired in 1923 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16213

On commission to Buchholz, sold 1939,

location unknown

### *Das Vokaltuch der Kammersängerin Rosa Silber*

(The vocal fabric of the chamber singer Rosa Silber)

1922

Watercolor and plaster on muslin mounted on

cardboard, 51.5 x 41.7 cm (20¼ x 16¼ in.)

Acquired in 1923 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16231

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, gift of

Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Resor

Figure 274



Figure 279

Klee, *Der goldene Fisch* (The golden fish), 1925/26



Figure 280

Klee, *Um den Fisch* (Around the fish), 1926



*Die Zwitschermaschine* (The twittering machine)  
1922

Watercolor and pen and ink on oil transfer drawing  
on paper mounted on cardboard, 641 x 483 cm  
(251/8 x 191/8 in.)

Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, purchase  
Figure 117

*Geisterzimmer mit der hohen Türe* (New Fassung)  
(Ghost chamber with the tall door [new version])  
1925

Sprayed and brushed watercolor and transferred  
printing ink on paper bordered with gouache and ink,  
487 x 294 cm (191/8 x 111/8 in.)

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room G2, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
The Berggruen Klee Collection, 1987  
Figure 278

■

*Der goldene Fisch* (The golden fish)  
1925/26

Oil on canvas, 47 x 68 cm (181/2 x 261/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1926 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16138  
Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Figure 279

*Wintergarten* (Winter garden)  
1925

Watercolor, 37 x 30 cm (141/8 x 111/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1928 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16214  
Fohn Collection, 1939, destroyed

*Um den Fisch* (Around the fish)  
1926

Oil on canvas, 46.7 x 63.8 cm (181/8 x 251/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1926 by the Stadtmuseum und  
Gemeingalerie, Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15982  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,  
Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund  
Figure 280

*Der Geist des Don X* (The spirit of Don X)  
Exhibited as a work by Wassily Kandinsky  
1927

Watercolor, c. 50 x 35 cm (191/8 x 131/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16074  
Location unknown

*Die Heilige vom innern Licht* (The saint of the inner light)  
Plate 5 from Bauhaus Portfolio I  
1921

Color lithograph, 311 x 175 cm (121/8 x 67/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Winkler I/5  
Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16283?  
Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati  
Gallery (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of  
Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben  
Memorial Fund, and Harold Joachim  
Purchase Fund (Chicago only)  
Figure 275

■

*Hoffmanneke Szene* (Hoffmannesque scene)  
Plate 6 from Bauhaus Portfolio I  
1921

Color lithograph, 317 x 23 cm (121/2 x 9 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Winkler I/6  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau?  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16424  
Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County  
Museum of Art, museum purchase (Los Angeles only),  
The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry  
C. Woods, Steuben Memorial Fund, Emil Etel Fund,  
and Harold Joachim Purchase Fund (Chicago only)  
Figure 277

■

*Rechnender Greis* (Old man adding)  
1929

Etching, 297 x 237 cm (111/8 x 91/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Kornfeld 104/12  
Original collection unknown  
Room G2, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown, this print: The Art Institute of  
Chicago, Buckingham Fund, A. Kunstadter Family  
Foundation Fund, and Frances S. Schaffner Principal  
Fund  
Figure 276

■



Born 1876  
Hamburg  
Died 1954  
Pansdorf

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Der Neue Vogel* (The new bird)  
Phoenix (Phoenix)  
1919

Lithograph, dimensions unknown  
Room 1, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

*Kopf* (Head)  
Woodcut, dimensions unknown  
Illustration from Theodor Daubler, *Cesar Klein*, Junge  
Kunst 5, Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1919  
Room 1, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown



Born 1883  
Bublitz, Pomerania  
Died 1949  
Beisheim

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Duett im Nord-Café* (Duet at the North Café)  
1925  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm (47½ x 35½ in.)  
Acquired by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15988  
Location unknown

*Kleine Zirkusreiterin* (Small circus rider)  
1927  
Oil on canvas, 138 x 76 cm (54½ x 29¾ in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15991  
Location unknown

*Stilleben* (Still life)  
1928  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1929 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16187  
Location unknown



Born 1886  
Pöchlarn, Austria  
Died 1980  
Villeneuve, Switzerland

The National Socialists confiscated 417 works by Oskar Kokoschka from German public institutions, and 9 paintings, a portfolio of 6 drawings, a watercolor, and a poster were exhibited at the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition of 1937. The Nazis' hatred for this Austrian painter, graphic artist, writer, playwright, and humanist was no doubt fueled by his concept of himself as "the scourge of the Philistines."<sup>1</sup>

After studies at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) from 1905 to 1909, Kokoschka worked freelance for the Wiener Werkstätten creating postcards, fans, and other decorative objects and for the Cabaret Fledermaus, giving the dominant art-nouveau style of Vienna a special form. He began a series of clairvoyant portraits, such as *Alter Herr* (Old man, fig. 281) of 1907, which was shown in *Entartete Kunst*, and in 1908 his illustrated love poem, *Die traumenden Knaben* (The dreaming boys), dedicated to Gustav Klimt, was published. Influenced by a meeting with the architect Adolf Loos, Kokoschka broke with the decorative patterns he had used in his art and discontinued his participation in the Cabaret Fledermaus, which had staged his plays *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murder, hope of women) and *Sphinx und Strohhalm* (Sphinx and strawman) during the international art exhibition held in Vienna in 1909.

After a stay in Switzerland, Kokoschka began his collaboration with Herwarth Walden's journal *Der Sturm* (The storm), in which were published a number of his portrait drawings and an illustrated version of *Mörder*. In 1910 the Galerie Paul Cassirer in Berlin offered him a contract and his

first one-man exhibition. The following year Kokoschka returned to Vienna and accepted a teaching assistantship at the Kunstgewerbeschule, but when an exhibition of his work in the Hagenbund was severely criticized, he resigned his post and traveled to Italy with Alma Mahler, the widow of the composer. Meanwhile his work was exhibited at the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin and in the Sonderbund in Cologne, and the first monograph on his work was published in Leipzig in 1913, written by Kurt Wolff, with a foreword by Paul Stefan. In 1914 the artist painted a memorial to his severed relationship with Mahler in *Die Windsbraut* (The tempest, literally, "The bride of the wind", fig. 37), later confiscated from the Hamburger Kunsthalle and prominently exhibited in *Entartete Kunst*.

Kokoschka volunteered for army duty when war broke out, he was severely wounded. While he was recovering at the Sanatorium Weisser Hirsch in Dresden, his portfolios *Bachkantate* (Bach cantata, figs. 32–36) and *Der gefesselte Kolumbus* (The fettered Columbus), the latter illustrating another of his plays, were published by Gurlitt in Berlin, and the Galerie Der Sturm showed a large collection of his works. He established a close friendship with the physician Fritz Neuberger and the actress Käthe Richter, both whom he portrayed in the *Die Auswanderer* (The emigrants, fig. 284). Another painting, *Die Freunde* (The friends, fig. 285), depicted Neuberger and Richter with the playwright Walter Hasenclever and the poet Ivar van Lücken.

After the war Kokoschka continued to receive recognition as a multifaceted talent. In 1919, when the artist was appointed professor at the Dresden Akademie, Paul Westheim published a comprehensive monograph and Hans Tietze an important article in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (Journal of fine art); Paul Hindemith composed music for *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (first performance, Frankfurt, 1921). Besides comprehensive exhibitions in Dresden, Hannover, and Munich, the artist participated in the Venice Biennale in 1922.

In 1924 Kokoschka left Dresden and his professorship and began nearly ten years of continuous travels through Europe and North Africa, during this time his work was shown in London and Paris as well as in Germany. The political developments in Germany after 1933 prompted Kokoschka to move to Prague, where he met Olda Palakova, who would later become his wife. He painted a portrait of Czech president Tomáš Masaryk and began to work on his drama *Comenius*, based on the writings of the famous Czech humanist and educator.

The first of Kokoschka's works to be confiscated by the Nazis was a volume of drawings edited by Ernst Rathenau. The artist's reaction to the display of his work in *Entartete Kunst* was to paint a self-portrait that he titled *Bildnis eines entarteten Künstlers* (Portrait of a degenerate artist).

When Nazi troops occupied Czechoslovakia in 1938, Kokoschka and Olda escaped, penniless, to England, where he became active in émigré organizations. In 1943 he became president of the Freie Deutsche Kulturbund (Free German cultural league); he donated his substantial honorarium for a portrait of the Soviet ambassador to England, Ivan Maisky, to a Stalingrad hospital fund for the care of wounded Soviet and German soldiers.

In 1947 Kokoschka became a British citizen and traveled to Basel to see a large retrospective of his work, and he was honored by the Venice Biennale with an exhibition of sixteen works. He subsequently had several large exhibitions in the United States (he lectured in Boston in 1949); another was held, ironically, at the Haus der Kunst in Munich in 1950 (the site of the Nazi-approved *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [Great German art exhibition] in 1937). In 1953 he opened a *Schule des Sehens* (School of vision) in Salzburg, which he directed until 1962, when he moved to Villeneuve in Switzerland. He was greatly honored throughout Germany and Austria and continued to paint, design opera sets (including sets for Mozart's *Die*



Figure 281  
Kokoschka, *Alter Herr* (Old man), c. 1907

*Zauberflöte* [The magic flute]), and publish portfolios of his graphics, as well as his memoirs.

Although Kokoschka refused to accept the label of Expressionist, his works echo in all their variety the artistic spirit of the first seventy years of this century.<sup>2</sup> (P. G.)

#### Notes

1 Hans Maria Wingler, *Oskar Kokoschka: Das Werk des Malers* (Salzburg: Galerie Wetz, 1956), 50.

2 For Kokoschka's writings see *Mein Leben* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1971) and *Das schriftliche Werk*, ed. Heinz Spielmann, 4 vols (Hamburg: Christian, 1973–76); for his oeuvre see Wingler, *Oskar Kokoschka: Das Werk*, and Ernst Rathenau, *Oskar Kokoschka, Handzeichnungen*, 5 vols (Berlin: Ernst Rathenau, 1935–77); Wilhelm Arntz, *Oskar Kokoschka: Aus seinem Schaffen 1907–1950* (Munich: Prestel, 1950); Wolfgang Gurlitt, *Oskar Kokoschka* (exh. cat., Linz: Neue Galerie der Stadt, 1951); Wingler, *Oskar Kokoschka: Ein Lebensbild in zeitgenössischen Dokumenten* (Munich: Prestel, 1956); idem and Friedrich Wetz, *Oskar Kokoschka: Das graphische Werk*, 2 vols (Salzburg: Galerie Wetz, n.d. [1975–81]).

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Alter Herr* (Old man)

c. 1907

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 62.5 cm (27 3/4 x 24 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 4

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg); Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16044

Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz, Wolfgang Gurlitt-

Museum, Linz

Figure 281

■

*Bildnis des Herzogs von Montesquieu*

(Portrait of the duchess of Montesquieu-Fezensac)

1911

Oil on canvas, 95 x 50 cm (37 1/2 x 19 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 33

Acquired in 1926 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16033, Fischer lot 65

Cincinnati Art Museum, bequest of Paul E. Geier

Figure 128

*Bildnis Karl Ettlinger* (Portrait of Karl Ettlinger)  
1912

Oil on canvas, 86 x 56 cm (33 7/8 x 22 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler 63

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16136

Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

Figure 282



Figure 282  
Kokoschka, *Bildnis Karl Ettlinger* (Portrait of Karl Ettlinger), 1912

*Dolomitenlandschaft tre croci*

(Landscape in the Dolomites: Tre Croci)

1913

Oil on canvas, 78.5 x 120.3 cm (30 7/8 x 47 3/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler 81

Acquired in 1918 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16134

Leopold Collection, Vienna

Figure 283

*Die Windsbraut* (The tempest)

1914

Oil on canvas, 181 x 220 cm (71 1/8 x 86 5/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler 96

Acquired in 1924 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16021

Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939

Figure 17

*Die Auswanderer* (The emigrants)

1916/17

Oil on canvas, 94 x 145 cm (37 x 57 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler 113

Acquired in 1926 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16022

Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich, 1964

Figure 284



Figure 283  
Kokoschka, *Dolomitenlandschaft tre croci* (Landscape in the Dolomites: Tre Croci), 1913

*Die Freunde* (The friends)

1917/18

Oil on canvas, 102 x 151 cm (40 1/8 x 59 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Winkler 114

Acquired in 1919 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16229

Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz, Wolfgang-Carlitz-

Museum, Linz

Figure 285



*Die Hoden* (The heathens)

1918/19

Oil on canvas, 75 x 125 cm (29½ x 49¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 113

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum and

Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16019

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Figure 286



Figure 284

Kokoschka, *Die Auswanderer* (The emigrants), 1916/17

*Monte Carlo*

1925

Oil on canvas, 73 x 100 cm (28¾ x 39¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 191

Acquired in c. 1926 by the Städtische Galerie,

Frankfurt

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16125, Fischer lot 70

Musée d'Art moderne, Liège, 1939

Figure 287

*Legendes Mädchen lesend* (Reclining girl reading)

Watercolor, 49 x 68.3 cm (19¼ x 26¾ in.)

Acquired in 1921 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16346

Location unknown

*Sturmplakat* (Poster for *Der Sturm*)

*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)

1910

Color lithograph, 67 x 44.7 cm (26½ x 17½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler 32

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room C1, NS inventory no. 16458

Location unknown, this poster: The Robert Core

Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

Figure 288



Figure 285

Kokoschka, *Die Freunde* (The friends), 1917/18

*O Ewigkeit—du Donnerwort*, Bachkantate

(O eternity—thou thundering word, Bach cantata)

Plates 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and possibly another, unidentified

plate from the portfolio of eleven prints

1914 (portfolio published 1916)

Lithographs, various dimensions

Acquired in 1926 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg): Halle

Room C1, NS inventory nos. 16274–79

On commission to Boehmer, exchanged, location

unknown, this portfolio: Los Angeles County Museum

of Art, The Robert Core Rifkind Center for German

Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 168a–k

Figures 32–36



Figure 286  
Kokoschka, *Die Helden* (The heathens), 1918/19



Figure 287  
Kokoschka, *Monte Carlo*, 1925



Figure 288  
Kokoschka, *Sturmplakat* (Poster for *Der Sturm*), 1910



Born 1879  
Dresden

Died 1944  
Dresden

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Tschum, der Katzenfreund* (Tschum, the cat-lover)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1922 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16038  
Location unknown



Born 1881  
Meiderich

Died 1919  
Berlin

The statement, "They had four years' time," referring to the effort expected of all Germans to adjust to the new policies instituted by the National Socialists, was emblazoned across the east wall of Room 6 on the upper floor of the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, thus implicating every artist represented in the room. This accusation was especially ironic in reference to Wilhelm Lehmbruck: he had been dead for eighteen years.

Lehmbruck committed suicide in 1919 in Berlin, to which city he had returned after a lengthy stay in Zurich. A brief stint as an orderly in a military hospital at the beginning of the First World War had so horrified him that he fled to Switzerland in 1916. In Zurich he had contact with similarly inclined pacifists and befriended the

artist Karl Hofer, among others. Prone to states of depression that bordered on despair, Lehmbruck was the victim of his own utopian expectations that were destined to remain unfulfilled. The new epoch that he and so many others expected to result from the war was clearly not to be. The artist's profound disillusionment was caused particularly by his recognition of the human cost of Germany's defeat. Reinhold Hohl has described him as being "dashed to the ground by the power of the times."<sup>1</sup>

By the time of his death Lehmbruck had achieved a considerable international reputation. His student work at the Düsseldorf Akademie evolved into a style heavily influenced by Rodin, whose sculpture he had seen at the International Exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1904, but he broke suddenly with this approach. Julius Meier-Graefe described his own first encounter with Lehmbruck's *Grosse Kniende* (Large kneeling woman, fig. 290) of 1911 (on view in 1937 in *Entartete Kunst*):

*One day all portrait busts, all torsos retaining a reminiscence of the Greek spirit had been moved aside, and in the center of the atelier there stood a huge female creature, half-kneeling, appearing to have no end to her. At first glance, she looked most like an awkward giant marionette. Here was an artist with the unheard-of luck of capturing the composition of antique sculpture, and he gave it up for a single original notion, for a leap into the blue. . . . This slitlike phantom cut through the air like a steep reef and forced the viewer to either kneel down or to flee. I chose the latter. Naturally, I soon came back.<sup>2</sup>*

Lehmbruck was living in Paris at the time, and he had been working on the *Grosse Kniende* fitfully. He hesitated to show the sculpture in public, finally his wife had it cast and entered it in the Salon d'Automne (Autumn salon).<sup>3</sup> In 1912 the work was shown in the Cologne Sonderbund and Berliner Sezession (Berlin secession) exhibitions. Lehmbruck was the only German sculptor represented at the Armory Show in New York in the spring of 1913, with the *Grosse Kniende* and the *Grosse Stehende*

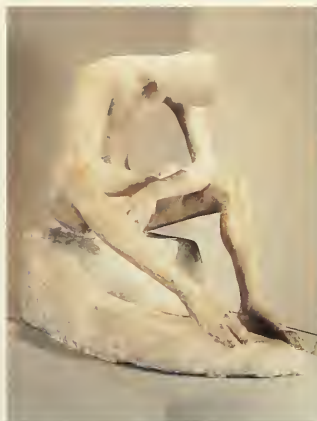


Figure 289  
Lehmbruck, *Sitzender Jungling* (Seated youth), 1918



(Large standing girl) The latter work was sold for \$1,620, bringing the highest amount paid for a piece of sculpture from the show. The *Grosse Kneude* evoked an unfortunate comment from Theodore Roosevelt, who described it as "obviously mammalian [but] not especially human"<sup>4</sup>.

After Lehmbruck's death his wife presented the *Grosse Kneude* as a permanent loan to the city of Munich in exchange for an apartment.<sup>5</sup> Another bronze cast of the figure, a memorial to peace, was erected in Duisburg in 1927 in the center of the city, where it received a great deal of public criticism and was finally removed after it was damaged by the irate populace.

In March 1930, two months after Wilhelm Frick had assumed the position of minister of the interior in Thuringia, Lehmbruck's works were among those confiscated from the museum in Weimar. In November 1936 a sculpture by the artist was removed from the jubilee exhibition of the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts) in Berlin. When, on July 7, 1937, Adolf Ziegler's committee to select works for *Entartete Kunst* arrived at the Berlin Nationalgalerie, however, not a word was said about Lehmbruck's work.<sup>6</sup> Three days after the opening, on July 22, the *Grosse Kneude* appeared in Room 6, heavily damaged during transport. At some time after July 29 it was replaced by Lehmbruck's *Sitzender Jungling* (Young man sitting, fig. 289), also called *Der Denker* (The thinker), seized from the Kunsthalle Mannheim.<sup>7</sup> Although the title *Der Denker* recalls Rodin's famous work, Lehmbruck's stylistic treatment differed markedly from that of the French master: all anecdotal detail has been eliminated, and the act of thinking is a tense, dark rumination. The pure, clean line of the figure's attenuated form is a severe gesture, a harsh symbol. Another cast of *Der Denker*, in a military cemetery in Duisburg, erected as a memorial to the fallen of the First World War, escaped National Socialist attention until 1940, when it was earmarked to be melted down, along with other metal sculptures that were not useful to the re-



Figure 290  
Lehmbruck, *Grosse Kneude* (Large kneeling woman), 1911

gime. The reason given was that the work was "politically and artistically inappropriate." This determination was later changed so that the sculpture could be put on the art market in North America, but by then the market was closed, and the bronze stayed in Duisburg. In 1943 it sustained some damage during an air raid but was restored after the war.<sup>8</sup>

Approximately one hundred works by Lehmbruck were seized from public institutions and taken to the central collection depot at Schloss Niederschönhausen in Berlin. Some of these were on loan to the museums, many from the artist's wife, Anita Lehmbruck. In a courageous battle with the Reich, Anita availed herself of a loophole in the Gesetz über die Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst (Law regarding the collection of examples of degenerate art) of May 31, 1938, a provision that existed for special cases of hardship. Apparently she even appeared at the ministry with her three blond sons as proof of her husband's racial

purity. She was eventually successful in her quest to recover the works that belonged to her (with the provision that she should not use them for purposes of agitation) and to be recompensed for those that had been destroyed.<sup>9</sup>

We must conclude that it was Lehmbruck's tendency toward abstraction and the rejection of the trivial naturalism preferred by the National Socialists that earned him a place in *Entartete Kunst*. To the authorities the *Grosse Kneude* was an idol of Expressionism, a rejection of bourgeois convention. As a result of the sculpture's inclusion in the 1937 exhibition, the Museum of Modern Art in New York bought the stone cast that had been in Mannheim. It became a symbol of artistic freedom during the war.<sup>10</sup> (D. G.)



(Lazar Markovich Lissitzky)

## Notes

- 1 Reinhold Hohl, "Wilhelm Lehmbruck: A German Preserve," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905–1995* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 438.
- 2 Cited in Reinhold Heller, *The Art of Wilhelm Lehmbruck* (exh. cat., Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1972), 24.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Cited in Henry Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 42.
- 5 Armin Zweite, "Franz Hofmann und die Städtische Galerie 1937," in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 262.
- 6 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstaktatutur im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 143.
- 7 Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, "'Deutsche Kunst' und 'Entartete Kunst': Die Münchner Ausstellungen 1937," in Schuster, *Die "Kunststadt" München*, 108.
- 8 For the fate of the Duisburg Lehmbrucks see the essay by Andreas Huneke in this volume, and Barbara Lepper, "Der Gestaltete und der Sitzende Jungling," in *Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881–1919)* (exh. cat., Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1987), 63–65.
- 9 Dagmar Lott, "Munchens Neue Staatsgalerie im Dritten Reich," in Schuster, *Die "Kunststadt" München*, 294.
- 10 The *Grosse Kneude* was so described in the *Bulletin* of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1942, see Siegfried Salzmann, *Wilhelm Lehmbruck* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, n.d.), 25.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Grosse Kneude* (Large kneeling woman)

1911

Cast stone, height 178 cm (70% in)

Acquired in 1925 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich (on deposit from the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, to which it was on loan)

Room 6, NS inventory no. unrecorded

Bought by Boehmer, 1949, location unknown,

this bronze: Metropolitan Opera Association, in commemoration of a gift of the German government to Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, with the assistance of Cert von Gontard and the Myron and Anabel Taylor Foundation

Figure 290

■

*Sitzender Jungling* (Seated youth)*Der Denker* (The thinker)

1917

Composite tinted plaster, height 105 cm (41% in)

Acquired in 1921 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16248

National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Fund, 1974

Figure 289



Born 1890

Polschnok, Russia

Died 1941

Moscow, Russia

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition)

1923

Oil on canvas, 66.5 x 50 cm (26 1/8 x 19 3/8 in.)

Acquired in 1923 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16070

Location unknown

Born 1882

Zollikon, Switzerland

Died 1945

Switzerland

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Madama*

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1925 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15940

Location unknown

# Franz Marc



Born 1880  
Munich  
Died 1916  
Verdun, France

Franz Marc died at Verdun on March 4, 1916, while serving as an artillery sergeant. When Adolf Ziegler was reminded of this fact twenty-one years later in the course of his commission's plunder of the modern collection at the Berlin Nationalgalerie in the Kronprinzenpalais, he matter-of-factly responded that his "selection was determined purely according to artistic viewpoints, anything residual was not his concern. In the subsequent seconds he commanded that [the works in] the right half of the room be added to his list. These included [Marc's] *Turm der blauen Pferde*" [Tower of blue horses].<sup>1</sup>

Marc had studied theology and philosophy until 1899, when, following a year of military service, he decided to study art at the Munich Kunstakademie (Academy of art). He had his first one-man exhibition at Galerie Brakl in Munich in February 1910. After seeing the second exhibition of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (New Munich artists association) in March 1910, he wrote an excited critique and by 1911 had joined the group and entered into a friendship with Wassily Kandinsky. In April of the same year Kandinsky and Marc were key organizers of "*Im Kampf um die Kunst*" (*Die Antwort auf den "Protest deutscher Künstler"*) ("Fighting for art". The reply to the "Protest by German artists"), a collection of seventy-five essays by curators, artists, writers, and collectors.<sup>2</sup> This was a progressive answer to Carl Vinnen's *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* of 1910, signed by 134 painters and critics, which vehemently attacked the acquisitions policies of German museum officials who were buying French



Figure 291  
Marc, *Waldinneres mit Vogel* (Forest interior with bird), 1912



Figure 292  
Marc, *Eber und Sau* (Boar and sow), 1913

art. The complaint—sparked by the economic problems of the more traditional German painters, who floundered in the depressed German art market—was developed by Vinnen into a nationalistic attack on foreign art. Although the controversy was limited to dissenting factions within the art world, the line of Vinnen's attack was a precursor of National Socialist cultural politics. "Why does the speculative purchase of foreign art pose such a serious danger? When alien influences seek not only to improve us but to bring about fundamental changes, our national characteristics are gravely threatened. A people can be raised to the very heights only through artists of its own flesh and blood."<sup>3</sup>

By December 1911 Marc and Kandinsky had left the *Neue Kunstlervereinigung*—after Kandinsky's submission, *Komposition V* (Composition V), was rejected for the annual exhibition—and founded *Der Blaue Reiter* (The blue rider). The group's first exhibition took place just a few weeks later at the *Galerie Thannhauser* and excited so much interest that Herwarth Walden later arranged for it to travel throughout Germany. A year later a second exhibition was mounted and Kandinsky and Marc edited the *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* (The blue rider almanac), which quickly sold out. One of the underlying principles of the *Almanach* was the juxtaposition of artworks from different societies and times to demonstrate that the roots of modernist art movements could be traced to older ones, particularly to art from other societies. Marc had first suggested this technique in 1911 as an easy means of countering Vinnen's protest.<sup>4</sup>

Marc's interest in ethnographic art and his support of emerging abstract stylistic trends sparked another art-world controversy with the Berlin Seizessionist painter Max Beckmann in 1912. Marc argued for the quality of "new painting," which despite its novel compositional forms was deeply tied to natural appearances. In reply Beckmann not only denounced Marc's style but his group's interest in folk art and raised the point that if old standards of artistic quality

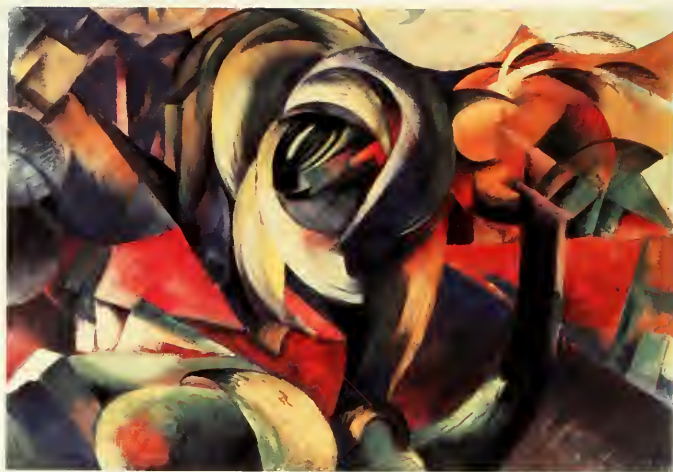


Figure 293  
Marc, *Der Mandrill* (The mandrill), 1913

were abandoned, then man "unwillingly falls into the field of handicrafts." The laws for art are eternal and unchangeable." Marc then proposed that the value of folk art be reassessed and urged that judgments of quality be made on the basis of a work's "inner greatness."<sup>5</sup> Ethnographic artifacts, which Marc had carefully studied in Berlin in late 1910,<sup>6</sup> manifested such attributes, they were eternally valid because their realization resulted from the artisan's innate feeling for form.<sup>7</sup> The issues of folk art, handicrafts, ethnographic artifacts, quality, and objectivity were later infused with political meaning and became buzz-words of National Socialist cultural ideology. The National Socialists grossly distorted the positions initially staked out by modernist artists twenty years earlier.

Marc's aesthetics were greatly influenced by his reading of Wilhelm Worringer's *Abstraktion und Empfindung* (Abstraction and empathy, 1908). As early

as 1910 he began to emphasize the role of color in his work in the hope of reaching the dematerialized inner spirit of the viewer. During that year he wrote to August Macke, "Blue is the male principle, severe and spiritual. Yellow is the female principle, gentle, cheerful and sensual."<sup>8</sup> These ideas found expression in such works of the period as *Waldinneres mit Vogel* (Forest interior with bird, fig. 291) and *Zwei Katzen Blau und Gelb* (Two cats, blue and yellow, fig. 127), both later displayed in *Entartete Kunst*.

Tragically, Marc's naive grasp of world power politics resulted in his eager embrace of the First World War, which he believed would ultimately rescue society from the stagnation of materialism. This conviction led Marc to sign up for military service on August 6, 1914. On September 26 August Macke was killed in action, but despite the deep personal loss of his friend and the terrible carnage he witnessed at the front, Marc confidently wrote to Kandinsky on

October 14 that "the war will not be regressive for man, instead it will purify Europe, make it 'ready'." A little more than a year later Marc too, was dead.

When the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in Munich containing five works by Marc,<sup>10</sup> a letter of protest was immediately sent by the Deutscher Offiziersbund (German officers' federation) to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) expressing astonishment that an officer who had earned the Iron Cross and given his life for his country should be disgraced by affiliation with this scandalous exhibition.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, during the first months of 1933 Marc's work had been lauded in the National Socialist press as an "early carrier of the national revolution," a total reversal of Marc's hope for an inner revolution of mankind's spirit and purge of materialist Europe.<sup>12</sup> The National Socialists also made use of Marc's war commitment, touting him as an exemplary behavioral model. It was for these reasons that, just a year before *Entartete Kunst* took place, a major retrospective of Marc's work at the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hannover was tolerated, as was an exhibition at the Galerie Nierendorf in Berlin. It is known that high National Socialist officials found Marc's style personally appealing. Even Ziegler, despite his decision to include Marc's work in *Entartete Kunst*, believed that Marc would have become the greatest German painter of all if he had survived the war.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, 130 works by Marc were confiscated from German public collections.

As a result of the protest letter *Der Turm der blauen Pferde* was removed from the exhibition (although four other works by Marc remained on view)<sup>14</sup> and was subsequently seized by Hermann Göring. Despite rumors that the painting was later sold to a buyer in the United States, its location remains unknown. It was still in the possession of the National Socialists as late as 1945, when it was seen in the former Preussisches Abgeordnetenhaus (Prussian chamber of deputies).<sup>15</sup> (P. K.)

## Notes

- 1 Paul Ortwin Rave, personal papers, estate of Paul Ortwin Rave, Berlin, cited in Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die Kunststadt München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 97.
- 2 Wassily Kandinsky/Franz Marc, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Munich: Piper, 1983), letters 5–6, 10–12, 15–17, 22–25.
- 3 Carl Vinnen, *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (Iena: E. Diederichs, 1911), 7–12 (italics in original), cited in Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1980), 184–85.
- 4 Franz Marc, letter to August Macke, April 12, 1911, cited in Andreas Hüncke, *Der Blaue Reiter: Dokumente einer geistigen Bewegung* (Leipzig: P. Reclam, 1986), 420.
- 5 The confrontation between Franz Marc and Max Beckmann took place in the pages of the journal *Pan*. Marc, "Die neue Malerei," *Pan*, no. 16 (March 7, 1912), 471; Beckmann, "Gedanken über zeitgemasse und unzeitgemasse Kunst," *Pan*, no. 17 (March 14, 1912), 499; Marc, "Die Konstruktiven Ideen der neuen Malerei," *Pan*, no. 18 (March 21, 1912), 529; idem, "Anti-Beckmann," *Pan*, no. 19 (March 28, 1912), the latter article is reprinted in Franz Marc, *Schriften*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (Cologne: DuMont, 1978), 109.
- 6 Franz Marc, letter to August Macke, January 14, 1911, printed in August Macke and Franz Marc, *Briefwechsel* (Cologne: DuMont, 1964), 28.
- 7 Marc, "Die Konstruktiven Ideen," 529.
- 8 Franz Marc, letter to August Macke, December 12, 1910, cited in Frederick Levine, *The Apocalyptic Vision* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 57.
- 9 Franz Marc, letter to Wassily Kandinsky, October 24, 1914, printed in *Briefwechsel* (ed. Lankheit).
- 10 According to Lüttichau, there were originally five works by Marc in the exhibition, see "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst,'" 109. Peter-Klaus Schuster in *Dokumentation zum nationalsozialistischen Bildersturm am Bestand der Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst in München* (Munich: Bayerischen Staatsgemaldesammlungen, 1988), 68, states that there were six works in the exhibition, as does Dagmar Lott in "Münchens Neue Staatsgalerie im Dritten Reich," in Schuster, *Die "Kunststadt" München*, 294.
- 11 See Lüttichau, "Deutsche Kunst und 'Entartete Kunst,'" 108, and his essay in this volume.
- 12 Bruno E. Werner, "Der Aufstieg der Kunst," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 12, 1933, cited in Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 84.
- 13 Lott, "Münchens Neue Staatsgalerie," 294–95.
- 14 For the changes to Rooms 6 and 7 as they affected the works by Marc on view see the essay by Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau in this volume.
- 15 *Museum der Gegenwart: Kunst in öffentlichen Sammlungen bis 1937* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1987), 41.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Waldinneres mit Vogel* (Forest interior with bird)  
1912  
Oil on canvas, 101 x 90 cm (39 3/4 x 35 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Lankheit 186  
Acquired by the Städtische Galerie Frankfurt  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16131  
Kunstmuseum Bern, Stiftung Othmar-Huber  
Figure 291

*Zwei Katzen Blau und Gelb* (Two cats, blue and yellow)  
1912  
Oil on canvas, 74 x 98 cm (29 1/4 x 38 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Lankheit 182  
Acquired in 1927 by the Ruhmeshalle, Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16133; Fischer lot 88  
Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939  
Figure 127

*Eber und Sau* (Boar and sow)  
*Wildschweine* (Wild boars)  
1913  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 56.5 cm (28 3/4 x 22 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Lankheit 202  
Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16141; Fischer lot 86  
Museum Ludwig, Cologne  
Figure 292

*Der Mandrill* (The mandrill)  
1913  
Oil on canvas, 91 x 131 cm (35 7/8 x 51 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Lankheit 218  
Acquired by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16132  
Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich, 1964  
Figure 293

*Der Turm der blauen Pferde* (The tower of blue horses)  
1913/14  
Oil on canvas, 200 x 130 cm (78 3/4 x 51 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Lankheit 210  
Acquired in 1919 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16126  
Location unknown



# Gerhard Marcks



Born 1889  
Berlin  
Died 1981  
Burgbrohl

The fate of the sculptor and graphic artist Gerhard Marcks under the Nazis is an example of the complexities and contradictions of a tyrannical art "policy." From his works confiscated from German public institutions two were selected to represent him in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* in 1937: *Der Erzengel Gabriel* (The archangel Gabriel) and *Stehender Junge* (Standing boy, fig. 294), both from the Museum Folkwang in Essen. A label stated that Marcks had been "singled out recently [for praise] by the literati," as if that were an additional strike against him. There is even an account that Hitler, walking through the exhibition, uttered a particular condemnation of the two sculptures. The Galerie Buchholz in Berlin had been planning a one-man exhibition of Marcks's work but was prohibited from opening, and the artist was informed that he was not ever to exhibit those works. Yet even in 1937 an attempt was made to have him elected to the prestigious Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts)—although nothing came of it—and a number of galleries continued to show single works by him within the framework of larger exhibitions of sculpture without interference from the Nazis. Some brave art historians still praised his works in their publications. It appears that though the Nazis condemned all of his earlier works, they hesitated to enforce their threat to prohibit him from working at all. Marcks even entered the competition for public commissions, although there was little hope that he could be successful. But the lack of opportunity to exhibit and thus the lack of publicity and criticism in the newspapers curtailed sales of his works.

Marcks was an outstanding teacher. After he returned from military service in the First World War, he taught for a short time at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Berlin until in 1919 Walter Gropius appointed him one of the first three faculty members of the newly founded Bauhaus in Weimar. When the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in 1925, the architect Paul Thiersch, director of the Kunstgewerbeschule Burg Giebichenstein, appointed Marcks to head the sculpture department of that school. When Thiersch became ill, Marcks filled in as director. In 1933 he was dismissed by the Nazis for two reasons typical of National Socialist cultural policy: he had carried on the traditions of the Bauhaus, which the Nazis considered to be "Jewish-Bolshevist" as well as "degenerate," and he had come to the defense of a colleague, Marguerite Friedländer-Wildenhain, who was to be dismissed because she was Jewish. It was this latter action that prevented his subsequently proposed appointment to the Düsseldorf Akademie. In short, his sculpture and graphic art were "unacceptable" to the Nazis, as was his role as a teacher—yet they never prohibited him from working.

Marcks was an autodidact who in 1907, as a nineteen-year-old, apprenticed himself to the sculptor Richard Scheibe in Berlin. Beginning with animal representations, he soon changed to the depiction of the human form, frequently nude, as his most expressive theme; he produced figures and portraits in both stone and bronze. He exhibited in the Berlin Sezession, worked briefly for the Schwarzburg and Meissen porcelain factories, and made reliefs for the hall of machines, designed by Gropius, at the important 1914 Deutsche Werkbund exhibition in Cologne. During his Bauhaus period, at the suggestion of colleague Lyonel Feininger, he began to make woodcuts: the portfolio *Das Wielandslied* (The song of Wieland) was printed at the Bauhaus.



Figure 294  
Marcks, *Stehender Junge* (Standing boy), c. 1924

The Villa Romana prize in 1928 permitted Marcks a first and influential visit to Greece and an encounter with Archaic sculpture, which was followed by travels to southern France and Paris and a stay in Rome (the Villa Massimo prize in 1935). At this time he belonged, with Ernst Barlach, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, and Kathe Kollwitz, to the group of the most important modern German sculptors.

Marcks was greatly affected by the Second World War. In 1943 his son died on the Russian front. Some of his works were destroyed in the bombing of the bronze-casting firms in Berlin, one large figure burned in the Galerie Buchholz when it suffered damage in a bombardment. His house and studio, containing many works, were leveled by bombs, and after the war he discovered that a number of works he had hidden had been destroyed and some of his bronzes had been melted down to provide metal for armaments.

Immediately after the war Marcks was offered professorships by the academies of Berlin, Dresden, Halle, Rostock, and Weimar; he accepted an offer from Hamburg. After his recovery from a severe

illness and exhaustion, he began to fulfill a number of commissions, especially for monuments. In 1947 he completed six life-sized terra-cotta figures for the Katharinenkirche (Church of Saint Catherine) in Lübeck, a task that Ernst Barlach had begun in 1930–32 and which he suggested should be completed by Marcks.

As his recognition grew, Marcks received a number of prizes, including the Stefan Lochner medal of Cologne (where he moved in 1950), the Goethe medal of Frankfurt, and the highest medal of the Federal Republic of Germany; he was made a knight of the Order of Merit and was elected a member of the academies of Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich. In 1971 the Gerhard Marcks-Haus in Bremen was opened to provide a permanent exhibition of his work.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

## Notes

1. Gunter Busch, *Gerhard Marcks: Das plastische Werk mit Werkverzeichnis von Marina Rudloff* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1977); *Gerhard Marcks 1890–1981: Briefe und Werke*, ed. Ursula Frenzel (Nuremberg: Archiv für bildende Kunst im Germanischen Nationalmuseum/Munich: Prestel, 1988); Kurt Lammek, *Gerhard Marcks: Das druckgraphische Werk* (Bremen: Gerhard-Marcks-Stiftung, 1989); Martina Rudloff, ed., *Gerhard Marcks 1890–1981: Retrospektive* (Munich: Hirmer, 1989).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Stehender Junge* (Standing boy)  
c. 1924  
Bronze, height 67 cm (26 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Busch 122  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16251  
Kulturhistorisches Museum, Rostock  
Figure 204

*Heiliger Georg* (Saint George)  
*Der Erzengel Gabriel* (The archangel Gabriel)  
1929/30  
Cast stone or plaster, height 255 cm (100 3/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Busch 219  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16250  
Location unknown



Born 1887  
Aachen

Died 1965  
Büderich

The sculptor and graphic artist Ewald Mataré began his career as a painter in the studio of Eugen Klinkenberg in Aachen. He soon transferred to the Akademie in Berlin (1907–14) where he studied with Lovis Corinth, received the Akademie's silver medal, and in 1914 became a master student of Arthur Kampf. Mataré became a member of the Novembergruppe (November group) in 1918, executed his first sculptures in 1920, and had his first one-man show in 1923 at the I. B. Neumann gallery in Berlin. By then he had developed a distinctive style, a radically simplified yet expressive form, in his woodcuts (frequently using color to enhance the image) and especially in his sculpture.

In 1932 Dr. Walter Kaesbach, director since 1925 of the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie (Academy of art), appointed Mataré professor of sculpture at the school. When the Nazis took power in 1933, they immediately fired Kaesbach, Mataré, and Paul Klee, another of Kaesbach's appointees. A famous war memorial that Mataré had designed for the city of Kleve was removed. The sculptor, who concentrated on religious works, was able to retain relative artistic freedom, however, since he was given commissions by various churches. The Nazis did not dare to interfere with the interior forms of church architecture and decoration, and thus Mataré worked undisturbed. His stylized Expressionistic work had gained a "Romanesque" quality that blended with the architecture of the modern German churches. In the confiscations of artworks in 1937 the Nazis had to content themselves with his

secular work, such as *Die Katze* (The cat, fig. 295), which was exhibited in *Entartete Kunst*.

In 1945, at the end of the war, Mataré was reappointed professor at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie. Three years later he received a commission to create new bronze doors for the south portal of Cologne Cathedral. In 1954 he created stained-glass windows for Aachen Cathedral and the two portals for the World-Peace Cathedral in Hiroshima. He was the recipient of the Thorn-Prikker Prize and the state prize of Nordrhein-Westfalen.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

## Notes

1. Hans Theodor Flemming, *Ewald Mataré* (Munich: Prestel, 1955); Heinz Peters, *Ewald Mataré: Das graphische Werk*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Christoph Czwiklitzer, 1957–58); Eduard Trier, *Ewald Mataré*, 2d ed. (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1958).



Figure 295  
Mataré, *Die Katze* (The cat), 1928

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Die Katze* (The cat)  
1928  
Bronze, 20 x 60 cm (7 7/8 x 23 5/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schilling 20a  
Acquired in 1929 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16247  
Kunsthalle zu Kiel, this version in wood, 1923  
Gabriele Henkel, Düsseldorf  
Figure 295

# Ludwig Meidner



Born 1884  
Bernstadt, Silesia  
Died 1966  
Darmstadt

In his own time Ludwig Meidner was considered "the hottest crater in a volcanic epoch"<sup>1</sup> The "strange little spirit who came to life only at night,"<sup>2</sup> as George Grosz described him, was obsessed with catastrophe and depicted cosmic chaos in his work To the National Socialists this destruction of form offended German sensibilities and was a hallmark of degeneracy that earned Meidner a place in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition

In the guide to the exhibition Meidner's *Selbstporträt* (Self-portrait, fig. 296) of 1912 was featured with works by Otto Freundlich and Richard Hartmann under the title, "Three specimens of Jewish sculpture and painting" (see p. 379). The painting was one of eighty-four "degenerate" works by Meidner seized from public institutions throughout Germany and was displayed in the "Jewish" gallery, Room 2 on the upper floor of *Entartete Kunst*, under the heading, "Revelation of the Jewish racial soul." Above the painting the comment, "Jewish, all too Jewish," introduced an out-of-context citation from Meidner's writings, ridiculing the bourgeois values of good character, uprightness, and constancy.

Meidner had been apprenticed to a mason at age seventeen in anticipation of a career as an architect and builder. He decided instead to become a painter and entered the *Königliche Kunstschule* (Royal school of art) in Breslau. A brief period as a fashion illustrator in Berlin was followed by

additional study in Paris in 1906, where he admired the work of Edouard Manet and befriended Amedeo Modigliani. Returning to Berlin in 1908, he became a member of the artistic avant-garde, a regular at the literary *Café des Westens*, and a participant in the intellectual life of the city.

The year 1912 was particularly significant for Meidner. With Richard Janthur and Jakob Steinhardt he founded *Die Pathetiker* (The pathetic ones), an anti-Impressionist artists' group whose work was exhibited at Herwarth Walden's *Galerie Der Sturm*. At the same time Meidner began to paint a series of apocalyptic scenes that shaped his reputation as an independent eccentric, a prophet whose violent landscapes prefigured the destruction of the First World War. In December 1912 Meidner had the first of a series of ecstatic religious experiences, which he described as the coming of the Holy Spirit. An escalation in hysterical behavior and eruptions of furious energy, particularly during his customary nighttime working hours, followed these mystical visits. Meidner would often paint until morning. "The gas lamp is the true light," he said. "It encourages inspiration. Daylight is too rationalistic and skeptical, and during the day one also does not have the courage to act on one's ideas and intuition."<sup>3</sup>

Meidner's primary subjects were life in the city and portraits of his friends and acquaintances. His style during the years 1912–20 was tormented and convulsive, heavily influenced by Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, James Ensor, and Vincent van Gogh. Kurt Hiller, an intellectual and political activist, reviewed Meidner's work in the November 27, 1912, issue of *Die Aktion* (Action) and suggested that his pictures of suffering and violence revealed a mixture of fear and pleasure. The artist's predilection for catastrophic imagery persisted until he entered the army in 1916, where he served in the infantry and as a translator in a prisoner-of-war camp for French soldiers.

Meidner was given his first solo exhibition at the *Galerie Paul Cassirer* in Berlin in January 1918. After the November Revolution later that year, he became a founding member of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' council for art), an organization that united with councils of workers and soldiers in favor of a new republic, and the *Novembergruppe* (November group), whose members were also proponents of a free Germany. A manifesto addressed "An alle Künstler" (To all artists) was published by the artists in the periodicals *Der Anbruch* (The beginning) and *Das Kunstblatt* (The art page) in January 1919; it declared that "socialism must be our creed. We painters and poets [must] join in a holy alliance with the poor!"<sup>4</sup>

Meidner's literary activities were not limited to the writing of manifestos. In 1918 and 1920, respectively, he published the books *Im Nacken des Sternennimmers* (Behind my head the sea of stars) and *Septemberschrei* (September cry), examples of lyrical, expressionistic prose. He wrote many essays, was regularly featured in the Berlin newspapers, and was the coeditor of the periodical *Das neue Pathos* (The new pathos), whose contributors included Gottfried Benn, Georg Heym, Kurt Pinthus, and Franz Werfel. Indeed, during the 1920s Meidner was almost better known as a writer than a painter. The Berlin art dealer Fritz Gurlitt did encourage him to create graphic works, however, particularly on Jewish themes, which were published by the *Verlag für Jüdische Kunst und Kultur* (Publishers for Jewish art and culture). In 1929 Meidner completed his third book, *Gang in die Stille* (Passage to silence), and in the same year wrote an essay for the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in which he proclaimed his Jewishness in the face of escalating anti-Semitism. By 1933 his visibility in Berlin placed him and his family in danger of persecution, and he decided to move to Cologne in 1935, where he taught drawing at a Jewish school.



Figure 296  
Meidner, *Selbstportrait* (Self portrait), 1912

Meidner was painting and drawing in two styles now for public consumption an impressionistic manner reminiscent of Max Liebermann, contrasting sharply to his work as a *Pathetiker*, and in private a disturbingly soft, amorphous style. He had replaced religious paintings, his primary subject in the 1930s, with self-portraits, in 1937 he signed one in Hebrew. The self-portrait chosen by the organizers of *Entartete Kunst*, however, was from an earlier period (1912) and demonstrated Meidner's convulsive, vigorous impasto technique of that time, when he painted in a compulsive frenzy. The characteristic agitated line and the slashing brushstrokes shaping the bulging eyes and deformed head signified to the National Socialists a mentally deranged spirit. The defamation of this portrait, an assault on Meidner's spiritual and intellectual qualities,

was also an attack on his person and his race. Paul Schatz-Naumburg, in his influential book *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race), 1928, presented the thesis of the indivisibility of the artist's corporeality and his work. The National Socialist ideology of race emphasized that it was not the spirit that governed creativity but rather the immutable characteristics inherited by members of the race that were manifested in their artistic product. (Additional works by Meidner were shown in the exhibition *Der ewige Jude* [The eternal Jew] in Munich in November 1937.)

The outrages committed against Jews on November 9, 1938—*Kristallnacht*—alarmed Meidner, and he began to plan to leave Germany. With the help of Augustus John the artist and his family fled to England in 1939, where Meidner was interned on the



Figure 297  
Meidner, untitled lithograph from the book *Septemberschrei* (September cry), published 1920, 20.5 x 14.8 cm (8 1/8 x 5 7/8 in.)

Isle of Man until 1941. His efforts to support himself in London after his release included posts as a night watchman and a painter of portraits of the dead, modeled on photographs.

Meidner returned to Germany in 1952, where he steadily gained recognition, including a solo exhibition in Recklinghausen in 1963. He received the Order of Merit from the Federal Republic of Germany, became a member of the Berlin Akademie der bildenden Künste (Academy of fine arts), and was granted the Villa Romana prize in 1964. On May 14, 1966, Meidner died in Darmstadt, where he had settled three years earlier (D. G.)



## Notes

- 1 Willi Wölfradt, "Ludwig Meidner," *Das junge Deutschland* 3, no. 1 (1920), cited in Thomas Grochowiak, "Meidner," in *Ludwig Meidner* (exh. cat., Recklinghausen Kunsthalle, 1963), 8.
- 2 George Grosz, *A Little Yes and a Big No*, trans. Lola Sachs Dorin (New York: Dial, 1946), 212.
- 3 Ludwig Meidner, "Eine autobiographische Plauderei," in Lothar Briege, *Ludwig Meidner, Junge Kunst* no. 4 (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1919).
- 4 Ludwig Meidner, "An alle Künstler, Dichter, Musiker," *Der Aufbruch*, January 1918, 1, and *Das Kunstblatt*, January 1919, 29–30.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

Selbstportrait (Self-portrait)  
1912

Oil on canvas, 79.5 x 60 cm (31 1/4 x 23 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grochowiak color pl. III  
Acquired in 1929 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15951  
Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, 1958  
Figure 296

## Septemberschrei (September cry)

Drawing, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16307  
Location unknown

## Die Verückung Pauli (The ecstasy of Paul)

Drawing?, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16301  
Destroyed

## Septemberschrei (September cry)

Book of fourteen prints executed 1918  
Published by Paul Cassirer, Berlin, 1920  
Lithographs, various dimensions  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16486  
Destroyed, this portfolio: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and deaccession funds, 831.1554-n  
Figure 297



Born 1883  
Nantes, France  
Died 1956  
Paris, France

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

## Im Kanu (In the canoe)

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit by the Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst-, und Volksbildung)  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 10656  
Location unknown



Born 1884  
Milez  
Died 1956  
Nuremberg

After studying architecture in Munich (1905–7) and painting at the Munich Akademie (1907–10), Constantin von Mitschke-Collande went to Florence and Rome for several years. He returned to Germany in 1912 and continued his studies at the Dresden Akademie until 1913. He then spent a year in Paris, where he was in contact with Maurice Denis and Fernand Léger, before settling in Dresden.

After serving in the military from 1914 to 1918, Mitschke-Collande became a founding member of the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919). In 1920 he and other cofounders Conrad Felixmüller and August Böckstiegel left this Expressionist group because their serious political commitment to Communism was no longer accepted by the rest of the group. In 1923, however, he was still a spokesman, along with Otto Lange and art historian Will Grohmann, for the Dresdner Sezession at a conference in Düsseldorf that was to unite revolutionary artists' groups in the Kartell fortschrittlicher Künstlergruppen (Cartel of progressive artists groups). In the first publication issued by this new organization the Dresden group was represented by reproductions of works by Lange, Mitschke-Collande, and Lasar Segall and an article by Grohmann.

As if to mirror his changing political commitment in the early 1920s, his illustrations for Klabund's *Montezuma* (1920) and Walter Georg Hartmann's *Die Tiere der Insel* (The animals of the island, 1923) demonstrate a change from his early ecstatic Expressionism to the greater realism of Neue Sachlichkeit (New objectivity).



Figure 298  
Mutschke-Collande, *Der begeisterte Weg* (The inspired way) from the portfolio *Der begeisterte Weg*, published 1919, 34 x 29.8 cm (13 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.)



Figure 299  
Mutschke-Collande, *Da haßt ihr mich* (Here you have me) from *Der begeisterte Weg*, 29.7 x 34.2 cm (11 1/2 x 13 1/2 in.)



Figure 300  
Mutschke-Collande, *Freiheit* (Freedom) from *Der begeisterte Weg*, 35 x 39.5 cm (13 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.)

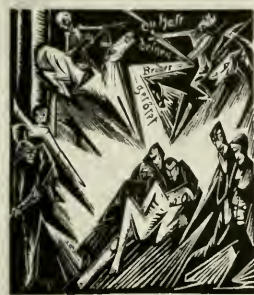


Figure 301  
Mutschke-Collande, *Du hast deinen Bruder getötet* (You have killed your brother) from *Der begeisterte Weg*, 34.2 x 29.7 cm (13 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.)



Figure 302  
Mutschke-Collande, *Steh auf und verkünde die Liebe, Erwachter* (Get up and proclaim love, awakened one) from *Der begeisterte Weg*, 34.5 x 29.5 cm (13 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.)



Figure 303  
Mutschke-Collande, *Die Zeit ist reif* (The time is ripe) from *Der begeisterte Weg*, 35 x 30 cm (13 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.)

In 1925, the year Mutschke-Collande left the Communist party, he became active as a stage designer at the Staatliches Schauspielhaus (State playhouse) in Dresden, where he designed the first production of Georg Kaiser's play *Gas* (1925), and at the Albert Theater, under Hermine Körner, until 1929. For a time he headed his own art school and later worked primarily as a portraitist and designer.

When in 1933 the National Socialists organized an exhibition at the Neues Rathaus (New town hall) in Dresden of art they considered degenerate, they included a number of works by Mutschke-Collande. He was represented by two works in the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, including one of the powerful woodcuts from Hartmann's poem to the revolution, *Der begeisterte Weg* (The inspired way, figs. 298–303). From

then on Mutschke-Collande was not allowed to exhibit his work in public or to seek public commissions.

Most of Mutschke-Collande's early work was destroyed in his studio during the bombing of Dresden. After the war he continued to work, first in Rothenburg and then in Nuremberg, where he moved in 1952.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

#### Notes

1. Constantin von Mutschke-Collande (exh. cat., Regensburg: Ostdeutsche Galerie, 1975); Lothar Lang, *Expressionist Book Illustration in Germany 1907–1927*, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1976); *Revolution und Realismus: Revolutionäre Kunst in Deutschland 1917 bis 1933* (exh. cat., Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1979); *Kunst im Aufbruch: Dresden 1918–1933* (exh. cat., Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, 1980).

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

##### Familie (Family)

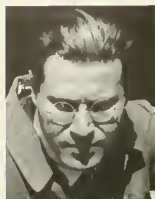
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1927 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16162  
Location unknown

Unidentified prints from the portfolio of six woodcuts  
*Der begeisterte Weg* (The inspired way)  
1919

##### Various dimensions

Acquired in 1921 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16347  
Location unknown, this portfolio: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rinkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M82.288.211a–f  
Figures 298–303

## Laszlo Moholy-Nagy



Born 1895  
Bacsbokod, Hungary  
Died 1946  
Chicago, Illinois

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Konstruktion* (Construction)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16431  
Location unknown

## Margarethe (Marg) Moll



Born 1884  
Mühlhausen  
Died 1977  
Munich

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Wobliche Figur* (Female figure)  
*Tänzerin* (Dancer)  
Brass, height c. 65 cm (25 1/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1934 by the Schlesisches Museum der  
bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16240  
Location unknown

## Oskar Moll



Born 1875  
Brieg  
Died 1947  
Berlin

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Blick durchs Fenster* (View from the window)  
c. 1925  
Oil on canvas, 150 x 140 cm (59 x 55 1/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1931 by the Schlesisches Museum der  
bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16058  
Location unknown

*Stilleben* (Still life)  
1928  
Oil on canvas, 80 x 70 cm (31 1/2 x 27 1/2 in.)  
Acquired by exchange in 1930 by the Nationalgalerie,  
Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16127  
Location unknown

# Johannes Molzahn



Born 1892  
Duisburg  
Died 1965  
Munich

Johannes Molzahn was represented by six paintings and one woodcut in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. Below the painting *Das Paar* (The couple) was a citation by Paul F. Schmidt, the former director of the Stadtmuseum Dresden: "Molzahn's art, as young as it is, can no longer be omitted from what we call the source of the future. Molzahn is a rare example of a pure artist who gives no thought to the market." Schmidt's words, lifted from their original context, had also been ridiculed in Wolfgang Willrich's *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art).<sup>1</sup> The quotation was resuscitated in the exhibition to suggest Schmidt's specious reasoning in championing Molzahn. A second text painted on the wall, "Madness becomes method," circumscribed the entire grouping of Molzahn's paintings and implied both a denunciation of his abstract style and of the German institutions that had purchased his work. Thirty-three of his works were eventually confiscated from those institutions by the National Socialists.

The six paintings by Molzahn were hung with other abstract works, including canvases by Willi Baumeister, El Lissitzky, and Piet Mondrian and a large group of watercolors by Kandinsky, condemned as "Crazy at any price." By grouping these artists together the National Socialists reduced their work to a meaningless blur of color and form. Neither the appearance of Molzahn's work nor the theoretical basis of his interest in abstraction—he had been inspired by the Futurists—had anything in common with Kandinsky's work or aesthetic intentions.

Molzahn attended the Grossherzogliche Zeichenschule (Grand-ducal school of drawing) in Weimar as a teenager. In 1912 he joined the circle of Hermann Huber, a Swiss artist, and during the next two years met Baumeister, Johannes Itten, Otto Meyer-Amden, and Oskar Schlemmer. Although Molzahn was trained as a photographer, under their influence he began to formulate a painting style.

In February 1915 Molzahn was drafted into the German army, where he remained until the war's end. In 1917 his work was exhibited at the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin. During the November Revolution of 1918 Molzahn sympathized with the Communist party leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were killed by Freikorps (Free corps) troops on January 15, 1919. His painting *Der Idee—Bewegung—Kampf* (Idea—movement—struggle) of that year originally bore the dedication, "To you, Karl Liebknecht." Fourteen years later he noted that his decision to paint out this dedication had been motivated not out of faltering commitment but by his understanding of the grave situation in which leftist artists found themselves.<sup>2</sup>

In 1919 Molzahn's "Das Manifest des absoluten Expressionismus" (The manifesto of absolute Expressionism) was published in the journal *Der Sturm* (The storm). Its effervescent language emphasized the "flaming energies of the pulsating orbit of the stars" that resound in man and determine "each work of art as a flaming symbol of the eternal."<sup>3</sup> The year 1919 also marked a period of intense artistic productivity for Molzahn.

Between 1918 and 1920 Molzahn was also affiliated with the Bauhaus. There is evidence that he recommended Paul Klee, Georg Muche, Schlemmer, and possibly Kandinsky to director Walter Gropius.<sup>4</sup> His far-left political sympathies may have been part of the reason he himself was never appointed a professor.<sup>5</sup> Molzahn's woodcut *Komposition* (Composition, fig. 304) of 1921, later exhibited in *Entartete Kunst*, was created in response to a commission from the Bauhaus graphic workshop.



Figure 304  
Molzahn, *Komposition* (Composition), 1921

Bruno Taut was instrumental in Molzahn's appointment to the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Magdeburg in 1923. Molzahn remained there until he accepted an appointment at the Staatlichen Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (State academy of fine and applied art) in Breslau in 1928. Although the Akademie was closed in April 1932, Molzahn refused to leave until his official dismissal early in 1933. Late in 1932 he wrote "Night has begun over Germany. Deeply, deeply one senses it oneself."<sup>6</sup> By March 1933 fear drove him to hide his books by Lenin and Marx. He had become politically suspect and his house was subjected to daily searches by the Gestapo.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of 1933 Molzahn went to Berlin with the hope that he could get some work done in that city. In the meantime his sister-in-law, a lawyer, helped him petition the Breslau Akademie for his salary under the terms of a contract that had guaranteed him a position until the autumn of 1936. His in-laws helped to support his family, which



included two sons. On December 19, 1934, the artist wrote to Schlemmer that his financial situation had become easier. Amazingly, the government had recognized the clause in his contract that called for six months' termination notice and granted him his salary through April 1934.<sup>8</sup>

Molzahn had his last exhibition in Germany in 1936 at the Galerie Feldhauser. In 1937, despite the fact he was virtually unknown in America, he gave serious thought to emigration and began to learn English. Two early supporters, Gropius and Katherine S. Dreier of the Société Anonyme, who had been acquiring his work since 1920, were decisive in getting him a professorship at the University of Washington in Seattle. He emigrated in 1938 and immediately tried to arrange for his oldest son to join him. His application was first delayed and then denied with the outbreak of war in Europe. In 1941 Molzahn moved to New York City. Two years later, through the efforts of Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, he taught briefly at the "New Bauhaus," the School of Design in Chicago. In the summer of 1944 he returned to New York.

At the end of the war Molzahn learned that both of his sons had been killed in active service. He returned in 1959 to Germany, where he took up residency in Munich. In April 1965 he was made a full professorial member of the Akademie der Künste (Academy of arts) in Berlin. He died six months later. (P. K.)

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Willrich, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels: Eine kunstpolitische Kampfschrift zur Gesundung deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer Art* (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1937), 84.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Molzahn, document of March 3, 1933, *Nachlass Ilse Molzahn*, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, cited in *Verboten, verfolgt: Künstlerdokumente im 3. Reich* (exh. cat. by Barbara Lepper, Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983), 134.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Molzahn, "Das Manifest des absoluten Expressionismus," *Der Sturm* 10, no. 6 (1919): 90, 92, cited in Dieter Schmidt, ed., *Manifeste Manifeste 1905–1933*, vol. 1 of *Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1965), 240–41.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Rohle, "People and Atmosphere in Weimar," in *Baukunst und Werkform* 2/3 (1953): 84, cited in Ernst Scheyer, "Molzahn, Muche, and the Weimar Bauhaus," in *Art Journal* 28, no. 3 (spring 1969): 270–74.

<sup>5</sup> Scheyer, "Molzahn, Muche, and the Weimar Bauhaus," 272. See also *Johannes Molzahn: Das malerische Werk* (exh. cat., Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1988), 19.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Molzahn, letter of November 17, 1932, *Nachlass Ilse Molzahn* (see note 2), cited in *Verboten, verfolgt*, 134.

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Molzahn, letter of March 3, 1933, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Johannes Molzahn: Das malerische Werk*, 34 n. 39.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

##### *Jungfräuliche Konstellation* (Virginal constellation)

1920

Oil on canvas, 82.5 x 99.5 cm (32½ x 39½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schade 22

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16061

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

##### *Meine neue Hohenmaschine* (My new big machine)

Exhibited as *Bessere Hohenmaschine* (Better big machine)

1920

Oil on canvas, 89.3 x 104.3 cm (35¼ x 41¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schade 20

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16060

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

##### *Gott der Flieger* (God of the aviators)

1921

Oil on canvas, 120 x 144 cm (47¼ x 56¾ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schade 25

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16062

Location unknown

##### *Horizontal Vögelwesen* (Horizontal bird-being)

1921

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Catalogue raisonné: Schade 24

Acquired in 1929 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16063

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

##### *Das Paar* (The couple)

c. 1930

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1930 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16065

Location unknown

##### *Zwillinge* (Twins)

c. 1930

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1931 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16059

Location unknown

##### *Komposition* (Composition)

Plate 10 from *Bauhaus Portfolio III*

1921

Woodcut, 276 x 152 cm (10¾ x 6 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler III/10

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room C2, NS inventory no. 162877

Location unknown, this print. Collection of the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, Los Angeles, gift of Mr and Mrs Fred Grunwald

Figure 304





Born 1872  
Amersfoort,  
The Netherlands  
  
Died 1944  
New York,  
New York

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition)

1923  
Oil on canvas, 83.5 x 59 cm (32 3/4 x 23 1/4 in.)  
Donated in 1929 to the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16072  
Location unknown

### *Farbige Aufteilung* (Chromatic division)

1928  
Oil on canvas, 41.2 x 32.9 cm (16 1/4 x 13 in.)  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16173  
Location unknown



Born 1895  
Querfurt  
  
Died 1987  
London

Georg Muche was twenty-five years old when Walter Gropius asked him in October 1919 to join the Bauhaus staff as a form-master of woodcarving. Muche's artistic career had begun only six years earlier in Munich, where he studied painting at the *Schule für Malerei und Graphik* (School of painting and graphics) between 1913 and 1915. In 1914 he took an admission examination for the *Königliche Bayerische Akademie der bildenden Künste* (Royal Bavarian Academy of fine arts) in Munich but was denied entrance. A year later he became an exhibition assistant at Herwarth Walden's *Galerie Der Sturm* in Berlin, and by January 1916 he had a joint show there with Max Ernst. Muche gave private painting lessons in 1915 and in September 1916 began to teach at the newly founded *Sturm Kunstschule* (Sturm school of art). Between February 1917 and September 1918 he served in a German infantry regiment.

Muche moved to Weimar in April 1920 and remained a master of woodcarving at the Bauhaus until 1922. In 1921 he became director of the weaving workshop, a post he retained until he left the school in June 1927. Muche also headed the committee for the first Bauhaus exhibition, in 1923. His contribution, a design for an experimental residence constructed of industrially prefabricated materials, was realized under the guidance of Adolf Meyer. It exemplified the theme of the exhibition and the new orientation of the school after 1923, "Art and Technology—A New Unity."

Although Muche's architectural interests fell in line with the Bauhaus's new theoretical direction, his painterly objectives

did not. His article "Industrieform und bildende Kunst" (Industrial form and fine art), published in 1926 in the first issue of the school's journal, made public his disagreement with Gropius's program to harness the visual arts to utilitarian ends. "Art and technology are not a new unity, their creative values are different by nature. Art has no ties to technology, it comes about in the utopia of its own reality!"<sup>1</sup> By July his dissatisfaction had deepened and he noted "It is terrible for me here. There can no longer be any doubt that I shall leave here in April. The fact is that I can no longer identify myself with the Bauhaus because of my aims and ideas, however vague they may be at the moment."<sup>2</sup>

In 1927 Muche returned to Berlin, where he accepted a professorial position at Johannes Itten's newly founded private art school. Muche had known Itten since 1916 and had been close to him at the Bauhaus. Both men held similar philosophical and pedagogical beliefs. Not only did they follow the doctrines of Mazdaznan, an eastern



Figure 305  
Muche, *Raderung mit Herz und Hand* (Etching with heart and hand), c. 1921

cult based on Zoroastrianism, but they had shared the responsibility for the Bauhaus's *Vorkurs* (preliminary course) until Itten's departure in 1923.<sup>3</sup>

Muche left Itten's school in 1930 and became a professor at the Breslau Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (State academy of fine and applied art) in October 1931. There he was reunited with his former Bauhaus colleagues Oskar Schlemmer and Johannes Molzahn. Two months after Muche arrived in Breslau, an emergency order was passed, and the school was closed as of April 1, 1932. In December 1933 Muche was notified that his contract had been terminated. Early in 1934 he returned to Berlin, and later that year he and several friends took a trip to Italy to investigate fresco techniques.

Muche's interest in frescoes had begun at least as early as 1930, when he submitted designs for the repainting of Breslau Cathedral (although the designs were purchased, they were never executed). The medium appealed to Muche aesthetically because it welded the visual arts to architecture.<sup>4</sup> His study of fresco techniques provided an opportunity for him to remain artistically engaged during a period when his own abstract style had been labeled "degenerate."<sup>5</sup> The result of Muche's study and experimentation with fresco was both an uncensored body of work and a book, *Buon Fresco*, published in 1938. A year later an exhibition of his fresco panels took place at the Galerie von der Heyde in Berlin. In these works Muche abandoned abstraction in favor of a representational style. With this move he aligned himself with a tradition of monumental painting revitalized by the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century artists Ferdinand Hodler and Hans von Marées.

Unlike Molzahn and Schlemmer, Muche was able to secure teaching appointments in National Socialist Germany, apparently without joining the party. Upon his arrival in Berlin in 1934 he obtained a position at the architect Hugo Häring's school Kunst und Werk (Art and work), formerly known as the Reimann-Schule

(Reimann school). Late in 1938 Muche left Häring's school, and early in 1939 he founded and led a master class in textile arts at the Textilingenieurschule (Textile engineering school) in Krefeld. The latter school, founded early in 1932, had been reorganized in 1934 and temporarily closed in 1938, following Itten's departure as director. Later, in his autobiography, *Blickpunkt* (Focal point), Muche attributed his relative autonomy in Nazi Germany to Häring's contacts and the atmosphere of tolerance he subsequently found in Krefeld, where he was not questioned about his past.<sup>6</sup> Ironically, Häring's own school was not entirely free from suspicion, an article of February 25, 1937, in *Das Schwarze Korps* (The black corps), the periodical published by the SS, was entitled, "Ist die Reimann-Schule arisch?" (Is the Reimann school Aryan?)

Despite the facts that Muche was represented with two works in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition<sup>7</sup> and that thirteen of his works were confiscated, he was confident enough to have set the conditions under which he accepted the position at the Textilingenieurschule. In a letter of October 29, 1938, to the chairman of the school's board of trustees he wrote: "Following a successful resolution of the committee, the full and exclusive responsibility for the pedagogic execution and development of the teaching plan shall be mine. In this connection I would like to stress that there shall not be any direct or immediate influence by the artistic advisors of the board of trustees upon the instructor or the students." Muche's terms were accepted despite the Nazi party affiliation of the school's director.<sup>8</sup>

In 1942 Muche went briefly to Dr Kurt Herbert's lacquer factory in Wuppertal, where he was reunited with Molzahn and Schlemmer. There he frescoed a large room that was destroyed the next year during a bombing raid. In 1944 he moved his textile class to Xanten, returning to Krefeld in 1946. Two years later Muche painted frescoes for the city's silk-industry building

and in 1949 for the Düsseldorf county assembly. He continued to lead his master class until 1958. Two years later he moved to Lindau/Bad where he remained active as both an artist and a writer until his death in 1987 (P. K.).

#### Notes

- 1 Georg Muche, "Industrieform und bildende Kunst," *Bauhaus* 1, no. 1 (1926), cited in Hans Maria Wingler, *The Bauhaus*, trans. Wolfgang Jabs and Basil Gilbert (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 114.
- 2 Eberhard Roters, *Painters of the Bauhaus* (New York: Praeger, 1965), 65.
- 3 Marcel Franciscano, *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of Its Founding Years* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 193, and *Georg Muche—Leist sagen* (exh. cat., Kassel: Neue Galerie Staatliche und Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1986), 133.
- 4 Georg Muche, *Buon Fresco: Briefe aus Italien über Handwerk und Stil der echten Freskomalerei* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1938), foreword.
- 5 Magdalena Droste, "Georg Muches Fresken," in *Georg Muche: Das malerische Werk 1928–1982* (exh. cat., Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv Museum für Gestaltung, 1983), 25.
- 6 Georg Muche, *Blickpunkt* (Munich: Albert Langen/Georg Müller, 1961), 122–23.
- 7 Mario Andreas von Lüttichau lists only one work by Muche (see his essay in this volume), however, the authors of *Georg Muche—Leist sagen*, 135, list two works, as do the authors of *Georg Muche: Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik aus den Jahren 1942–1973* (exh. cat., Freiburg: Städtischen Galerie Schwarzes Kloster, 1973), 15.
- 8 Georg Muche, letter to Wolfgang Müller-Oerlinghausen, October 29, 1938, cited in Gisela Linder, "Verlockungen zu Abenteuern der Stille und der Tiefe: Georg Muches figurale Bilder der Jahre 1928–1982," *Georg Muche: Das malerische Werk*, 18.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

##### *Raderung mit Herz und Hand*

(Etching with heart and hand)

Plate 10 from *Bauhaus Portfolio I*

c. 1921

Etching, 148 x 134 cm (5 7/8 x 5 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler I/10

Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau<sup>9</sup>

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16425

Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati Gallery (Los Angeles only); The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim Purchase Fund (Chicago only).

Figure 305

■

# Otto Mueller



Born 1874  
Liebau, Silesia  
Died 1930  
Breslau

The son of a civil servant who had wanted to be a sculptor, Otto Mueller was first apprenticed to a lithographer and then attended the Dresden Akademie from 1894 to 1896. He traveled to Munich to study with Franz von Stuck, but after having his work corrected by the master, he decided to work independently. Influenced by Arnold Böcklin and Hans von Marées, Mueller was also impressed by ancient Egyptian frescoes and developed lime watercolors to reproduce their color and texture. His compositions usually included figures with heads turned to the side and bodies viewed straight on, also reminiscent of Egyptian style. Mueller's palette, technique of distemper painting, and figural composition remained the same throughout his career.

Mueller met the painters of *Die Brücke* (The bridge) in 1910 at the first exhibition of the Berlin Neue Sezession (New secession), which had been formed as a "Salon des Refusés" after the Berlin Sezession rejected works submitted by Mueller and members of *Die Brücke*. Erich Heckel and the others found the tall, gangly, eccentric artist of like mind and immediately admitted him to their circle. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner described "the sensual harmony of his work" that made him a natural member of *Die Brücke* and added, "He brought us the charm of watercolor." Mueller exhibited as a member of the group along with *Der Blaue Reiter* (The blue rider) at Hans Goltz's gallery in Munich and at the *Sonderbund* exhibition in Cologne in 1912.<sup>1</sup>

Although Mueller was exempt from military service due to his poor health, he nevertheless volunteered in 1916 and served in an armored corps until 1918. He sustained



Figure 306  
Mueller, *Drei Frauen* (Three women), c. 1922





Figure 307  
Mueller, *Badende in Seelandschaft* (Bathers in a lakeside landscape), 1918

lung damage and was treated for lung hemorrhages in 1917, his war experience ultimately contributed to years of increasing debility and an early death. After the war Mueller became a member of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art), the first postwar artists' group in Germany to issue a call to artists to unite. Although Mueller signed the radical program of the Arbeitsrat, his art demonstrated no concern with politics. Nonetheless, he contributed prints to the radical journals *Der Anbruch* (The beginning) and *Die rote Erde* (The red earth), the latter published by Rosa Schapire and dedicated to the anticipated Socialist millennium. Mueller also joined the Novembergruppe (November group) and served as a member of the central business committee; along with Emil Nolde he became a part of the original artists' study section.<sup>2</sup>

The offer of a teaching position prompted Mueller to move to Breslau in 1919, where he remained until his death. He made several trips to Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania during the 1920s, where he found himself very attracted to the free and

colorful life of the gypsies. He often depicted them in scenes reminiscent of his travels. Two-dimensional nudes, withdrawn, slim adolescents, natural and unashamed in a landscape setting, were another frequent subject of his work.

Seven years after his death thirteen of Mueller's paintings were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. In Room 3 on the upper floor *Zwei Mädchenakte* (Two nude girls; fig. 309) was grouped with other paintings, many of female nudes, under the headings, "An insult to German womanhood" and "The ideal—cretin and whore." *Zigeuner vor dem Zelt* (Gypsies in front of a tent; fig. 313) hung above the slogan, "The Jewish longing for the wilderness reveals itself—In Germany the negro becomes the racial ideal of a degenerate art." Depictions of dark-skinned subjects ran counter to the tenets of racial purity inherent in the National Socialist creed.

Mueller's choice of subject matter and his participation in *Die Brücke* and avant-garde groups active during the years of the Weimar Republic were the factors responsible for his inclusion in *Entartete Kunst*. On May 12, 1933, almost three years after Mueller's death, an article entitled "Der Aufstieg der Kunst" (The ascendance of art) by Bruno E. Werner in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* described the artist as a "carrier of the national revolution" among the *Brücke* and *Blaue Reiter* artists.<sup>3</sup> (D. G.)

#### Notes

1 Orrell P. Reed, Jr., *German Expressionist Art: The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection* (exh. cat., Los Angeles University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 53.

2 Biographical information about Otto Mueller was summarized from Lothar Gunther Buchheim, *Otto Mueller: Leben und Werk* (Feldafing: Buchheim, 1963), and Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society* (New York: Ekevier, 1976).

3 Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 83.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Zwei Akte* (Two nudes)  
c. 1912  
Tempera on canvas, 188 x 70 cm (74 x 27½ in.)  
Acquired in 1921 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15990  
Location unknown

*Badende in Seelandschaft*  
(Bathers in a lakeside landscape)  
1918  
Tempera on canvas, 110 x 85 cm (43¼ x 33½ in.)  
Acquired in 1923 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16227  
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1948  
Figure 307

*Knabe vor zwei stehenden und einem sitzenden Mädchen*  
(Boy in front of two standing girls and one sitting girl)  
*Akte* (Nudes)  
1918/19  
Oil on canvas, 120.5 x 88 cm (47½ x 34½ in.)  
Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit from 1935 confiscation from Max Perle)  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15970  
Kunststiftung in Emden, Stiftung Henri Nannen, 1979  
Figure 308

*Zwei Mädchenakte* (Two nude girls)  
Exhibited as *Akte* (Nudes)  
c. 1919  
Tempera on canvas, 87.4 x 70.6 cm (34¼ x 27¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit from 1935 confiscation from Max Perle)  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15995, Fischer lot 101  
Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1976  
Figure 309

*Liebespaar* (Lovers)  
*Paar* (Couple)  
c. 1920  
Tempera on canvas, 98.5 x 74 cm (38¼ x 29¼ in.)  
Donated in 1920 to the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15994  
Sprengel Museum Hannover  
Figure 310



Figure 308  
Mueller, *Knabe vor zwei stehenden und einem sitzenden Mädchen* (Boy in front of two standing girls and one sitting girl), 1918/19

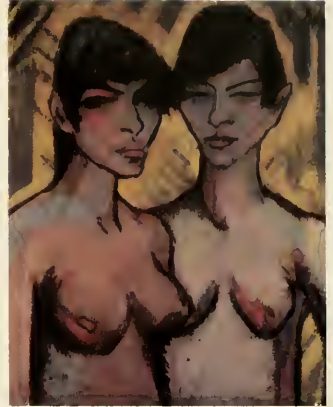


Figure 309  
Mueller, *Zwei Madonnenakte* (Two nude girls), c. 1919

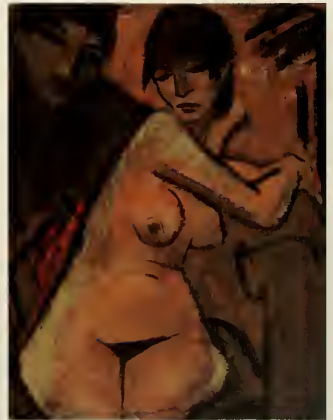


Figure 310  
Mueller, *Liebespaar* (Lovers), 1920

*Sommertag* (Summer day)

*Waldteich mit Badenden* (Forest pool with bathers)  
1921

Tempera on canvas, 80 x 98 cm (31½ x 38¾ in.)  
Acquired in 1922 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16091  
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1958

Figure 311

*Drei Akte vor dem Spiegel*

(Three nudes in front of a mirror)  
c. 1922

Watercolor, 352 x 255 cm (137½ x 101 in.)  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16360  
Location unknown

*Drei Frauen* (Three women)

*Drei Akte in Landschaft* (Three nudes in a landscape)  
c. 1922

Tempera on canvas, 119.5 x 88.5 cm (47 x 34¾ in.)  
Acquired by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15972, Fischer lot 100  
Brücke-Museum, Berlin, 1989  
Figure 306

*Wölblicher Akt* (Female nude: Girl on a rock by the lake)  
1923

Watercolor, colored chalk, 68.6 x 52.7 cm  
(27 x 20¾ in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16270  
On commission to Boehmer, 1939, location unknown

*Zwei nackte Mädchen im Grase sitzend*

(Two nude girls sitting in the grass)  
Exhibited as *Akte im Grünen* (Nudes in greenery)  
1923

Watercolor, colored chalk, 52.6 x 68.5 cm  
(20¾ x 27 in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 16456  
Location unknown

*Sechs Akte in der Landschaft* (Six nudes in a landscape)

1924  
Tempera on canvas, 95 x 120 cm (37½ x 47¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Staatliches Museum für Kunst  
und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16014  
Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle, 1957  
Figure 314

*Zigeuner vor dem Zelt* (Gypsies in front of a tent,  
The gypsy encampment)  
c. 1925

Oil on canvas, 105 x 145 cm (41½ x 57¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1931 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15971  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Robert H.  
Tannahill, 1957  
Figure 313

*Zigeunerkind mit Esel* (Gypsy child with donkey)  
Exhibited as *Esel mit Kind* (Donkey with child)  
1927

Tempera on canvas, 115.5 x 88 cm (45½ x 34¾ in.)  
Acquired by the Schölesches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15961  
Private collection, Berlin, 1987  
Figure 312

*Badende Frau* (Woman bathing)

Tempera on canvas, 98 x 84.5 cm (38½ x 33¼ in.)  
Donated in 1924 to the Ruhmeshalle,  
Barmen/Wuppertal  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16188  
On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

*Badende im Schiff* (Bathers in the reeds)

Tempera on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1931 by the Schölesches Museum der  
bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16089  
On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

*Grünes und braunes Mädchen* (Green girl and brown girl)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16358  
On commission to Boehmer, bought 1939,  
location unknown

*Liebespaar* (Lovers)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1919 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16355  
On commission to Boehmer, sold 1939,  
location unknown

*Nacktes Paar* (Nude couple)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16359  
Location unknown



Figure 311  
Mueller, *Sommertag* (Summer day), 1921



Figure 312  
Mueller, *Zigeunerkind mit Esel* (Gypsy child with  
donkey), 1927





Figure 313  
Mueller, *Zigeuner vor dem Zelt* (Gypsies in front of a tent), c. 1925



Figure 314  
Mueller, *Sechs Akte in der Landschaft* (Six nudes in a landscape), 1924

*Waldteich mit Badenden* (Forest pool with bathers)  
*Waldbach mit Badenden* (Forest brook with bathers)  
Tempera on canvas, 83 x 107 cm (32 3/4 x 42 1/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1923 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16102  
On commission to Boehmer, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Waldteich mit Badenden* (Forest pool with bathers)  
Tempera on canvas, 84 x 106 cm (33 1/4 x 41 3/4 in.)  
Acquired in 1923 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16103  
On commission to Boehmer, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Zigeunerin* (Gypsy woman)  
Tempera on canvas, 100.5 x 75 cm (39 3/4 x 29 1/2 in.)  
Acquired by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15969  
Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und  
Kulturgeschichte, Münster, 1953  
Figure 30

*Zwei Mädchen am Baum* (Two girls by a tree)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16357  
On commission to Boehmer, bought 1939,  
location unknown

*Zwei Mädchen im Grünen* (Two girls in greenery)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16356  
Private collection

*Zwei Menschen* (Two people)  
Exhibited as *Paar* (Couple)  
Postcard, 9 x 141 cm (3 1/2 x 5 1/2 in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 16299  
Location unknown

*Zigeunerin* (Gypsy woman)  
Lithograph, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden  
Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16382  
Location unknown



## Erich(?) Nagel

Birth date unknown

Death date unknown

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Landschaft aus dem Sauerland* (Sauerland landscape)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16115  
On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

## Heinrich Nauen



Born 1880

Krefeld

Died 1941

Kalkar

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Sonnenblumen* (Sunflowers)  
*Vasenstillleben* (Still life with vase)  
1912  
Painting, medium unknown, 151 x 90 cm  
(59½ x 35½ in.)  
Acquired in 1919 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14129  
Bernhard A. Boehmer, Güstrow, 1939–40, location unknown

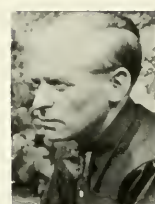
*Bildnis Flechtheim* (Portrait of Flechtheim)  
c. 1920  
Oil on cardboard, 72 x 57 cm (28½ x 22½ in.)  
Acquired in 1924 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14165  
Destroyed

*Ahrenleserinnen* (Cleaners)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 4789  
Location unknown

*Kuhwilde* (Cow pasture)  
Painting, medium unknown, 99.5 x 119 cm  
(39¾ x 46¾ in.)  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14169  
Location unknown

*Madonna mit den Tieren* (Madonna with the animals)  
Portrait (Portrait?)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Kunstverein, Barmen  
Room 7, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

## Ernst Wilhelm Nay



Born 1902

Berlin

Died 1968

Cologne

In 1925 Ernst Wilhelm Nay was considered the most gifted painter in Karl Hofer's class at the Berliner Kunstakademie (Berlin academy of art). A series of early successes marked Nay's career, beginning with exhibitions of his work at the Galerie Nierendorf in Berlin between 1925 and 1928. In 1927 the critic Paul Westheim published a laudatory article about the young artist in *Das Kunstblatt* (The art paper). Nay became a member of the Verein Berliner Künstler (Berlin artists league) in 1929, at the age of twenty-seven, which provided him with additional opportunities to show his work. In 1930 a painting of the sea that he had completed on a summer trip to Bornholm was acquired by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin. The following year Nay won the Villa Massimo prize of the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts), which included a year's stay in Rome. When he returned from Italy in 1932, however, he realized that times had changed in Germany, and he soon found the political climate disadvantageous to his career.

Nay's work was still included in the spring exhibition of the Berliner Sezession (Berlin secession) in 1933, along with that of Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee, and Oskar Schlemmer. The foreword of the catalogue stated that the painters represented in the exhibition demonstrated a German spirit in their inquisitiveness.<sup>1</sup> In early 1936, however, Nay was called to the offices of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) and questioned as to whether he had "changed," that is, altered his abstract style of painting. When it became clear that he had not and would not, he was degraded to a "degenerate" artist.



Figure 315  
Nay Fischerboote an der Hafenmole (Fishing boats at the harbor pier), 1930



Figure 316  
Nay Fischerdorf Tejn auf Bornholm (Fishing village of Tejn on Bornholm), 1930

No longer allowed to exhibit, no longer eligible for the prizes he had often won for his paintings, Nay became dependent on the help of his friends to survive. When the artist was forbidden to sell his work, Carl Georg Heise, the former director of the museum in Lübeck, found various "friends of art" in that city who were prepared to pay a monthly amount in exchange for a work by Nay that they would receive some time in the future. The dealer Günther Franke in Munich, whom the artist had met in 1932, continued to exhibit Nay's work in the back room of his gallery, even during the war. Heise also wrote to Edvard Munch on Nay's behalf and asked him to secure a scholarship for Nay to travel to Norway during the summer of 1937. Nay painted pictures on the trip that he sold in Oslo and thereby financed journeys throughout Scandinavia.<sup>2</sup>

While Nay was in Norway, ten of his works were confiscated from German museums, and two appeared in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, *Fischerboote an der Hafenmole* (Fishing boats at the harbor pier, fig. 315) was in a group headed, "Nature as seen by sick minds." Nay bore the distinction of being the youngest "degenerate" artist included in *Entartete Kunst*. He fell into the ninth of the categories defined in the exhibition guide, which identified any degree of abstraction as "sheer insanity."

Nay was conscripted in 1940 and sent to Le Mans in France to serve the army

as a cartographer. While there he gained the support of a French sculptor, Pierre Terouanne, who put his studio, paints, and canvas at Nay's disposal. After 1945 Nay moved to Hofheim in the Taunus region and resumed his public career. As postwar abstraction gained increasing recognition, Nay's prestige followed suit. He participated in the Venice Biennale in 1948 and was given his first retrospective exhibition in Hannover in 1950. A controversy with Hofer, his former teacher, regarding the relative merits of representational and abstract art prompted him to withdraw from the newly revived Deutscher Künstlerbund (League of German artists), the single negative note in an otherwise remarkably positive chain of events. Having become one of Germany's leading artists, Nay was accorded a prominent place in the first three *Documenta* exhibitions in Kassel in 1955, 1959, and 1964 and represented West Germany at the Venice Biennale in 1964. A new stylistic period, beginning that year with the dramatic *Augenbilder* (Eye pictures), was marked by a simplification of forms and reduction of colors. Numerous exhibitions, honors, awards, and travel, including trips to the United States and Japan, distinguished the last four years of Nay's life, which ended with heart failure in Cologne in 1968 (D.G.).

#### Notes

1 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstskulptur im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 56.

2 Peter-Klaus Schuster, "The 'Inner Emigration' Art for No One," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 461.

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Fischerboote an der Hafenmole*  
(Fishing boats at the harbor pier)  
1930  
Oil on canvas, 50 x 70 cm (19 1/4 x 27 1/2 in.)  
On loan to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, from 1931  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16112  
Private collection  
Figure 315

*Fischerdorf Tejn auf Bornholm*  
(Fishing village of Tejn on Bornholm)  
1930  
Oil on canvas, 55 x 89 cm (21 1/4 x 35 in.)  
Acquired in 1931 by the Museum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, Lübeck  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16189  
Private collection, Germany  
Figure 316



Born 1896  
Bad Salzungen

Died 1971  
Hagen

In 1933 Karel Niestrath was thirty-nine years old, an artist not quite established in his field but with eight one-man exhibitions to his credit. The National Socialist regime effectively ruined his career by halting his advancement by means of the prohibitions inflicted upon him and the others they named as “degenerate” artists.

In his youth Niestrath had enrolled in a wood-sculpting course after completion of his primary education, without intending to become a sculptor. Upon his return from service in the First World War, during his hospital confinement for a severe foot injury, he decided to attend the *Werkkunstschule* (School of applied arts) in Bielefeld. After a few semesters he transferred to the *Kunstakademie* (Academy of art) in Dresden, where Otto Dix was the guiding spirit. Under this influence Niestrath's work grew beyond classic academic formalism to more profane subject matter and social-critical content. His sculptures and graphic works were typically concerned with four specific themes: a depiction of postwar Germany, with its rampant hunger, disabled veterans, and other victims of deprivation; pregnant women and mothers with children in madonnalike poses; representations of simple citizens, those he called “innocents”; and portraits of his contemporaries, famous and obscure. His style was a response to elements of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity), and he was also greatly influenced by the work of Ernst Barlach and Käthe Kollwitz and by the art of the Middle Ages.

After completing his studies in 1924 Niestrath moved to Hagen. The director of the *Kunstverein* (Art association) of the neighboring community of Bielefeld took an interest in his work, and soon he was one of the best-known artists in that area of Germany. Both the municipal museums of Bielefeld and Hagen acquired his works.

Two of his sculptures, confiscated from Hagen, the wood *Blumenträger* (Flower bearer) and the bronze *Die Hungerige* (The starving woman, fig. 317), were on view in Room 3 on the upper floor of *Entartete Kunst*. Not only was Niestrath's subject matter anathema to the National Socialist ideologues, his forms—oversized heads, hunched shoulders, columnar bodies lacking in grace—were in complete disagreement with official aesthetic standards. Forty-two works by Niestrath were seized from public collections and buildings in 1937, which removed not only the artworks but also Niestrath's name from the public consciousness.

At the end of the war Niestrath felt he was too old to start over. He considered himself an amputee, his work cut in half and his life robbed of twelve productive years. The postwar years also brought a change in popular art styles—especially an inclination toward abstraction—of which Niestrath did not feel a part. He felt history had done him an injustice.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in 1952, Niestrath accepted a teaching position in sculpture at the *Werkkunstschule* in Dortmund. He produced a war memorial for the city, various portraits, and some small sculptures before his death in 1971 (D. G.).

#### Notes

1. Eugen Thiemann, *Karel Niestrath* (exh. cat., Dortmund: Museum am Ostwall, 1973), 33.



Figure 317  
Niestrath, *Die Hungerige* (The starving woman), 1928

#### Work in “Entartete Kunst”

*Die Hungerige* (The starving woman)  
1928  
Bronze, height 140 cm (55½ in.)  
Acquired in 1935 by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16235  
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf  
Figure 317

*Blumenträger* (Flower bearer)  
Wood, height c. 120 cm (47½ in.)  
Acquired by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16244  
Location unknown

# Emil Nolde



Born 1867  
Nolde  
Died 1956  
Seebüll

A native of Nolde in Schleswig, Emil Hansen adopted the name of his birthplace as his own. He studied drawing part-time and produced his first painting at the age of twenty-nine. In 1906 he joined the group of Expressionists known as *Die Brücke* (The bridge), with whom he remained only one year. His dramatic work was controversial, yet *Abendmahl* (The Last Supper, fig. 108) was the first Expressionist picture bought for a German museum, the Moritzburg in Halle, in 1910.

In late 1913 Nolde and his wife joined a scientific expedition traveling through Russia, Siberia, China, and Japan to the South Seas. Always a nationalist, Nolde judged Japan to be "the Germany of the East" but did not believe that its people had "the

depth and substance of the Germans."<sup>1</sup> This nationalism and his lifelong belief in racial purity were contradicted, however, by his actions after the South Seas trip. "In 1914 he wrote an enraged letter to the colonial office in Berlin, condemning the rape of tribal cultures by 'civilized' powers and insisting on the aesthetic worth of tribal art."<sup>2</sup> He concluded that German museums should collect these last traces of primal man while it was still possible.

At the onset of the First World War Nolde was forty-five years old and consequently did not serve. At the war's end, he joined the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' council for art), yet in 1920 he became a charter member of the North Schleswig branch of the National Socialist party. Nolde was politically naive; he found the ideology espoused by his new party in keeping with his own conservative beliefs. As an artist, however, Nolde was daring and instinctive. He loved luminous colors and the flat northern landscape. He harbored a suspicion of the city and preferred as subject matter the cyclical rhythms of nature, primordial myths and legends, and biblical motifs. His South Sea oils stressed the exotic

and the savage. Nolde's works were appreciated by those who saw them as Nordic expressions of ecstatic archetypes, but National Socialist ideologues such as critic Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder believed Expressionism reflected the racial chaos of Germany. In her view, fascination with the life of people of a simpler nature and darker color was an indication of degeneration.<sup>3</sup>

Alois Schardt, on the contrary, called from Halle by the National Socialists to replace Ludwig Justi as director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, tried to explain Expressionism in terms of the past. He was an admirer of Nolde, whose paintings he saw as analogous to the prophetic ecstasy of early medieval work. Charged with a reinstallation of the galleries, he gave Nolde's works a large room to themselves and responded affirmatively when asked to lend Joseph Goebbels paintings by Nolde for his private apartment in Berlin. In late 1933, when Schardt was asked to step down, his replacement, Eberhard Hanfstaengl, continued strengthening the holdings of the Neue Abteilung, the modern section of the Nationalgalerie, with works from private collections, including paintings by Nolde.<sup>4</sup>

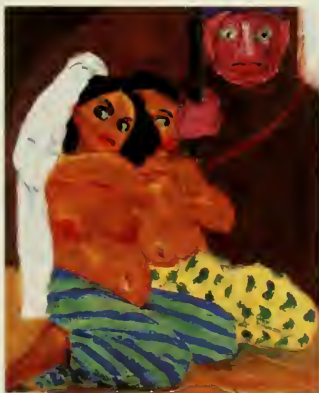


Figure 318  
Nolde, *Akte und Eunuch* (Nudes and eunuch), 1912

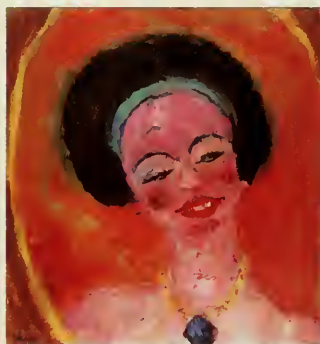


Figure 319  
Nolde, *Mulatin* (Mulatto woman), 1913



Figure 320  
Nolde, *Russe II* (Russian II), 1914





Figure 321  
*Heilige Nacht* (The nativity)



Figure 322  
*Der zwölfjährige Christus* (Christ among the doctors)



Figure 323  
*Die Heiligen Drei Könige* (The three magi)



Figure 324  
*Christus und Judas* (The kiss of Judas)

Figure 321–29  
Nolde, *Das Leben Christi* (The life of Christ), 1911–12





Figure 325  
*Krietzberg (Crucifixion)*



Figure 326  
*Fraum am Grab (Holy women at the tomb)*

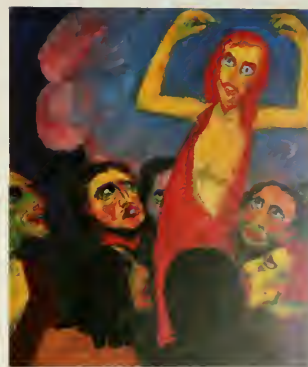


Figure 327  
*Himmelfahrt (Ascension)*



Figure 328  
*Auferstehung (Resurrection)*



Figure 329  
*Der ungläubige Thomas (The incredulity of Thomas)*

Earlier in the summer of 1933 Nolde's work had been included in an exhibition sponsored by young artist members of the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students) in Berlin who were attempting to illustrate the union of National Socialism and modern art. The students' association had defended the Expressionists in a debate with the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture), a debate that had been sparked by the latter's rejection of Nolde's application for membership. The Kampfbund's newspaper called Nolde a "technical nincompoop."<sup>5</sup> Other press reports evidenced a similar attitude toward Expressionism in general. On July 7, 1933, Alfred Rosenberg wrote an article in the party's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, in which he unexpectedly pronounced Nolde's seascapes interesting, "strong and powerful." Others of his works in the Nationalgalerie, however, Rosenberg declared to be negroid, raw, without piety and inner strength of form.<sup>6</sup> Because of Goebbels's earlier tolerance, however, Nolde thought the work of the Expressionists was not irreconcilable with the National Socialist cultural program. Others, too, such as museum director Max Sauerlandt in Hamburg, had spoken up for Nolde's art and its Nordic background. Nolde himself, in his 1934 autobiography, *Jahre der Kämpfe* (Years of struggle), had attacked the paintings of "halfbreeds, bastards, and mulattoes," and described the natural superiority of the Nordic peoples.

Along with Ernst Barlach, Erich Heckel, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and others, Nolde signed a call for loyalty to the Führer in 1934, after the death of President Hindenburg and the action that led to the assassination of powerful SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troop) head Ernst Röhm and his colleagues. But in September 1934, when Hitler made clear his cultural policy at the party's annual meeting in Nuremberg, Goebbels ceased his support of the Expressionists. Subsequently, in 1935, works by

Nolde, Max Beckmann, Lyonel Feininger, and Heckel were withdrawn from a Munich exhibition of contemporary art from Berlin. In 1936 Nolde was forbidden to engage in any "activity, professional or amateur, in the realm of art" because of what was described as his "cultural irresponsibility."<sup>7</sup>

A staggering total of 1,052 of Nolde's works were confiscated in 1937 from German museums, and twenty-seven of them were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. The great altarpiece *Das Leben Christi* (The life of Christ, fig. 321–29) was the main focus of the installation in the first gallery on the upper floor, beside the commentary, "Insolent mockery of the Divine under Centrist rule." Nolde went to see the exhibition with his friend and supporter Friedrich Doehlemann, director of the Bayerische Gemeindebank (Bavarian community bank), which had financed the Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German art), Munich's new museum for officially approved modern German art.<sup>8</sup> They found the altarpiece presented as an example of the violation of German religious attitudes. Nolde was so confused and distressed that he canceled the celebration of his seventieth birthday that he had planned with friends in Seebüll.<sup>9</sup> He protested the treatment accorded him and wrote to Goebbels and education minister Bernhard Rust, demanding that "the defamation against [him] cease." He emphasized his old German background, arguing that his art was "vigorous, durable, and ardent" and demanding the return of his seized property.<sup>10</sup> He was successful in the latter.

One year later Nolde participated in the protest exhibition of works by the "degenerate" artists staged at the Burlington Galleries in London. Also in 1938 he began to paint what he called his "unpainted pictures," a cycle of more than thirteen hundred watercolors on scraps of rice paper that varied in size from five to ten inches. He could not use oils because he feared the odor would compromise him. In October 1944 Nolde wrote "only to you, my little pictures, do I sometimes confide my grief,



Figure 334  
Nolde, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige* (The three magi), 1913



Figure 335  
Nolde, *Diskussion* (Discussion), 1913





Figure 330  
Nolde, *Herbstmeer IX* (Autumn sea IX), 1910



Figure 331  
Nolde, *Hultoft Hof* (Hultoft farmhouse), 1932

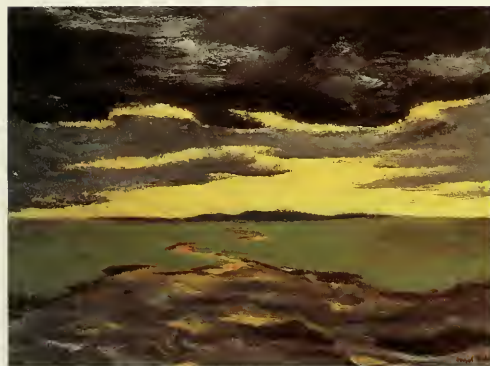


Figure 332  
Nolde, *Vorabend* (Early evening), 1916

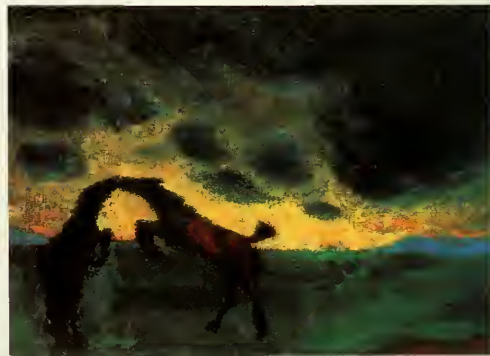


Figure 333  
Nolde, *Junge Pferde* (Young horses), 1916

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Figure 334  
Nolde, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige* (The three magi), 1913



Figure 335  
Nolde, *Diskussion* (Discussion), 1913

my torment, my contempt"<sup>11</sup> The cycle ended in 1945, "when the chains fell," as Nolde described it. From these small water-colors came more than one hundred large works in oil painted by Nolde between 1945 and 1951.<sup>12</sup>

Ironically, the National Socialists considered the "Nordic" Nolde, a member of the party, one of the most contemptible of the "degenerate" artists. No one occupied the officials more. As late as May 1940 the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich security headquarters) had discussions about him,<sup>13</sup> and he canceled a trip to Berlin so as not to draw attention to himself. In 1941 he was removed from the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) and forbidden to work. He was also advised that his membership in the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts) was revoked because his work was not in keeping with the National Socialist realm of thought (*Gedankengut*).<sup>14</sup>

In 1946 Nolde was appointed professor of art by the government of Schleswig-Holstein, but his last years were marred by arguments and discussions about his earlier support of the National Socialists. (D. G.)

## Notes

- 1 Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 99.
- 2 Iill Lloyd, "Primitivism and Modernity: An Expressionist Dilemma," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 109.
- 3 Reinhard Merker, *Die bildenden Künste im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: DuMont, 1983), 80.
- 4 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 61.
- 5 *Blätter des deutschen Kampfbundes*, cited in Werner Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted: Dictatorship of Art under Hitler*, trans. Eileen Martin (Cologne: DuMont, 1986), 19.
- 6 Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 46.
- 7 Rave, *Kunstpolitik*, 78.
- 8 Hans-Joachim Hecker, "Missbrauchtes Mazenamentum" in Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 57.
- 9 Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted*, 19.
- 10 Henry Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 109, and Rave, *Kunstpolitik*, 77.
- 11 Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists*, 82.
- 12 Haftmann, *Banned and Persecuted*, 237.
- 13 Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste*, 349.
- 14 Ibid.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Abendmahl* (The Last Supper)

1909

Oil on canvas, 86 x 107 cm (33 7/8 x 42 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 316

Acquired in 1913 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg); Halle

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15944

Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 1956

Figure 108

*Junge Ochsen* (Young oxen)

1909

Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 88.5 cm (26 x 34 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 306

Acquired in 1923 by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Magdeburg

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16099

Saarland-Museum, Saarbrücken

Figure 339

*Christus und die Kinder* (Christ among the children)

1910

Oil on canvas, 86.7 x 106.4 cm (34 1/8 x 41 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 350

Acquired in 1918 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15946

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, gift of Dr. W. R. Valentiner, 1955

Figure 336



Figure 336  
Nolde, *Christus und die Kinder* (Christ among the children), 1910



Figure 337  
Nolde, *Heilige Maria von Ägypten* (Saint Mary of Egypt), 1912



*Frisian houses II* (Tristan houses II)

*Friesische Dorfstrasse* (Tristan village street)

1910

Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 81.5 cm (25 x 32 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 340

Acquired in 1926 by the Altonaer Museum, Hamburg

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16088

Private collection

Figure 340

■

*Herbstmaler IX* (Autumn sea IX)

1910

Oil on canvas, 65 x 85 cm (25½ x 33½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 397

Acquired in 1933 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16093

Sprengel Museum Hannover, 1979

Figure 330

■

*Die klugen und die törichte Jungfrauen*

(The wise and the foolish virgins)

1910

Oil on canvas, 86 x 106 cm (33½ x 41½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 347

Acquired in 1922 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15947

Burned at Teupitz, 1945

*Frauenprofil* (Profile of a woman)

*Dame mit Hut* (Lady in a hat)

1911

Oil on canvas, 78 x 45 cm (30½ x 17½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 433

Acquired in 1924 by the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,

Stuttgart

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16225

Location unknown

*Das Leben Christi* (The life of Christ)

Exhibited as *Kreuzigung* (Crucifixion)

1911–12

Oil on canvas,

central panel 220.5 x 193.5 cm (86½ x 76½ in.),

eight panels each 100 x 86 cm (39½ x 33½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 421–23, 477–82

On loan to the Museum Folkwang, Essen, 1932–37

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15941

Nolde Stiftung, Seebüll, 1939

Figures 321–29

*Stilleben mit Holzfigur* (Still life with wooden figure)

*Stilleben mit Negerplastik* (Still life with statue of a negro)

1911

Oil on canvas, 77 x 65 cm (30½ x 25½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 444

Acquired in 1922 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15962

Mrs. Max M. Stern

Figure 341

■

*Akte und Eunuch* (Nudes and eunuch)

*Haremswächter* (Harem guard)

1912

Oil on canvas, 88 x 74 cm (34½ x 29½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 514

Acquired in 1925 by the Staatliches Museum für Kunst

und Kunstgewerbe (Museum of Art and

Decorative Arts), Halle

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15967

Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington,

Jane and Roger Wolcott Memorial

Figure 318

■

*Heilige Maria von Agypten* (Saint Mary of Egypt)

*Der Tod der Maria aus Agypten*

(The death of Mary of Egypt)

1912

Oil on canvas, 87 x 100.5 cm (34½ x 39½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 522

Acquired in 1925 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15945

Museum Folkwang, Essen, 1950

Figure 337

■

*Mann und Weibchen* (Man and female)

1912

Oil on canvas, 73 x 88 cm (28½ x 34½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné Urban 515

Bequeathed to the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15966

On commission to Gurlitt, exchanged 1941,

location unknown

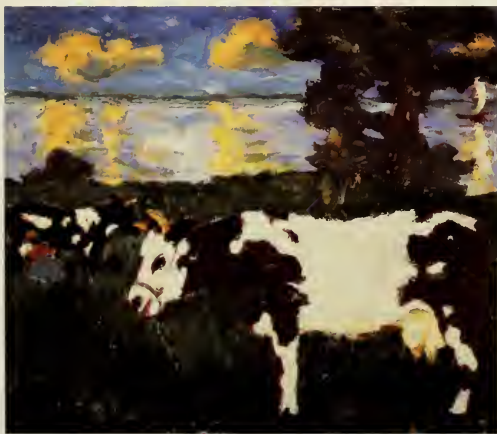


Figure 338  
Nolde, *Kuhmelken* (Milk cows), 1913



Figure 339  
Nolde, *Junge Ochsen* (Young oxen), 1909



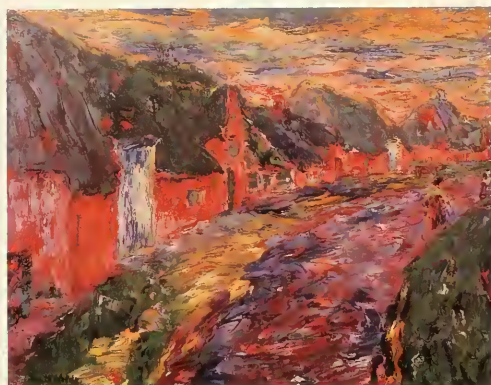


Figure 340  
Nolde, *Friesenhäuser II* (Frisian houses II), 1910



Figure 341  
Nolde, *Stilleben mit Holzfigur* (Still life with wooden figure), 1911

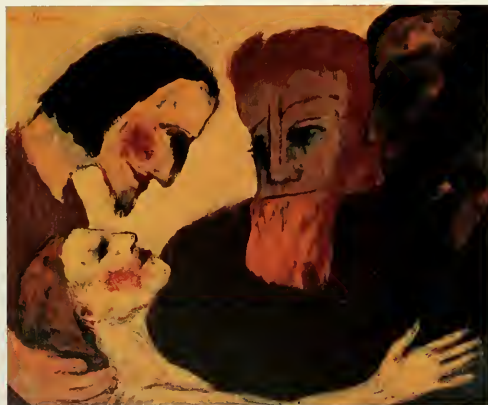


Figure 342  
Nolde, *Christus und die Sünderin* (Christ and the adulteress), 1926

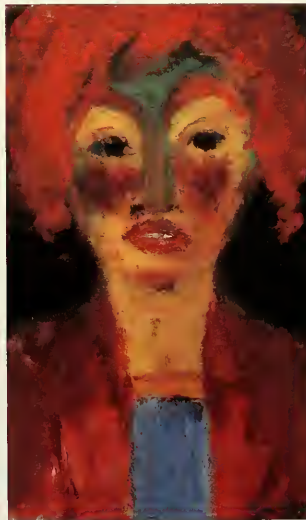


Figure 343  
Nolde, *Rothhaarges Mädchen* (Red-haired girl), 1919

*Kuhmilken* (Milk cows)

*Gefleckte Kühe* (Spotted cows)

1913

Oil on canvas, 86 x 100 cm (33 1/4 x 39 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 583

Acquired in 1928 by the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16098, Fischer lot 108

Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld, 1949

Figure 335

■

*Mulattin* (Mulatto woman)

1913

Oil on canvas, 77.5 x 73 cm (30 1/2 x 28 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 569

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg), Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16048

The Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, G. David Thompson Fund, 1954

Figure 319

■

*Stilleben* (Webern, Kopf, und Plastik)

(Still life [Woven material, head, and sculpture])

*Stilleben mit Maske und liegendem Akt*

(Still life with mask and reclining nude)

1913

Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 71 cm (30 1/8 x 28 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 541

Acquired in 1926 by the Gemälde-Sammlung im Behnhaus, Lübeck

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16224

Burned at Teupitz, 1945

*Russe II* (Russian II)

1914

Oil on canvas, 68 x 59.5 cm (26 3/4 x 23 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 621

Acquired in 1920 by the Städtisches Museum, Erfurt

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16011

Marion and Nathan Smooke

Figure 320

■

*Junge Pferde* (Young horses)

1916

Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 100.3 cm (28 1/2 x 39 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 727

Acquired by exchange in 1935 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16129

Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, purchase and exchange with Donald Karshan, 1979

Figure 333

■

*Vorabend* (Early evening)

1916

Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 100.5 cm (28 1/2 x 39 1/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 725

Acquired in 1920 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16157

Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1939

Figure 332

■

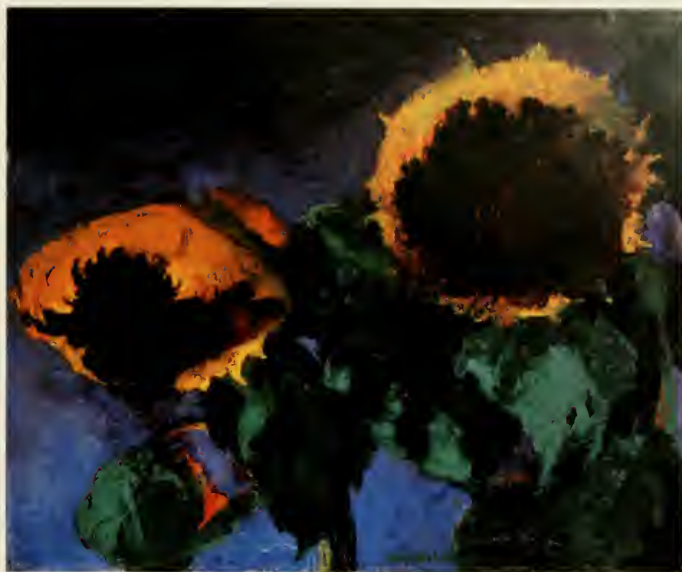


Figure 344

Nölde, *Rote Sonnenblumen* (Sunflowers), 1932

*Frau zwischen Blumen* (Woman among flowers)

*Gartenbild mit Figur* (Garden scene with figure)

1918

Oil on canvas, 73 x 88 cm (28 3/4 x 34 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 822

Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16123

Private collection

*Rothhaariges Mädchen* (Red-haired girl)

*Madchenkopf* (Head of a girl)

1919

Oil on canvas, 65 x 34.5 cm (25 1/2 x 13 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 836

Acquired in 1924 by the Provinzialmuseum, Hannover

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16012

LaVonne and George Tagge

Figure 343

■

*Masken IV* (Masks IV)

1920

Oil on canvas, 86 x 66 cm (33 1/2 x 26 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 895

Donated in 1922 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15978

Private collection

Figure 400

■

*Blumengarten X* (Flower garden X)

1926

Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 88 cm (28 1/2 x 34 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 1025

Acquired in 1929 by the Kunsthalle Kiel

Room C1, NS inventory no. 16186, Fischer lot 105

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1939

Figure 326

■

*Christus und die Sündlerin* (Christ and the adulteress)

1926

Oil on canvas, 86 x 106 cm (33 1/2 x 41 3/4 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 1038

Acquired in 1929 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15934, Fischer lot 104

Private collection

Figure 342

*Hultloft Hof* (Hultloft farmhouse)

1932

Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 95.5 cm (28 1/2 x 37 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Urban 1121

Acquired in 1934 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16144

Thomas Entz von Zerssen Trust

Figure 331

■

*Reife Sonnenblumen* (Sunflowers)

1932  
Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 89 cm (28 7/8 x 35 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Urban 1124  
Acquired by exchange in 1935 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 16130  
The Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Robert H. Tannahill

Figure 344

*Frauenkopf* (Head of a woman)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16183  
Location unknown

*Schiffgelahrte* (Scribes)

1911  
Etching, 26.5 x 30 cm (10 1/2 x 11 3/4 in.)  
Original location unknown  
Location in *Entartete Kunst* unknown,  
NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown, this print Granvil and Marcia Specks Collection

Figure 345

*Mann und Weibchen* (Man and female)

1912  
Woodcut, 23.5 x 30.5 cm (9 1/4 x 12 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schieffler/Mosel III, 1–3  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16385  
Location unknown, this print Granvil and Marcia Specks Collection

Figure 346

*Prophetenkopf* (Head of a prophet)

1912  
Woodcut, 32.7 x 22 cm (12 7/8 x 8 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schieffler/Mosel 110  
Acquired in 1929 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16302  
Destroyed, this print Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M82.288.239

Figure 347

*Diskussion* (Discussion)

1913  
Color lithograph, 74 x 54.5 cm (29 1/4 x 21 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schieffler/Mosel 51  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16318  
Location unknown, this print Granvil and Marcia Specks Collection

Figure 348



Figure 345  
Nolde, *Schiffgelahrte* (Scribes), 1911



Figure 347  
Nolde, *Prophetenkopf* (Head of a prophet), 1912



Figure 349  
Nolde, *Unterhaltung* (Conversation), 1917



Figure 346  
Nolde, *Mann und Weibchen* (Man and female), 1912



Figure 348  
Nolde, *Familie* (Family), 1917



Figure 350  
Nolde, *Junger Fürst und Tänzerinnen* (Young prince and dancers), 1918



# Otto Pankok

*Die Heiligen Drei Könige* (The three holy kings,

The three magi)

1913

Color lithograph, 65 x 54 cm (25½ x 21¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schieller/Mosel 49

Acquired by the Landesmuseum, Hannover

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15935

Location unknown, this print: Cranvil and Marcia Specks Collection

Figure 334

*Bildnis Gerte* (Portrait of Gerte)

Exhibited as *Gerte Nr. 584* (Gerte no. 584)

1917

Woodcut, 304 x 243 cm (12 x 9½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schieller/Mosel 144

Acquired in 1919 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16351

Location unknown

*Familie* (Family)

Exhibited as *Zwei Fremdrassige* (Two aliens)

1917

Woodcut, 234 x 322 cm (9¼ x 12½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schieller/Mosel 128/II

Acquired in 1919 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16352

Location unknown, this print: The Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, gift of Mrs. Margaret Schultz

Figure 348

*Unterhaltung* (Conversation)

1917

Woodcut, 24 x 314 cm (9½ x 12½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schieller/Mosel 130

Acquired in 1919 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16384

Location unknown, this print: Sprengel Museum Hannover

Figure 349

*Junger Fürst und Tänzerinnen* (Young prince and dancers)

1918

Etching, 263 x 218 cm (10¼ x 8½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Schieller/Mosel 196 II

Acquired in 1927 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16405

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, M82.288.235

Figure 350

*Verlorenes Paradies* (Paradise lost)

*Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve)

1921

Reproduction of a lithograph, dimensions unknown

Room 1, NS inventory no. unrecorded

Location unknown



Born 1893

Mühlheim

Died 1966

Wesel



Figure 351

Pankok, *Hoto II*, 1932

The graphic artist and sculptor Otto Pankok was deeply moved when, as a student, he saw drawings by Vincent van Gogh. In 1912 he spent only six weeks at the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie (Academy of art) and then moved to the Weimar Akademie. Dissatisfied with the instruction there, he went for a short time to Paris to work in the evening life-drawing sessions at the free academies. Pankok was drafted at the outbreak of the First World War and was severely wounded in 1915, spending a year in the hospital.

After his release Pankok moved to Remels in Ostfriesland (northern Germany) with his friend Gert Wollheim and founded a small artists' colony. In 1920 they moved to Düsseldorf, where they became members of Das Junge Rheinland (The young Rhineland) and established contact with the art dealer Johanna ("Mutter") Ey, who exhibited their work. Pankok's next exhibition was in 1922 at the Kunstverein Münster (Münster art association). In 1924 he gave up using colors and created only black-and-white paintings.

On his extended travels Pankok attended a gathering of gypsies (Sinti) in 1931 at Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer in southwestern France and was impressed by the pride and freedom of this poverty-stricken people. On his return to Germany he worked in a gypsy settlement in Heinefeld near Düsseldorf. His subjects were primarily religious scenes and representations of the poor, the aged, Jews, and Sinti.

In 1934 Pankok created a Passion cycle that was to be shown in the museum in Mühlheim, the Nazis forbade the exhibition. The cycle was subsequently published by Kiepenheuer in 1936, but the edition was immediately confiscated and the blocks

destroyed. Fifty-six of the artist's works were eventually confiscated.

After the war Pankok was appointed professor of drawing at the Düsseldorf Akademie. He returned in his new works to his old themes of Jews, gypsies, the elderly, and the downtrodden. In 1950 he created the Gelsenkirchen memorial to Jews and gypsies who had perished in the concentration camps.

Pankok's wife, Hulda, started the Drei Eulen Verlag (Three owls press), which published Otto's book *Deutsche Holzschnneider* (German woodcut artists) and another volume on gypsies. In 1965 he received the Ruhrpreis für Kunst und Wissenschaft (Ruhr prize for art and science). In 1968 the Otto-Pankok-Museum was opened in Haus Esselt near Wesel.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

Notes

1. Otto and Hulda Pankok, *Begegnungen* (Düsseldorf: Verlag der Kreis, 1956); Berto Perotti, *Incontro con Otto Pankok* (Verona: La Quercia, 1958); Otto Pankok, *Zigeuner*, 2d ed. (Darmstadt: Progress, 1958); Rainer Zimmermann, *Otto Pankok: Das Werk des Malers, Holzschnitlers und Bildhauers* (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1965, 2d ed. 1972); Otto Pankok, *Plastische Gestalten* (Haus Esselt: Otto-Pankok-Gesellschaft, 1968).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Hoto II*

1932

Lithograph, 54 x 477 cm (21¼ x 18¾ in.)

Original location unknown

Location in *Entartete Kunst* unknown, NS inventory no. unrecorded

Location unknown, this print: Galerie Remmert und Barth, Düsseldorf

Figure 351

■





Born 1884  
Zwickau  
Died 1955  
Berlin

Max Pechstein's perception of the role of the artist in the "new" Germany after the First World War was idealistic and political. In 1919 he depicted "a worker with a flaming red heart rising above the city, his right arm raised in a victorious and perhaps also an imploring gesture"<sup>1</sup> "The revolution has brought us the freedom," he wrote, "to express and realize age-old desires. Our sense of duty teaches us that we must also do our work for ourselves. We desire it and do it also without self-seeking, our eyes clearly fixed on the ideal time [ahead]: the transformation of our feeling for our time into a Weltanschauung. Thus the cry, 'Art for the People!' is no empty call. Our will is immaculate, not being founded on any personal will to power!"<sup>2</sup>

After the war ended, Pechstein became a member of the Novembergruppe (November group) and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art). He designed posters for the workers' party and joined the Liga für Menschenrechte und Sozialismus (League for human rights and Socialism). He wrote for the Socialist press, contributed illustrations to the ultraleft magazine *Die rote Erde* (The red earth) and drawings to the radical journal *Die Laterne* (The lantern), and supported the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (International workers welfare fund) and the Gesellschaft der Freunde des neuen Russland (Association of friends of the new Russia).

Pechstein believed that a Socialist republic might provide a remedy for the ills of society. He produced a number of posters urging all Germans to support the constituent Nationalversammlung (National assembly), which met in Weimar in 1919 to

frame a republican constitution for Germany. In the manifesto directed "An alle Künstler" (To all artists), Pechstein wrote, "Let the social republic give us its confidence, we already have freedom, and soon out of the dry soil flowers will bloom to its glory"<sup>3</sup> Despite his affiliations and his rhetoric, however, Pechstein's work in both the Arbeitsrat and Novembergruppe was largely apolitical. He served with Erich Heckel on the business committee of the Arbeitsrat and participated only in the first exhibition of the Novembergruppe, subsequently reestablishing a relationship with the politically benign Berliner Sezession (Berlin secession) instead.

Pechstein had exhibited with the Sezession in 1908 and had become president of the Neue Sezession (New secession) in 1910, a kind of "Salon des Refusés" he cofounded with Georg Tappert. Their exhibitions included works by Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Otto Mueller, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, among others. At the same time Pechstein was a member of Die Brücke (The bridge) and also exhibited in the second Blaue Reiter (Blue rider) show in

1912, the year that his work was first published in the journal *Der Sturm* (The storm). Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky included him in the *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* (The blue rider almanac), which they believed to be "the organ of all the new and genuine ideas of our day"<sup>4</sup>

In 1913–14 Pechstein visited the German-occupied Palau Islands in the South Pacific, which he described as an ideal paradise, where he enjoyed the "natural," as opposed to the modern, industrialized world. He was forced to leave when the Japanese invaded, and he made his way back to Europe by way of the United States. This idyllic sojourn prompted the production of a portfolio of lithographs, *Aus Palau* (From Palau), and a triptych, one panel of which, *Ehepaar auf Palau* (Married couple on Palau, fig. 352), was among sixteen works by Pechstein included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Following service in France during the First World War Pechstein made a series of lithographs based on the battle of the Somme. He also turned to religious imagery, perhaps impelled by his closeness to death on the battlefield. In 1921 he produced twelve woodcuts, the portfolio *Das Vater Unser* (The Lord's Prayer, figs 353–56); four of these angular, dramatic prints were seized by the National Socialists from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett for *Entartete Kunst*.

Pechstein enjoyed success early in his career. Three monographs were written about him before 1921, and museum director Ludwig Justi noted that the artist's commercial success was so great that he was often "sold out."<sup>5</sup> The art critic Kurt Glaser considered Pechstein to be the most developed and significant artist in his circle of contemporaries.<sup>6</sup> In 1923, at the age of forty-two, Pechstein became a member of the Preussischer Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of art) as well as a professor at the art school in Berlin, and in 1927 he was invited to participate in the Carnegie International Exhibition in the United States.

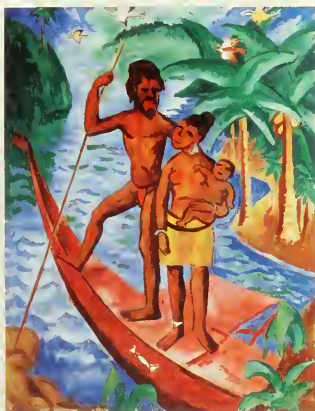


Figure 352  
Pechstein, *Ehepaar auf Palau* (Married couple on Palau), 1917



Figure 353  
Pechstein, *Das Vater Unser* (The Lord's Prayer) from the portfolio  
*Das Vater Unser*, 1921



Figure 354  
Pechstein, *Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute* (Give us this day our daily bread)  
from *Das Vater Unser*



Figure 355  
Pechstein, *Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung* (And lead us not into temptation)  
from *Das Vater Unser*



Figure 356  
Pechstein, *Und die Kraft und die Herrlichkeit* (And the power and the glory)  
from *Das Vater Unser*

In 1930 Alfred Rosenberg, in his *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The myth of the twentieth century), accused "Jewish pens" of anointing artists such as Pechstein as the leaders of the painting of the future.<sup>7</sup> His work was nevertheless included in an exhibition in July of 1933 sponsored by young artists who were members of the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students) in Berlin, to illustrate the union of National Socialism and modern art. The exhibition was closed after three days by Minister des Inneren (Minister of the interior) Wilhelm Frick, however, and the students were expelled. In the same year Pechstein was dismissed from his teaching post in Berlin, and he moved to Leba, Pomerania, he could no longer work in Berlin because of the "noise caused by the brown mob." Even in Pomerania he felt pursued by the "brown terriers sniffing about everywhere," and withdrew alone, "like a wounded animal," to a small hut on Kosser Lake. There he recuperated, fishing to eat and trade with local farmers.

Pechstein was invited to teach in Turkey and Mexico but was refused an exit visa by the National Socialist regime. In 1936 he was forbidden to paint, and he discovered that he had been denounced by former friends and colleagues as a Jew.<sup>8</sup> In 1937 he was prohibited from exhibiting, and a total of 326 of his works were confiscated from German museums. When in the same year he was expelled from the Preussische Akademie, he protested, to no avail, that one of his sons was a member of the SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troop), another had been enrolled in the Hitler Jugend (Hitler youth) movement, and he himself had fought on the Western front during the war. Only the help of the director of the Carnegie Institute, Homer Saint Gaudens, who found buyers in the United States for Pechstein's work, kept him solvent.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 357  
Pechstein, *Balende IV* (Bathers IV), 1912

Pechstein remained in Leba until 1945, at first he periodically returned to his studio in Berlin, but it was bombed in 1942, destroying many of his works.<sup>10</sup> In August 1944 he was ordered to leave for Schippen, also in Pomerania. There he was captured by the Russians and spent the remainder of the war as a prisoner. At war's end he returned to Berlin. Shaken by the trials at Nuremberg, which, he felt, did not take into account the crimes "that those inhumane people committed against their own, the Germans," he advocated that those who had been set free or given lesser sentences be turned over to a German tribunal for justice.<sup>11</sup>

In 1945 Pechstein once again became a professor of art at the Akademie in Berlin (D. G.)

#### Notes

- 1 This image was on the cover of *An alle Künstler*, as described in Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde* (New York: Ekevier, 1976), 187.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 207.
- 3 Henry Crosshans, *Hitler and the Artists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 41.
- 4 Jürgen Schilling, *Max Pechstein* (exh. cat., Kaiserslautern Pfalzgalerie, 1982), 11.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstskizzen im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed. ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 24.
- 7 Crosshans, *Hitler and the Artists*, 53.
- 8 Schilling, *Max Pechstein*, 76.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 11 *Ibid.*

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bildnis der Frau des Künstlers* (Portrait of the artist's wife)  
1911  
Oil on canvas, 80 x 69 cm (31½ x 27½ in.)  
Donated in 1926 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16003  
On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Morgen am Haff* (Morning on the lagoon)  
1911  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 120 cm (47¼ x 47¼ in.)  
Donated in 1929 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16029  
Location unknown

*Ehepaar auf Palau* (Married couple on Palau)  
Left panel of the *Palau* triptych  
1917  
Oil on canvas, 122 x 94 cm (48 x 37 in.)  
Acquired in 1929 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15963  
Wilhelm Hack Museum und Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Ludwigshafen  
Figure 352

*Liegender weiblicher Akt* (Reclining female nude)  
1918  
Watercolor, 40.5 x 54.9 cm (16 x 21½ in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16309  
Location unknown

*Sitzender weiblicher Akt* (Seated female nude)  
1918  
Watercolor, 43 x 33.8 cm (16½ x 13½ in.)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16310  
Location unknown

*Akt am Strand* (Nude on the beach)  
*Insulanerin* (Island girl)  
1919  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15964  
Location unknown

*Sturmische See* (Stormy sea)  
1919  
Oil on canvas, 88 x 62 cm (34½ x 24½ in.)  
Acquired in 1928 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16126  
Location unknown



# Max Peiffer Watenphul

## *Fischerfamilie* (Family of fishermen)

1922  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1936 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
(on deposit from 1935 cunbocation from Max Perl)  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16007  
Location unknown

## *Zwei Frauen* (Two women)

*Zwei Dinnen* (Two whores)  
1908  
Color lithograph, 32.5 x 43.5 cm (12½ x 17½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Kruger L 49  
Acquired in 1929 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16317  
Location unknown

## *Badende IV* (Bathers IV)

1912  
Hand-colored woodcut, 42 x 32 cm (16½ x 12½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Kruger H 99  
Acquired in 1929 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16348  
Location unknown, this print: Graphische Sammlung  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Figure 357

## Unidentified lithographs from the portfolio *Sudsee* (Palau)

(South seas [Palau])

Exhibited as *Aus Palau* (From Palau)

1918

Various dimensions

Catalogue raisonné: Kruger L 252–64

Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Rooms G1 and G2, NS inventory nos. 16258 and 16304

Location unknown (other prints exist)

## *Das Vater Unser* (The Lord's Prayer)

Plate 1 (title page) from the portfolio *Das Vater Unser*

(The Lord's Prayer)

1921

Woodcut, 39.5 x 29.5 cm (15½ x 11½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Kruger H 256

Acquired in 1922 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16388

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds

provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition

Fund, and deaccession funds, 831 224

Figure 353

■

## *Unser täglich Brot geb uns heute*

(Give us this day our daily bread)

Plate 5 from the portfolio *Das Vater Unser*

(The Lord's Prayer)

1921

Woodcut, 39.5 x 29.5 cm (15½ x 11½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Kruger H 260

Acquired in 1922 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16387

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds

provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition

Fund, and deaccession funds, 831 22e

Figure 354

■

## *Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung*

(And lead us not into temptation)

Plate 8 from the portfolio *Das Vater Unser*

(The Lord's Prayer)

1921

Woodcut, 39.5 x 29.5 cm (15½ x 11½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Kruger H 263

Acquired in 1922 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16389

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds

provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition

Fund, and deaccession funds, 831 22h

Figure 355

■

## *Und die Kraft und die Herrlichkeit*

(And the power and the glory)

Plate 11 from the portfolio *Das Vater Unser*

(The Lord's Prayer)

1921

Woodcut, 39.5 x 29.5 cm (15½ x 11½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Kruger H 266

Acquired in 1922 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16386

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds

provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition

Fund, and deaccession funds, 831 22k

Figure 356

■



Born 1896

Weferlingen

Died 1976

Rome, Italy

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Blumens stillleben* (Still life with flowers)

1932

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Catalogue raisonné: Watenphul Pasqualucci G 93

Acquired by exchange in 1935 by the Nationalgalerie,

Berlin

Room o, NS inventory no. 16143

On commission to Boehmer, location unknown





Born 1880  
Speyer  
Died 1966  
Basel, Switzerland

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Bodensee-landschaft* (Landscape near Lake Constance)  
1927  
Oil on canvas, 74 x 102 cm (29 1/8 x 40 1/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14259  
On commission to Buchholz, bought 1939, location  
unknown

*Damenbildnis* (Portrait of a lady)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Kunsthalle Bremen?  
Room 7, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

Born 1888  
Kinding, Mittelfranken?  
Death date unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Heiliger Franziskus* (Saint Francis)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Munich  
Room 1, NS inventory no. 15937?  
Location unknown



Born 1888  
Berlin  
Died 1976  
Muralto/Ticino,  
Switzerland

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Farbenordnung* (Color arrangement)  
Tempera on paper, 47.5 x 60 cm (18 7/8 x 23 5/8 in.)  
Acquired in 1923 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16071  
Location unknown



Born 1890  
Würzburg  
Died 1971  
Mainz

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Schwangere, Pregnant woman*  
1918  
Terra-cotta, height 80.5 cm (31 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Gerke 44  
Acquired in 1921 by the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe  
Room 3 NS inventory no. 16249  
Lost or destroyed



Born 1849  
Niedorf  
Died 1938  
Hagen

"Christian Rohlf's painting instructions: Take one meter of canvas, squeeze out the contents of various large tubes of paint all over it, vigorously smear the whole thing, stretch, and place in a frame." This was the comment placed under Rohlf's painting *Landschaft in Grau und Braun* (Landscape in gray and brown) in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. The Nazis' contempt for Rohlf was based not on any political activity by the artist who was frequently called the oldest Expressionist but simply on his works. He was one of the most impressionistic colorists of his times.

A childhood accident resulted in the amputation of one of Rohlf's legs, during his recovery he began to draw and paint. After the completion of his studies at the Weimar Akademie, the grand duke of Sachsen-Weimar granted him the use of a studio and bestowed upon him the title of professor. In 1901 the Belgian architect Henri van de Velde established a contact for the painter with the millionaire art patron Karl Ernst Osthaus, who was creating an artistic center in the town of Hagen by building the Museum Folkwang and inviting artists to work there. Rohlf was the first to join.

Rohlf's early works had been academic landscapes; under the influence of the paintings of Claude Monet he adopted a modified Impressionism, after seeing works by Vincent van Gogh, he progressed to Neo- and then Post-Impressionism. He achieved a freedom of color around 1905, an event usually tied to his first visit to the city of Soest, where he met Edvard Munch. His cultivation of watercolor techniques greatly influenced his painting style.

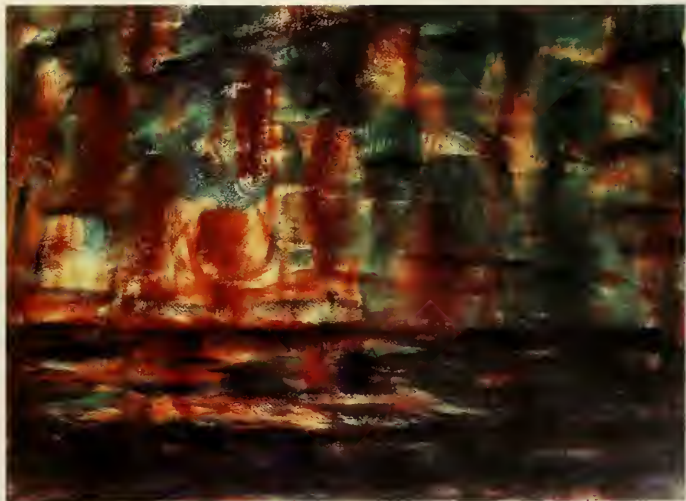


Figure 358  
Rohlf, *Sonnenuntergang an der Ostsee* (Sunset on the Baltic), 1926

The outbreak of the First World War distressed the aging Rohlls, and for some time he was unable to work. After the war, in 1919, the seventy-year-old artist, newly married, saw his works receive growing recognition. The Technische Hochschule Aachen (Aachen technical college) and the University of Kiel awarded him honorary doctorates, and he was made an honorary citizen of Hagen. He subsequently had many exhibitions until his work was declared "degenerate" and seventeen paintings and four prints were included in *Entartete Kunst*. After his death in 1938 the authorities would not permit the sale of his work; in Switzerland, however, the Kunstmuseum Basel and Kunsthalle Bern mounted a commemorative exhibition.<sup>1</sup> (P. C.)

# Notes

1 Paul Vogt, *Christian Rohlls: Das graphische Werk* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1960), idem, *Christian Rohlls: Oeuvre-Katalog der Gemälde*, rev. Ulrich Kocke (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1978).



Figure 359  
Rohlls, *Haus in Soest* (House in Soest), c. 1913



Figure 360  
Rohlls, *Dorf* (Village), c. 1913



Figure 361  
Rohlls, *Die Türme von Soest* (The towers of Soest), c. 1916

## Work in 'Entartete Kunst'

### *Der Gnom* (The gnome)

1912

Watercolor, 65 x 50 cm (25½ x 16½ in)

Acquired in 1914 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16207

Location unknown

### *Der Totentanz* (The dance of death)

1912

Oil on canvas, 60 x 100 cm (23½ x 39½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 520

Acquired in 1934 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16023

Location unknown

### *Dorf* (Village)

Exhibited as *Häuser* (Houses)

c. 1913

Oil on canvas, 75 x 110 cm (29½ x 43½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 543

Donated in 1925 to the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16100

Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1950

Figure 360

### *Haus in Soest* (House in Soest)

Exhibited as *Bauernhaus* (Farmhouse)

c. 1913

Oil on canvas, 73 x 101 cm (28½ x 39½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 541

Donated in 1914 to the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16101

Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster

Figure 359

### *Junger Wald* (Young forest)

c. 1913

Oil and tempera on canvas, 61 x 80 cm (24 x 31½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 544

Acquired by the Christian-Rohlf-Museum, Hagen

Room C2, NS inventory no. 16208

Location unknown



Figure 362

Rohlfs, *Akrobaten* (Acrobats), c. 1916

### *Der Krieg* (The war)

c. 1915

Oil and tempera on canvas, 110 x 75 cm (43½ x 29½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 555

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16139

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

### *Akrobaten* (Acrobats)

c. 1916

Oil on canvas, 110 x 75.5 cm (43½ x 29½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 577

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 4, NS inventory no. 16034

Museum Folkwang, Essen

Figure 362

### *Die Türme von Soest* (The towers of Soest)

c. 1916

Oil and tempera on canvas, 76 x 110.5 cm (29½ x 43½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 567

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16096

Museum Folkwang, Essen

Figure 361

### *Elias, wird vom Raben gepost* (Elijah being led by ravens) *Elias* (Elijah)

1921

Oil on canvas, 102.5 x 80 cm (40½ x 31½ in)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 659

Acquired by the Kunsthalle zu Kiel

Room 1, NS inventory no. 15939

The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California

Figure 363



*Kapelle in Dinkelsbühl* (Chapel in Dinkelsbühl)

1921

Oil on canvas, 101 x 76 cm (39 3/4 x 29 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 649

Acquired in 1922 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room 6, NS inventory no. 16140

On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

*Topf mit Blumen* (Pot of flowers)

1922

Oil on canvas, 100 x 59 cm (39 3/8 x 23 1/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 678

Acquired by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16211

Exchange to Boehmer, location unknown

*Sonnenuntergang an der Ostsee* (Sunset on the Baltic)

Exhibited as *Brauner Mondschein* (Brown moonlight)

1926

Tempera on paper, 51 x 70 cm (20 1/8 x 27 1/2 in.)

Acquired by the Christian-Rohlls-Museum, Hagen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16203

Michael Beck, Galerie Utermann, Dortmund

Figure 358

*Landschaft in Grau und Braun*

(Landscape in gray and brown)

c. 1930

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Christian-Rohlls-Museum, Hagen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16206

Probably destroyed

*Madchen mit Kind* (Girl with child)

1931

Tempera on canvas, 96.5 x 57 cm (38 x 22 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Vogt 748

Acquired by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16171

Private collection

*Blumenschale* (Flower vase)

Watercolor, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Städtisches Museum, Hagen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16182

Bought by Gurlitt, 1940, location unknown

*Halbfigur auf Grün* (Half-length figure in green)

Medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Acquired by the Christian-Rohlls-Museum, Hagen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16209

On commission to Gurlitt, bought 1940,

location unknown



Figure 363

Rohlls, *Elias, wird vom Raben gespeist* (Elijah being fed by ravens), 1921

*Kopf* (Head)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Christian-Rohls-Museum, Hagen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16210  
On commission to Carlitt, bought 1940,  
location unknown

*Tesener Dorfhaus* (Village house in Ticino)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Christian-Rohls-Museum, Hagen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16205  
On commission to Moller, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman)  
*Junge Frau* (Young woman)  
c. 1913  
Woodcut, 41.2 x 27.4 cm (16 1/4 x 10 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Voigt 73  
Acquired in 1936 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16391  
Location unknown

*Weiblicher, knauer Akt* (Squatting female nude)  
*Hockender weiblicher Akt* (Squatting female nude)  
c. 1913  
Colored woodcut, 38.3 x 16.7 cm (15 1/4 x 6 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Voigt 67  
Acquired in 1930 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16390  
Location unknown

*Zwei Köpfe* (Two heads)  
*Ruhe und Leidenschaft, gross* (Peace and Passion, large)  
1915  
Woodcut, 23.5 x 32.1 cm (9 3/4 x 12 5/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Voigt 89  
Acquired by the Christian-Rohls-Museum, Hagen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16204  
On commission to Carlitt, bought 1940,  
location unknown

*Drei tanzende Männer* (Three dancing men)  
Lithograph, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16349  
Location unknown

Unidentified work  
Medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Christian-Rohls-Museum, Hagen  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 16202  
Location unknown



Born 1887  
Neu-Ulm  
Died 1955  
Hamburg

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Pferde an der Tränke* (Horses at the trough)  
1912/13  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14244  
Location unknown

*Badende Männer* (Men bathing)  
1920  
Print?, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Städtische Kunstsammlungen  
Düsseldorf  
Room 7, NS inventory no. 14414  
Location unknown



Born 1888  
Stuttgart  
Died 1943  
Baden-Baden

On August 7, 1933, Oskar Schlemmer drafted a manuscript entitled "Hoffnung oder Resignation" (Hope or resignation), his vision of a reunification of art, the state, and the people. He published it fifteen days later in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* under the title, "Appell an Sachen Kunst" (Appeal in the name of art). In the same month he received notice that his appointment to the Vereinigte Staatsschulen für Kunst (Unified state schools for art) in Berlin, suspended since April 30, had been terminated. In April he had suspected that a poster at the school that denounced him and his colleagues as "destructive Marxist-Judaic elements" whose classes should be boycotted would eventually lead to their being fired.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Schlemmer wrote his manuscript in a tone of confident expectation, calling for a search for a "great national compositional style" in which the "constructive and formative tendencies of the state" would find "their corresponding mirror image in architecture and fine arts."<sup>2</sup>

Schlemmer drew mistaken parallels between his own creative aspirations and those described in National Socialist propaganda broadcasts. He failed to penetrate National Socialist cultural ideology, in which political aims defined and absorbed cultural ones. Schlemmer's concept of the artist's role in society was an apolitical one. He believed that art existed in a sphere removed from world events and that a harnessing of the two would destroy the artist's "naïveté of thought and expression."<sup>3</sup> The National Socialists found this position not only untenable but revolutionary, inasmuch as it suggested an aesthetic attitude resistant to political appropriation.

Schlemmer's overt reaction to National Socialist cultural politics was limited to written protests to high officials during the 1930s. Until the opening of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in 1937 Schlemmer remained convinced that he could persuade the National Socialists that their attitude toward his work was mistaken. By that time Schlemmer's political blindness had already led to his creative paralysis. His naïveté soon resulted in his self-alienation, denigration, and early death.

Schlemmer studied at the Stuttgart Akademie der bildenden Künste (Academy of fine arts) between 1906 and 1909. Following a year of independent work in Berlin he returned to the Akademie in 1912 only to have his studies interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. He immediately enlisted for military service and within a few months was injured. In June 1915 he was sent to the Eastern front and was again wounded. Eighteen years later Schlemmer objected to the discrediting of modern artists who had enthusiastically served their country and given their lives during the war. He wrote a letter of protest to Joseph Goebbels on April 25, 1933, stating that he could not imagine on what basis these modern artists' works could be "branded alien, un-German, unworthy, and unnatural."<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after the end of the war Schlemmer returned to the Stuttgart Akademie, where he was appointed student representative to the Rat geistiger Arbeiter (Council of intellectual workers). At the same time he campaigned for pedagogical reform at the Akademie, including an unsuccessful effort to secure a teaching appointment for Paul Klee.

Late in 1920 Schlemmer received an offer to join the teaching staff at the Bauhaus. There he directed the sculpture workshop and taught mural painting. In 1923 he created a series of murals in the stairwell and hallway of the Bauhaus workshop building in Weimar. The same year, following the resignation of Lothar Schreyer, Schlemmer became director of theater activities at the school. He moved with the Bauhaus to

Dessau in 1925 and continued to direct the theater workshop. Three years later his designs won a competition for a program of murals in architect Henri van de Velde's rotunda at the Museum Folkwang in Essen.

Schlemmer accepted a position at the Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (State academy for fine and applied art) in Breslau in 1929. His consequent resignation from the Bauhaus may have been prompted by his disagreement with the ambition of Hannes Meyers and several students to politicize the theater there.<sup>5</sup>

In October 1930 Schlemmer's murals in the Weimar Bauhaus building were effaced, an early target of National Socialist campaigns against modern art. He privately responded to the act in his diary entry for November 27, 1930: "The horrible thing about this cultural backlash is that it is not directed against works of a political nature, but against purely artistic, aesthetic works, identified with 'Bolshevism' merely because they are new, unusual, different, original. If this movement should spread, the great danger is that spontaneous artistic creation, the old tradition of artistic freedom, will be destroyed."<sup>6</sup>

At the end of 1931 an emergency order was passed closing the Breslau Akademie on April 1, 1932. In June 1932 Schlemmer was appointed to the Vereinigte Staatschulen für Kunst in Berlin, only to have the appointment terminated within six months of his arrival. Despite the loss of his livelihood and the increasing defamation of his character and his art Schlemmer remained in Germany. In a futile effort to escape grim political realities and to provide food for his three children and his wife, he turned first to sheepherding and farming.

A large retrospective exhibition of Schlemmer's works opened in Stuttgart in March 1933 but was closed the day after its opening by the National Socialists. Soon thereafter the following commentary appeared in the *Stuttgarter NS-Kurier*: "Oskar Schlemmer, the art-Bolshevist has disappeared from the walls. In Room 8, behind a

barred door, Schlemmer's sad wooden heads stare, full of worry [and] rather stupidly at the wall. For us this chapter has been brought to a close."<sup>7</sup>

The equation of modern art with Bolshevism particularly disturbed Schlemmer. Early in April 1933 his painting *Frauentreppe* (Stairway of women, fig. 364) was ridiculed in the Kunsthalle Mannheim's *Kultur-bolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism, fig. 7), a precursor of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. In his letter of April 25 to Goebbels he protested against the presentation of "artistic 'chambers of horrors'" in public institutions.

In June 1933 Ernst Gosebruch, the director of the Museum Folkwang in Essen, advised Schlemmer that it would be wise to sell the wall panels that he had created for the museum's rotunda. Schlemmer ignored the friendly warning and was even angry at the suggestion.<sup>8</sup> Several months later Count Klaus von Baudissin, a staunch National Socialist, replaced Gosebruch and immediately removed the panels from the museum and initiated another competition. Upon hearing this, Schlemmer wrote to Baudissin, on May 1, 1934, not only to determine the status of his paintings but to enquire about the guidelines for the new competition.<sup>9</sup> Baudissin replied that Schlemmer was too old to submit an entry because the museum was interested in a new generation of painters free from the problems of the pre-war period. He placated the artist with the assurance that he would safely store the paintings during his tenure.<sup>10</sup> Three years later Ziegler's committee confiscated them, as well as several others by Schlemmer in the museum's collection. One of the panels from the 1928 competition, *Wandbild mit fünf Knaben* (Mural with five boys), and another work from the Essen collection, *Römisches (Vier Figuren im Raum)* (Roman [Four figures in space], fig. 365) were shown in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.



Figure 364  
Schlemmer, *Frauentreppe* (Stairway of women), 1925

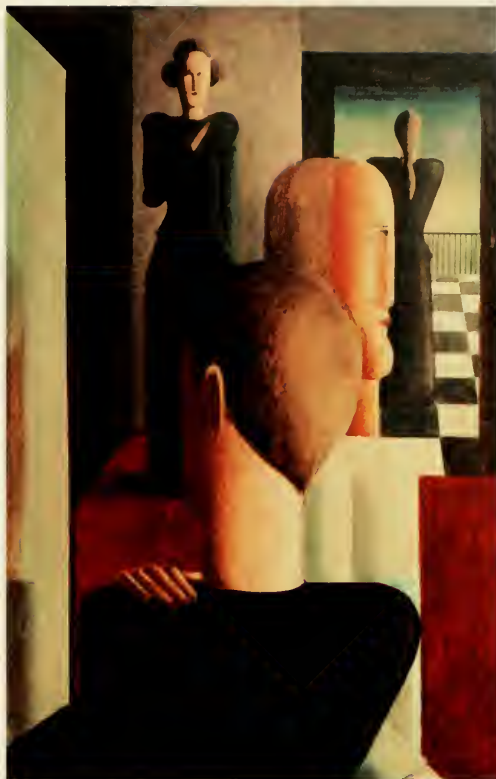


Figure 365  
Schlemmer, *Romisches* (Roman), 1925

Schlemmer's creative energy ebbed between 1933 and 1935 and he produced almost no new paintings. He was hopeful that his inclusion in the 1936 exhibition *Malerei und Plastik in Deutschland* (Painting and sculpture in Germany) and the occasion of two one-man shows early in 1937 at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin and the Galerie Valentien in Stuttgart signaled a loosening of National Socialist censorship. In July 1937 eighty-four works were displayed in his first comprehensive one-man show in London at the London Gallery. In the same month the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition opened in Munich with seven of Schlemmer's paintings and his Bauhaus portfolio (Fifty-one of his works were eventually confiscated by the National Socialists from German public collections.) Schlemmer's hopes were finally dashed. On November 27, 1937, he wrote in his diary "What a

summer! A house-building! Munich and 'Degenerate Art' A big, beautiful studio—useless and pointless."<sup>10</sup> In the exhibition guide Schlemmer's work was indirectly linked with "barbaric representation." A portrait of him painted by Kirchner was reproduced with several other artists' works under the heading, "A highly revealing racial cross section" (see p. 365).

A few weeks after the opening of the Munich exhibition, Schlemmer's *Vorübergehender* (Passing by, 1924), a painting he considered one of his best, was exhibited in the exhibition *Bolschewismus ohne Maske* (Bolshevism unmasked) in the foyer of the Berliner Kroll-Oper. On December 7 Schlemmer wrote to a friend, the sculptor Gerhard Marcks "I do not comprehend the relationship of this concise-idealistic work

with the thesis of the exhibition that Bolshevism = Judaism. I am cut to the quick for the first time by political events. If it continues, and it appears that it will (what concerns me, where does this senseless hate come from?), then I will not be able and do not wish to remain in Germany any longer."<sup>11</sup> And yet Schlemmer did not leave, despite offers of help from colleagues in America.

Schlemmer was represented in the July 1938 Burlington Galleries (London) exhibition *20th Century German Art* with three works lent by Swiss collectors, apparently without his knowledge.<sup>12</sup> The exhibition was not without repercussions in Germany: on January 3, 1939, Schlemmer wrote to the architect Heinz Rasch that he had to remain practically anonymous in order to continue working: "I, for instance, must now explain



to the Reichskunstkammer [Reich chamber of art] why I took part in the exhibition in London."<sup>13</sup>

When Schlemmer could not make ends meet, he was forced to accept work that compromised his personal and artistic ideals. Between March 1939 and the winter of 1940 he camouflaged various military units and created kitsch wall decorations, work that was not only spiritually and psychologically demeaning but physically exhausting. Early in 1940 he accepted an invitation from the Stuttgart art historian Dr. Kurt Herbert to test the properties of lacquer at his Institut für Malfstoffkunde (Institute for information on painting materials) in Wuppertal. At the lacquer plant Schlemmer found a circle of artists that included Willi Baumeister and Georg Muche. However, Schlemmer felt that this work also compromised his artistic interests. "My depression persists unabated. This 'applied' work I am doing haunts me day and night. I should have disappeared in 1933, gone somewhere abroad where no one knows me, instead of going through the undignified performance of selling my soul before the throne of artistic conscience for a few pieces of silver."<sup>14</sup>

Seven months later, strengthened by the comradeship at the lacquer plant, Schlemmer created a new series of small works, the *Klexographien*, partly stimulated by images he had seen in the Surrealist publication *Minotaure*.<sup>15</sup> He may have viewed his production of these works and the *Fensterbilder* (Window pictures) from early 1942 as a small act of resistance against his "degenerate" status. In May 1942 he wrote that he recognized that his new style would be considered "Bolshevist and nihilistic."<sup>16</sup>

In January 1943 Schlemmer went into a coma, but on February 6, 1943, he had recovered sufficiently to write: "It would take a psychiatrist to unravel all these connections and interrelationships. I also feel that this [illness] is the price I have to pay for ten years of irritations, mistakes, rootlessness, alienation from my true concerns."<sup>17</sup> Schlemmer died at the age of fifty-five of complications from diabetes (P. K.)

# Notes

- 1 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Willi Baumeister, April 2, 1933, published in *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, ed. Tut Schlemmer, trans. Krishna Winston (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1972), 309.
- 2 Oskar Schlemmer, "Appell an Sachverständige," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 22, 1933, cited in Karin von Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer: Monographie* (Munich: Prestel, 1979), 242.
- 3 Oskar Schlemmer, diary entry for November 27, 1930, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 274, for Schlemmer's opposition to art in the service of propaganda see his letter to Gottfried Benn, October 22, 1933, published on page 318.
- 4 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Joseph Goebbels, April 25, 1933, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 311.
- 5 Faith M. Holland, "Oskar Schlemmer: A Chronology," in Oskar Schlemmer, ed. Arnold L. Lehman and Brenda Richardson (exh. cat., Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1986), 202.
- 6 Oskar Schlemmer, diary entry for November 27, 1930 (see note 3).
- 7 "Die zweite Gesicht des Kunstvereins," in *NS-Kurier*, March 15, 1933, cited in Karin von Maur, "Oskar Schlemmer," in *Bildzyklen: Zwanzigste verlorene Kunst in Deutschland 1933-1945* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1987), 70.
- 8 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Ernst Gosebruch, June 19, 1933, published in Karin von Maur, "Im Schatten der Diktatur—Zum Beispiel Oskar Schlemmer," in *Zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung: Kunst in Deutschland 1933-1945* (exh. cat., Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1978), 19.
- 9 Count Klaus von Baudissin, letter to Oskar Schlemmer, May 4, 1933, Oskar Schlemmer-Archiv, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, cited in Maur, "Oskar Schlemmer" (*Bildzyklen*), 70.
- 10 Oskar Schlemmer, diary entry for November 27, 1937, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 367.
- 11 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Gerhard Marcks, December 7, 1937, published in Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer Monographie*, 238.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 260.
- 13 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Heinz Rasch, January 3, 1939, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 373.
- 14 Oskar Schlemmer, diary entry for December 15, 1940, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 385.
- 15 Maur, "Oskar Schlemmer" (*Bildzyklen*), 79.
- 16 Oskar Schlemmer, diary entry for May 23, 1942, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 400-401.
- 17 Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Julius Bissier, February 6, 1943, published in Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries*, 408.



Figure 366  
Schlemmer, *Figure H2* (Figure H2), c. 1921

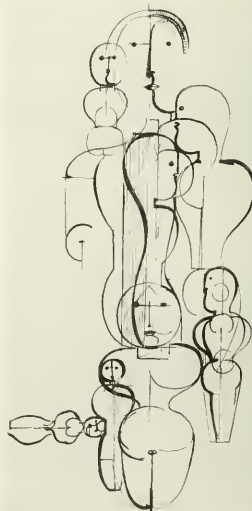


Figure 367  
Schlemmer, *Figureplan K1* (Figure plan K1), c. 1921

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Drei Frauen* (Three women)

1924/25

Oil on canvas, 125 x 71 cm (49½ x 28 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 133

Acquired in 1931 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16175

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Frauentreppe* (Stairway of women)

1925

Oil on canvas, 120.5 x 69 cm (47½ x 27½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 140

Acquired in 1927 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16178

Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939

Figure 304

*Konzentrische Gruppe* (Concentric group)

1925

Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 62 cm (38½ x 24½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 139

Acquired in 1930 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16176

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1950

Figure 93

*Romisches* (Roman)

*Vier Figuren im Raum* (Four figures in space)

1925

Oil on canvas, 97 x 62 cm (38½ x 24½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 137

Acquired in 1927 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16177

Kunstmuseum Basel, 1939

Figure 365

*Sinnender* (Man deep in thought)

1925

Oil on canvas, 81.8 x 71.2 cm (32¼ x 28 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 141

Acquired in 1927 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16174

On commission to Buchholz, location unknown

*Abstrakte Komposition in Weiss, HK*

(Abstract composition in white, HK)

1926

Watercolor, 55.3 x 40.3 cm (21½ x 15½ in.)

Acquired in 1931 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16407

Destroyed

*Wandbild mit fünf Knaben* (Mural with five boys)

1930

Oil on canvas, 235 x 160 cm (92½ x 63 in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Maur G. 209

Acquired in 1931 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room 5, NS inventory no. 16069

Location unknown

*Figur H2* (Figure H2)

Plate 11 from Bauhaus Portfolio I

c. 1921

Lithograph, 35.9 x 23.6 cm (14¼ x 9¼ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler I/11

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162893

Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati

Gallery (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of

Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben

Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim

Purchase Fund (Chicago only)

Figure 300

*Figurenplan K1* (Figure plan K1)

Plate 12 from Bauhaus Portfolio I

c. 1921

Lithograph, 39.7 x 19.3 cm (15½ x 7½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler I/12

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162907

Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati

Gallery (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of

Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben

Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim

Purchase Fund (Chicago only)

Figure 367



Born 1890

Calw

Died 1955

Munich

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Annäherung, Liebespaar/Vergewaltigung*

(Encounter: lovers/rape)

Lithograph, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1924 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16401

Location unknown

# Karl Schmidt-Rottluff



Born 1884  
Rottluff  
Died 1976  
Berlin

Karl Schmidt was a major luminary of the Expressionist movement. As a young architectural student in Dresden, along with his friends Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, he became a founding member of *Die Brücke* (The bridge) in June 1905. In 1912 he, Heckel, and Kirchner participated in the *Sonderbund* exhibition in Cologne, painting murals for a chapel with stained-glass windows by Jan Thorn-Prikker.

Appending the name of his hometown to his own, Schmidt-Rottluff served as a soldier in Russia and Lithuania during the First World War. The poet Richard Dehmel unsuccessfully petitioned the German chancellor for Schmidt-Rottluff's release from the army, stressing his importance to the art world and the need for such artists to meet the anticipated postwar cultural demands. Dehmel claimed that the break in the artistic production of men such as Schmidt-Rottluff could have serious effects on Germany's artistic development.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, when Schmidt-Rottluff tried to paint in 1916, he found that his nerves were shaky. He wrote to Lyonel Feininger that he had given up trying: "Either you are a painter and you shit on the whole caboodle or you join in and kiss painting goodbye." As late as 1920 he was experiencing difficulty in recouping his creative energies: "With respect to work my body is on strike," he wrote. "I believe it is the memories of the war that are now showing themselves—it was a sure thing that they would come."<sup>2</sup> Not long afterward, he sculpted *Arbeiter mit Ballonmütze* (Worker in a balloon cap), a figure with amputated legs and a beggar's posture, a plight common to demobilized soldiers in Germany at the time.



Figure 368  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Kristus* (Christ), 1918

In 1917 Schmidt-Rottluff received recognition in an exhibition at the *Galerie Hans Goltz* in Munich that was accompanied by a catalogue with an introduction by art historian Rosa Schapire, and an essay about him written by Ludwig Coellen. In *Das Kunstblatt* (The art paper) appeared a short time later. The memory of his war experiences remained with him, and in 1918 he executed the woodcut *Kristus* (Christ, fig. 368), based on a drawing from a portfolio he had created on the eastern front. This mystically powerful image carries the date 1918 on its forehead, and below is the legend, "Christ did not appear to you," a reference to the suffering of the German people at the end of the war.

Schmidt-Rottluff was a member of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Worker's council for art) and close to the *Novembergruppe* (November group). He participated in social-critical exhibitions, and as a friend of the young Soviet Republic he contributed illustrations to the ultraleft Socialist magazine *Die rote Erde* (The red earth). In 1919

Schmidt-Rottluff was commissioned to redesign the German imperial eagle as a symbol more appropriate to the new republic. His version was less predatory than its predecessor. Casts were placed on buildings throughout Germany, but the National Socialists later found the head of this "Weimar" eagle too parrotlike and its wings too small—a mockery of German strength—and removed the casts from public view.

Although as a member of *Die Brücke* and the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* Schmidt-Rottluff was battling the organized powers, concern for politics was not manifested in his work nor did he become actively politically engaged. His most political statement was in response to a questionnaire circulated by the *Arbeitsrat* in which he affirmed his faith in Socialism but also his distrust of anything political: "The artist should be free in a Socialist state, true to his goals which are always directed toward humanity, never the state. In life and art, the artist must be free. As a logical consequence, the state should stay out of art."<sup>3</sup> As late as 1933 Schmidt-Rottluff wrote, "Politics are not an issue with me."<sup>4</sup>

When the German state became involved in art, however, Schmidt-Rottluff was quickly implicated. On April 1, 1930, Dr. Hildebrand Gurlitt, director of the museum in Zwickau, was dismissed for reasons including his support of "technical bunglers like Nolde, Schmidt-Rottluff, [and] Chagall."<sup>5</sup> A letter requesting Schmidt-Rottluff's resignation from the *Preussische Akademie der Künste* (Prussian academy of arts) arrived in 1933. At the same time a group of National Socialist students in Berlin, under the leadership of Dr. Fritz Hippler, staged a rally at the university in defense of Expressionism—which they identified as an example of German culture—and especially in defense of artists such as Heckel, Max Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff. "It was the New Art itself which prepared the way for the national [Socialist] revolution," according to Bruno E. Werner, in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 12,



Figure 369  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Vase mit Georginen* (Vase of dahlias), 1912



Figure 370  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Lupinen am Fenster* (Lupines at the window), 1922

1933.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, "what was art is outlawed," Schmidt-Rottluff wrote to Ernst Beyersdorff on October 8.<sup>7</sup> And nine months later, when Ferdinand Moller opened the exhibition *Drassig deutsche Künstler* (Thirty German artists), one of whom was Schmidt-Rottluff, in his gallery in Berlin, it was closed after three days by order of the Reich.

Despite harassment, prominent dealers continued to exhibit Schmidt-Rottluff's work. Nierendorf in Berlin in 1934, Buchholz in Berlin and Karl Becker in Cologne in 1935, and Buchholz again in 1937. The museums in Chemnitz, Dessau, Hamburg, Hannover, and Osnabrück presented Schmidt-Rottluff exhibitions until the summer of 1937, when they were finally forbidden to show or buy the works of "degenerates." In July 1937 twenty-seven of the artist's paintings and twenty-four of his prints were included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. The National Socialists believed that Schmidt-Rottluff glorified the cretin, the idiot, and the cripple at the expense of

the Aryan, and Hitler did not wish these "inferior" beings depicted, in keeping with his dogma of racial purification.<sup>8</sup> "Nature as seen by sick minds" was the heading emblazoned on the wall over a group of Schmidt-Rottluff's still lifes in the fifth gallery on the upper floor of *Entartete Kunst*.

When the Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst (Law effecting the confiscation of products of degenerate art) became effective in May 1938, 608 works by Schmidt-Rottluff had been gathered from German public institutions. Finally, in 1941 he was dismissed from the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) and forbidden to work. He received a letter stating that, "although you must be familiar with the Führer's directives that he gave at the opening of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [Great German art exhibition] in Munich, based on your most recent original works it appears that even today you stand removed from the cultural ideology of the National Socialist state."<sup>9</sup>

Schmidt-Rottluff did not leave Germany but in the early summer of 1942 withdrew to the country estate of Count von Moltke, where he could be free to work without concern. Von Moltke opposed Hitler and participated in the attempt on his life in July 1944, for which he was executed by the National Socialists. While remaining in seclusion in Pomerania during part of the war, Schmidt-Rottluff responded as best he could to contemporary events, primarily in personal ways. He provided financial and psychological help, for example, by buying a painting from Ernst Wilhelm Nay, who was living in total isolation in Berlin.<sup>10</sup> In 1943 Schmidt-Rottluff's Berlin apartment was bombed, and he lost many drawings and paintings. Nevertheless, he gave sixty works to the Brücke-Museum in Berlin, which was opened in 1967 on his initiative. His will provides for six scholarships to be awarded to young artists annually in perpetuity (D. C.).



Notes

- 1 Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 153–54
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ida Katherine Rigby, *An alle Künstler! War—Revolution—Weimar: German Prints, Drawings, Posters, and Periodicals from the Robert Gore Ryland Foundation* (exh. cat., San Diego: University Gallery, San Diego State University, 1983), 17
- 4 Karl Brix, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff* (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1972), 56
- 5 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstskulptur im Dritten Reich*, rev. ed., ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 35
- 6 Cited in Georg Bussmann, "Degenerate Art"—A Look at a Useful Myth," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905–1985* (exh. cat., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), 117
- 7 Gerhard Wietek, *Schmidt-Rottluff* (Hamburg: Altona: Th. Dingwort & Sohn, 1974), 29
- 8 Reinhard Merker, *Die bildenden Künste im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: DuMont, 1983), 148
- 9 Brix, *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff*, 54
- 10 Peter-Klaus Schuster, "The 'Inner Emigration': Art for No One," in *German Art in the 20th Century*, 461

Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Selbstbildnis mit Englas* (Self-portrait with monocle)  
1910

Oil on canvas, 84 x 76.5 cm (33 1/8 x 30 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 178  
Acquired in 1924 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortitzburg), Halle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16052, Fischer lot 123  
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1961  
Figure 371

*Akt, Frau mit Armbändern* (Nude, woman with bracelets)  
1912

Oil on canvas, 107 x 98.5 cm (42 1/8 x 38 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 182  
Acquired in 1919 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 15965  
Location unknown

*Pharisäer* (Pharisees)  
1912

Oil on canvas, 75.9 x 102.9 cm (29 7/8 x 40 7/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 184  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 1, NS inventory no. 15938  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gertrud A. Mellon Fund, 1955  
Figure 372

■



Figure 371  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Selbstbildnis mit Englas* (Self-portrait with monocle), 1910



Figure 372  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Pharisäer* (Pharisees), 1912

*Vase mit Grogginn* (Vase of dahlias)  
1912

Oil on canvas, 84 x 76 cm (33% x 29% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 183  
Donated in 1922 to the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16120  
Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 1962

Figure 309

■

*Dorf am See* (Village by the lake)  
*Landschaft* (Landscape)

1913  
Oil on canvas, 76 x 90 cm (29% x 35% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 198  
Acquired in 1919 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16107  
The Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of  
Morton D. May

Figure 102

■

*Dorflandschaft mit Leuchtturm*  
(Village landscape with lighthouse)  
Exhibited as *Dorfstrasse mit Leuchtturm*  
(Village street with lighthouse)

1913  
Oil on canvas, 88 x 101 cm (34% x 39% in)  
Acquired in 1930 by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16113  
Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg

Figure 371

■

*Stilleben mit Krug und Maske*  
(Still life with pitcher and mask)

1913  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 65.5 cm (28% x 25% in)  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16119  
Location unknown

*Bildnis B. R. (Berti Rosenberg)*  
(Portrait of B. R. [Berti Rosenberg])

1915  
Tempera and oil on canvas, 73 x 65 cm  
(28% x 25% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 261  
Acquired in 1918 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16050  
Location unknown

*Sitzende Frau* (Seated woman)  
1915

Tempera and oil on canvas, c. 75 x 65 cm  
(29% x 25% in)  
Bequest in 1925 to the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16051  
On commission to Carlitt, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Frauen am Meer* (Women by the sea)  
Exhibited as *Sommer am Meer* (Summer by the sea)

1919  
Oil on canvas, 97 x 111 cm (38% x 43% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 197  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16010  
Location unknown

*Melancholie* (Melancholy)  
1919

Oil on canvas, 87 x 95 cm (34% x 37% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 262  
Donated in 1930 to the Museum für Kunst und  
Kultugeschichte, Lübeck  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16220  
Location unknown

*Küstenlandschaft mit Rettungsstation*  
(Coastal landscape with rescue station)

c. 1920  
Oil on canvas, 76 x 90 cm (29% x 35% in)  
Acquired by the Landesmuseum, Hannover  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16110  
On commission to Buchholz, bought 1939,  
location unknown

*Abend* (Evening)

1922  
Tempera and oil on canvas, 99 x 124 cm (39 x 48% in)  
Acquired by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16005  
Probably destroyed

*Lupinen am Fenster* (Lupines at the window)  
Exhibited as *Rittersporn* (Larkspur)

1922  
Oil on canvas, 90 x 76 cm (35% x 29% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 264  
Acquired in 1922 by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum,  
Magdeburg  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16118  
Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Figure 370

■

*Mädchen am Waschtisch* (Girl at the washstand)  
Exhibited as *Sich waschende Frau* (Woman washing)

1922  
Watercolor, 61.3 x 47.5 cm (24% x 18% in)  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16303  
Destroyed

*Tenne* (Threshing floor)

1922  
Tempera and oil on canvas, 98 x 112 cm  
(38% x 44% in)  
Acquired in 1922 by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16008\*  
Probably destroyed

*Harzlandschaft* (Landscape in the Harz Mountains)  
1923

Oil on canvas, 104 x 124 cm (41 x 48% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 294  
Acquired in 1924 by the Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16106  
On commission to Buchholz, bought 1941,  
location unknown

*Bauernhaus mit Mond* (Farmhouse with moon)  
*Aufgehender Mond* (Rising Moon)

1924  
Watercolor on paper, 50 x 64.6 cm (19% x 25% in)  
Acquired in 1924-25 by the Städtisches Museum für  
Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortzburg), Halle  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16105  
Private collection, Stuttgart

Figure 374

■

*Stilleben* (Still life)  
*Afrikanische Schale* (African bowl)

1926  
Oil on canvas, 65 x 72 cm (25% x 28% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 210  
Acquired in 1927 by the Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16121  
Private collection, Würzburg

■

*Landschaft am See* (Lakeside landscape)  
1927

Tempera and oil on canvas, 87 x 112 cm  
(34% x 44% in)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 268  
Donated in 1935 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16111  
Probably destroyed



Figure 373  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Dorflandschaft mit Leuchtturm* (Village landscape with lighthouse), 1913



Figure 374  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Bauernhaus mit Mond* (Farmhouse with moon), 1924



Figure 375  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Römisches Stilleben mit Karaffe und Citrone* (Roman still life with carafe and lemon), 1930



Figure 376  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Pommersche Mondlandschaft* (Moonlit landscape in Pomerania), 1931



*Romisches Stillleben mit Karaffe und Citrone*  
(Roman still life with carafe and lemon)  
1930

Oil on canvas, 87 x 101 cm (34½ x 39½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 219  
Acquired in 1932 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16122  
Brücke-Museum, Berlin  
Figure 375

*Pommersche Mondlandschaft*  
(Moonlit landscape in Pomerania)  
1931

Oil on canvas, 76 x 90 cm (29¾ x 35½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Grohmann p. 220  
Acquired in 1932 by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room 5, NS inventory no. 16108  
Saarland-Museum, Saarbrücken  
Figure 376

*Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman)  
Watercolor, 62 x 49 cm (24½ x 19¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1924/25 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16036  
Bought by Carlitt, 1940, location unknown

*Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1921 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16053  
Location unknown

*Schneider im Kornfeld* (Reapers in the field)  
Exhibited as *Mäher* (Mowers)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1933 by the Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16009  
Bought by Carlitt, 1940, location unknown

*Strickende Frau* (Woman knitting)  
Watercolor, 62 x 49 cm (24½ x 19¼ in.)  
Acquired in 1924/25 by the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Moritzburg), Halle  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16035  
On commission to Möller, exchanged 1940,  
location unknown

*Zwei Akte* (Two nudes)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16054  
On commission to Bochner, bought 1939,  
location unknown

*Mann mit Pfeife* (Man with pipe)  
*Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait)  
1907 (or 1915)  
Lithograph, 34 x 22.5 cm (13½ x 8¾ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 27 (or 190)  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16371  
Location unknown

*Landschaft im Herbst* (Autumn landscape)  
*Herbst* (Autumn)  
1909  
Woodcut, 29 x 39 cm (11½ x 15½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 16  
Acquired by the Kunsthalle Mannheim?  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16328  
Location unknown

*Ziegela bei Darel* (Brickyard at Darel)  
1909  
Woodcut, 29.7 x 39 cm (11½ x 15½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 7  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16368  
Location unknown, this print: Hamburger Kunsthalle  
Figure 379

*Weiber* (Women)  
1910  
Woodcut, 22.5 x 28 cm (8¾ x 11 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 42  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16370  
Location unknown

*Sitzender weiblicher Akt* (Seated female nude)  
*Frau mit aufgelöstem Haar* (Woman with her hair down)  
Woodcut, 36 x 30 cm (14½ x 11½ in.)  
1913  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 123  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16335  
Location unknown, this print: Granvil and Marcia  
Specks Collection  
Figure 387

*Bildnis G* (Guttman) (Portrait of G. [Guttman])  
1914  
Woodcut, 50 x 39.5 cm (19½ x 15½ in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Schapire 137  
Original location unknown  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16339  
Location unknown, this print: Graphische Sammlung  
Staatgalerie Stuttgart  
Figure 377



Figure 377  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Bildnis G* (Guttman) (Portrait of G. [Guttman]), 1914



Figure 378  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Drei am Tisch* (Three at a table), 1914

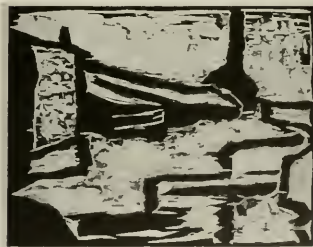


Figure 379  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Ziegela bei Darel* (Brickyard at Darel), 1909



*Drei am Tisch* (Three at a table)

1914  
Woodcut, 50 x 40 cm (19 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schapire 51  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16372  
Location unknown, this print Brücke-Museum, Berlin  
Figure 378



*Kniende* (Kneeling woman)

Exhibited as *Werb am Ofen* (Woman at the oven)  
1914  
Woodcut, 50 x 39.3 cm (19 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schapire 132  
Acquired by the Schlessisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory nos. 16343  
Destroyed, this print The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Dr Rosa Schapire  
Figure 380

Figure 380  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Kniende* (Kneeling woman), 1914



*Kniende Frau* (Kneeling woman)

1914  
Woodcut, 50 x 39.3 cm (19 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schapire 132  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16383  
Location unknown

*Mussge Hetären* (Greek courtesans at leisure)

Exhibited as *Zwei Akte* (Two nudes)  
1914  
Woodcut, 39.5 x 50 cm (15 1/2 x 19 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schapire 133  
Original location unknown  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16332  
Location unknown, this print Graphische Sammlung Staatsgalerie Stuttgart  
Figure 381



Figure 381  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Mussge Hetären* (Greek courtesans at leisure), 1914

*Sitzender Akt* (Seated nude)

1914  
Lithograph, 26.8 x 18.4 cm (10 1/2 x 7 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné Schapire 86  
Acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16369  
Location unknown



Figure 384  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Gang nach Emmaus* (Road to Emmaus), 1918



Figure 383  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Mutter* (Mother), 1916



Figure 385  
Schmidt-Rottluff, *Grosse Prophetin* (Large prophetess), 1919

*Bildnis Rosa Schapire* (Portrait of Rosa Schapire)

Exhibited as *Wahlcher Kopf* (Head of a woman)

1915

Woodcut, 36 x 29 cm (14 1/4 x 11 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 183

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16337

Destroyed, this print Hamburger Kunsthalle

Figure 382

*Sitzende Frau in Berglandschaft*

(Seated woman in mountain landscape)

*Madchen und Wald* (Girl and forest)

1915

Etching, 298 x 395 cm (11 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 42

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16367

Location unknown

*Mutter* (Mother)

*Bildnis der Mutter* (Portrait of the artist's mother)

1916

Woodcut, 372 x 31 (14 1/4 x 12 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 194

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16334

Destroyed, this print Los Angeles County Museum of

Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German

Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 265 (Los Angeles

only), The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Dr Rosa

Schapire (Chicago only)

Figure 383

*Gang nach Emmaus* (Road to Emmaus)

*Drei Apostel* (Three apostles)

From the portfolio *Neun Holzschnitte* (Nine woodcuts)

1918

Woodcut, 29 x 355 cm (11 1/4 x 14 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 212

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16344

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, gift of Kurt Wolff

Figure 384



Figure 386

Schmidt Rottluff, *Holger Franziskus* (Saint Francis), 1919

*Kristus* (Christ)

Exhibited as *Christus-Kopf* (Head of Christ)

From the portfolio *Neun Holzschnitte* (Nine woodcuts)

1918

Woodcut, 501 x 391 cm (19 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 208

Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16338

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for

German Expressionist Studies, M 82 288 270

Figure 385

*Grosse Prophetin* (Large prophetess)

Exhibited as *Kopf* (Head)

1919

Woodcut, 499 x 392 cm (19 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 254

Original location unknown

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16336

Location unknown, this print Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, gift of Kurt Wolff

Figure 385

*Holger Franziskus* (Saint Francis)

1919

Woodcut, 60 x 493 cm (23 1/4 x 19 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 243

Acquired in 1920 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16331

Location unknown, this print Granvil and Marcia

Specks Collection

Figure 386

*Liebespaar* (Lovers)

Exhibited as *Liebende* (Lovers)

1920

Woodcut, 50 x 395 cm (19 1/4 x 15 1/2 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 264

Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden

Kunst, Breslau

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16342

Location unknown



Figure 387

Schmidt Rottluff, *Sitzender weiblicher Akt* (Seated female

nude), 1913

*Madchenkopf* (Female head)

1923

From the portfolio *Kunstlerspende des Museums für Buch und*

*Schrift in Leipzig* (Artists' donations to the Museum für

Buch und Schrift, Leipzig)

Woodcut, 28 x 20 cm (11 x 7 7/8 in.)

Catalogue raisonné Schapire 289

Acquired by the Kunsthalle, Mannheim

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16330

Location unknown

*Bildnis Flechthorn* (Portrait of Flechthorn)

Woodcut, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1921 by the Kunsthalle Mannheim

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16329

Location unknown

*Landschaft* (Landscape)

Medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Original location unknown

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16252

On commission to Möller, exchanged 1941,

location unknown

Two unidentified works

Medium unknown, dimensions unknown

Original location unknown

Room G2, NS inventory nos. 16340 and 16341

Location unknown



Born 1898  
Berlin

Death date unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Das tote Kind* (The dead child)  
Triptych  
1933

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1934 by the Walraf-Richartz-Museum,  
Cologne  
Room 6, NS inventory no. unrecorded  
Location unknown

*Stilleben mit Amaryllis* (Still life with amaryllis)  
Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1935 by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 14145  
Location unknown



Born 1886  
Blasewitz

Died 1966  
Hamburg

After studying law (JD 1902) and art history at the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, and Leipzig, Lothar Schreyer became advisor and assistant stage manager at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus (German playhouse) in Hamburg, a position he held from 1911 to 1918, where his duties included coediting the theater's publication. He met Herwarth Walden, the editor of *Der Sturm* (The storm) and director of the influential Galerie Der Sturm, and began to contribute his theater concepts to the journal. In September 1917 Schreyer became *verantwortlich für die Redaktion* (literally, responsible editor) at *Der Sturm* and began to take up the new expressionistic lyrical form that August Stramm had initiated in the journal. Schreyer became the head of the *Sturm-bühne* (Storm-stage), and when the political situation in Berlin in 1918 made producing and performing plays difficult, he formed a parallel organization, the *Kampfbühne* (Combat-stage), in Hamburg (1918–21).

During the last days of the First World War Schreyer's group performed, among other plays, Stramm's *Sancta Susanna* (Saint Susanna) in the Künstlerhaus in Berlin, the production was greeted both with applause and with such derision that it required police protection. For his own plays *Mann* (Man), *Nacht* (Night), *Kreuzigung* (Crucifixion), and *Kindersterben* (Death of children) Schreyer invented, in collaboration with Max Billert and Max Olderock, a *Partitur*, a graphic score that indicated in hieroglyphlike forms every movement to parallel the spoken word (figs. 388–89).

Schreyer's theories of theater were based on the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art, that is, a combination of



Figure 388  
Schreyer, *Farbform 2 aus Bühnenwerk "Kindersterben"*  
(Color form 2 from the production *Death of children*), 1921

all art forms in one). He attempted to mold the sound of the words, the form and the color of the costumes and, often, masks, and the rhythms of word, gesture, and movement into a unity.

From 1921 to 1923 he was the director of the theater activities of the Bauhaus in Weimar and continued his educational role at the art school *Der Weg* (The way) in Berlin and Dresden (1924–27). In 1928 he returned to Hamburg as chief reader for the publisher Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt (until 1931). He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1933 and edited the works of the great mystics, including Jakob Böhme, Paracelsus, Meister Eckhart, and Heinrich Suso, and published several books on Christian art of the past and present.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

## Notes

1 For Schreyer's writings see Lothar Schreyer, *Die Neue Kunst* (Berlin: Der Sturm), 1916; idem, *Die bildende Kunst der Deutschen* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1930 and 1948); idem, *Expressionistisches Theater Aus meinen Erinnerungen* (Hamburg: J. B. Toth, 1948); Nell Walden and idem, *Der Sturm: Ein Erinnerungsbuch an Herwarth Walden und die Künstler aus dem Sturmkreis* (Baden-Baden: Woldemar Klein, 1954); idem, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus* (Munich: Albert Langen/Georg Müller, 1956); idem, *Christliche Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts in der katholischen und protestantischen Welt* (Hamburg: Christian Wegner, 1959); idem, *Das Christbild und die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1960). See also Ingo Wasserka, "Die Sturm- und Kampfbühne: Kunsttheorie und szenische Wirklichkeit im expressionistischen Theater Lothar Schreyers" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1965).

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Farbform 2 aus Bühnenwerk "Kindersterben"*

(Color form 2 from the production *Death of children*)

Plate 14 from Bauhaus Portfolio I

1921

Colored lithograph, 291 x 171 cm (11½ x 6¾ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler I/14

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162867

Location unknown, this print: Collection of the

Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of

California, Los Angeles, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Fred

Grunwald (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of

Chicago, gift of Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben

Memorial Fund, Emil Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim

Purchase Fund (Chicago only)

Figure 388

### *Mutter (Mother)*

### *Farbform 6 aus Bühnenwerk "Kindersterben"*

(Color form 6 from the production *Death of children*)

Plate 13 from Bauhaus Portfolio I

1921

Colored lithograph, 22.5 x 16.8 cm (8¾ x 6½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wingler I/13

Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

Room G2, NS inventory no. 162807

Location unknown, this print: Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center

for German Expressionist Studies, M82.287.62 (Los

Angeles only), The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of

Mrs. Henry C. Woods, Steuben Memorial Fund, Emil

Eitel Fund, and Harold Joachim Purchase Fund

(Chicago only)

Figure 389



Figure 389

Schreyer, Mutter (Mother), *Farbform 6 aus Bühnenwerk "Kindersterben"*



Born 1892

Dresden

Death date unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Beerdigung (Funeral)*

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G1, NS inventory no. 16164

Location unknown

### *Verkündigung (Annunciation)*

Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room G1, NS inventory no. 161607

Location unknown



Born 1887

Hannover

Died 1948

Kendal, England

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

### *Traum (Dream)*

1917

Collage, 18 x 14.5 cm (7½ x 5¾ in.)

Donated in 1931 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16297

Destroyed

### *Merzbild (Merz picture)*

1919

Mixed media, dimensions unknown

Catalogue raisonné: Schmalenbach p. 85

Acquired in 1920 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15974

Location unknown

### *Ringbild (Ring picture)*

1919

Mixed media, dimensions unknown

Acquired in 1921 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden

Room 3, NS inventory no. 15976

Location unknown

### *Uneben (Uneven)*

1920

Collage, 13.2 x 9.7 cm (5¼ x 3¾ in.)

Donated in 1931 to the Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Room G2, NS inventory no. 16296

Destroyed



# Lasar Segall



Born 1890  
Vilna, Lithuania  
  
Died 1957  
São Paulo, Brazil

It was not surprising that the committee that selected works for the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition would choose paintings by Lasar Segall, especially *Die ewigen Wanderer* (The eternal wanderers, fig. 391) and *Witue* (Widow), the latter labeled *Purimfest* (Feast of Purim) by the exhibition organizers. Displayed under the heading, "Revelation of the Jewish racial soul," Segall's moving images, inspired by his memories of his childhood, were shown with works by Jankel Adler, Marc Chagall, and Hans Feibusch.

Segall left Vilna at the age of fifteen and emigrated to Berlin, where he studied at the Akademie (1907–9), won several prizes, and exhibited at the Galerie Gurlitt. Between 1910 and 1911 he studied at the Dresden Akademie, and in 1912 he made his first trip to Brazil, where he exhibited in São Paulo and Campinas. Shortly after his return to Germany the First World War began and he was interned as an enemy alien. Released in 1917, he joined his friends Otto Dix and Conrad Felixmüller and in 1919 became a founding member of the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919). He was one of the outstanding Expressionists of the second generation. His melancholy figures with large heads and small bodies and his muted palette were praised by Theodor Däubler in a monograph published in 1922 by the Fritz Gurlitt Verlag für Jüdische Kunst und Kultur (Publishers for Jewish art and culture).

Segall illustrated Dostoyevski's *Krotkay* (1921), Charles Louis Philippe's *Bubu* (1921), and David Borgelsohn's *Maase Bichel* (1923) and collaborated with the publishing firm of Wostock in Berlin. He had a number of exhibitions in Germany until 1923, when he



Figure 390  
Segall, *Zwei Schwestern* (Two sisters), 1919



Figure 391  
Segall, *Die ewigen Wanderer* (The eternal wanderers), 1919

emigrated to Brazil. Segall became a Brazilian citizen and married Jenny Klabin, a well-known translator of German literature into Portuguese, but he continued to exhibit his work in Germany, and from 1928 to 1931 he lived in Paris and exhibited at the Galerie Vignon. From 1931 to 1935 he led the Sociedade Pauliste de Arte Moderna (São Paulo modern art society), which he had cofounded.

After 1937, when his art could no longer be shown in Germany, Segall received a number of exhibitions in New York. In 1950 he completed a group of paintings that he had begun in 1936, whose titles—*Pogrom*, *Ship of Emigrants*, and *Concentration Camp*—demonstrate the strength of his childhood memories and the impact of recent history. He had a one-man exhibition at the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro in 1951, and he was guest of honor at the third São Paulo Biennale.

Segall's widow founded the Museu Lasar Segall in São Paulo in 1970, and large retrospective exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the twenty-ninth Venice Biennale, and in Madrid, Paris, and Düsseldorf brought this Expressionist once more to public attention.<sup>1</sup> (P. G.)

#### Notes

1 For a bibliography of articles by Lasar Segall published in Brazilian journals see *Bibliografia Lasar Segall* (São Paulo: Associação Museu Lasar Segall, 1977), on Segall and his work see Theodor Däubler, *Lasar Segall*, *Jüdische Bucherei* no. 20 (Berlin: Fritz Carlitz, 1920), Waldemar George, *Lasar Segall* (Paris: Le Triangle, 1932), Paul Herens, *Lasar Segall* (Paris: Chroniques du Jour, 1938), Mario de Andrade, *Lasar Segall* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação, 1943), P. M. Bardi, *Lasar Segall* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte, 1952 and 1959), Erhard Frommhold, *Lasar Segall und der Dresdner Expressionismus* (exh. cat., Milan: Galleria del Levante, n.d.), *Lasar Segall* (exh. cat., Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1990).

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Die ewigen Wanderer* (The eternal wanderers)  
1919  
Oil on canvas, 138 x 184 cm (54 1/4 x 72 3/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Bardi 71  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15954  
Museu Lasar Segall, São Paulo, Brazil  
Figure 391

*Zwei Schwestern* (Two sisters)  
Exhibited as *Liebende* (Two lovers)  
1919  
Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm (39 1/4 x 31 1/2 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Bardi 83  
Acquired by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15960  
Private collection  
Figure 390

*Witwe* (Widow)  
Exhibited as *Purimfest* (Feast of Purim)  
1920  
Oil on canvas, 90 x 69 cm (35 1/4 x 27 1/8 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Bardi 82  
Acquired in 1928 by the Museum Folkwang, Essen  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15958  
Location unknown

*Zwei Schemen* (Two phantoms)  
Exhibited as *Zwei Figuren* (Two figures)  
1919  
Lithograph, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1920 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16345  
Location unknown

*Mann und Weib* (Man and wife)  
Print, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16362  
Location unknown

*Mappe mit sechs Blättern* (Portfolio with six pages)  
Prints, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Kunst, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16437  
Destroyed



Born 1898  
Döhlen  
Died 1971  
Dresden

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Damenbildnis* (Portrait of a lady)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1926 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16159  
Location unknown

*Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman)  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1926 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16166  
Location unknown

## Friedrich (Fritz) Stuckenberg



Born 1881  
Munich

Died 1944  
Füssen

Painter and graphic artist Fritz Stuckenberg spent his early years in Bremen and Oldenburg, briefly studied architecture in Braunschweig, and continued his artistic studies in Leipzig from 1900 to 1903. During the next two years he studied in Weimar, traveled through Italy with Emil Nolde and Ludwig Hofmann, and then enrolled in Munich's Akademie der bildende Künste (Academy of fine arts). In 1907 he moved to Paris, where he lived for five years. There he was greatly influenced by the emerging Cubist artists and exhibited his work at the Salon d'Automne (Autumn salon) and the Salon des Indépendants (Independents' salon).

Stuckenberg returned to Germany in 1912, settling in Berlin and gravitating to the circle around Herwarth Walden's Galerie Der Sturm.<sup>1</sup> Until 1919 he lived in Berlin intermittently, also spending time in Munich, where he became associated with Heinrich Campendonk and Franz Marc. He occasionally participated in exhibitions at the Galerie Der Sturm, including *Deutsche Expressionisten* (German Expressionists) in 1916. Stuckenberg's style was allied with the Cubist-Futurist-Expressionist approach favored by many Berlin artists who were members of the Novembergruppe (November group), which he briefly joined. His work was collected by the American Katherine Dreier, and she included it in an exhibition of German art in New York in 1920.<sup>2</sup>

In 1919 Stuckenberg left Berlin because of ill health and moved to Seeshaupt, where his friend Campendonk was living. It was there that he moved away from a Cubist-Expressionist style toward a more painterly



Figure 392  
Stuckenberg, *Strasse mit Häusern* (Street with houses),  
c. 1921

manner. Very few of his works from the 1920s survive, some having been confiscated in the "degenerate" art action. Stuckenberg contributed a lithograph, *Strasse mit Häusern* (Street with houses, fig. 392), to the third Bauhaus portfolio of 1921, *Neue europäische Grafik: Deutsche Künstler* (New European graphics: German artists), an edition of which was confiscated from the Schlossmuseum, Breslau, for inclusion in *Entartete Kunst*. The artist spent the later years of his life confined to a wheelchair and died in 1944 in Bavaria (S. B.).

### Notes

1. *Katalog der Stuckenberg-Ausstellung im Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* (exh. cat., Oldenburg: Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, 1961).
2. *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 643–44.

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Strasse mit Häusern* (Street with houses)  
Exhibited as *Abstraktes Litho* (Abstract litho)  
Plate 12 from Bauhaus Portfolio III  
c. 1921  
Lithograph, 33 x 21 cm (13 x 8 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Winkler III/12  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau?  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16423  
Destroyed, this print: Fiorella Urbinati Gallery  
Figure 392

## Paul Thalheimer

Born 1884  
Heilbronn

Died 1948  
Schrobenhausen

### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Verführung des Heiligen Antonius*  
(Temptation of Saint Anthony)  
Oil on canvas, 94 x 76 cm (37 x 29 7/8 in.)  
Acquired by the Städtische Galerie, Munich  
Room 1, NS inventory no. 15943  
On commission to Boehmer, location unknown

Birth date unknown

Death date unknown

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Doppelbildnis* (Double portrait)

Painting, medium unknown, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1928 by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 4, NS inventory no. 16046  
Location unknown



Born 1887

Soest

Declared dead in 1960

Painter and graphic artist Arnold Topp established an early friendship with the painter Wilhelm Morgner, who was also from Soest. Like Morgner he enrolled at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts) in Düsseldorf. The two admired the work of Vincent van Gogh, Jean-François Millet, and Giovanni Segantini and were part of the emerging Expressionist group in the early teens.

Topp served at the front during the First World War, and his experiences of his fellow soldiers and the landscape in Serbia made a lasting impression. After being wounded, Topp settled in Berlin. There he became associated with Herwarth Walden's group, *Der Sturm* (The storm), and participated in exhibitions at the Galerie *Der Sturm* from 1915 to 1919. The American collector Katherine Dreier encountered him in Berlin in the early 1920s and acquired a few of his works on paper.<sup>1</sup> Topp also exhibited in the 1919 Berlin Dada show and the famous *Unbekannte Architekten* (Unknown architects) exhibition staged at I. B. Neumann's gallery in Berlin. Topp was influenced by several of the visionary architects who participated in the latter exhibition, especially Paul Scheerbart. Like several artists affiliated with the *Sturm* group Topp contributed an abstract print (fig. 393) to the Bauhaus portfolio of 1921, *Neue europäische Grafik: Deutsche Künstler* (New European graphics: German artists), an edition of which was confiscated for installation in *Entartete Kunst* in 1937 (S. B.).



Figure 393

Topp, *Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition), 1921

## Notes

1. *The Societe Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 636–38.

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Abstrakte Komposition* (Abstract composition)

Plate 13 from Bauhaus Portfolio III

1921

Woodcut, 278 x 21.5 cm (11 x 8½ in.)

Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler III/43

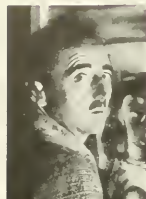
Acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne  
Room C2, NS inventory no. 162887

Location unknown, this print: Fiorella Urbinati  
Gallery

Figure 393

■





Born 1889  
Halle  
  
Died 1962  
Wenmar

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Industriebild* (Industrial scene)  
*Fabrikdächer* (Factory roofs)  
Exhibited as *Industriellandschaft* (Industrial landscape)  
c. 1924  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Nationalgalerie, Berlin  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16201  
Probably destroyed



Born 1897  
Munich  
  
Died 1939  
Karlsruhe

## Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Josef und Potiphar* (Joseph and Potiphar)  
See Eugen Hoffmann, *Adam und Eva*

*Kopf in Hände gestützt* (Head in hands)  
Wood, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 6, NS inventory no. 15051  
Location unknown

*Kopfstudie* (Study of head)  
Drawing, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16261  
Location unknown

*Schwangerer Frau* (Pregnant woman)  
Wood, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room 3, NS inventory no. 16237  
Probably destroyed

*Sitzender Akt am Ofen* (Seated nude at the oven)  
Watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Stadtmuseum Dresden  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16263  
Location unknown

*Vier Knaben und ein kleines Kind*  
(Four boys and a little child)  
Exhibited as *Fünf Kinder im Freien*  
(Five children outdoors)  
Woodcut, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1928 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin  
Room G1, NS inventory no. 16262  
Location unknown



Born 1866  
Oberwesenthal  
  
Died 1962  
Berlin

Only one of William Wauer's lithographs, *Komposition mit Ovalen* (Composition with ovals, fig. 394) from a Bauhaus portfolio, was shown in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich in 1937. It was not Wauer's art but his work in the fields in which he had gained prominence, theater and education, that made the Nazis declare him "degenerate." He was one of the multitalented practitioners of Expressionism, closely linked to Herwarth Walden and the journal *Der Sturm* (The storm), the *Galerie Der Sturm* (the had four exhibitions there between 1918 and 1923), the associated theater (*Sturmabühne*, Storm-stage), and even the short-lived art school.

Wauer arrived in Berlin in 1905 after attending the academies in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich (1884–87) and after visits to Rome and the United States. In 1889 he became editor of the monthly *Quickborn* (Fountain of youth) in Berlin, in which the first German translations of August Strindberg's dramas were published. He later worked for the popular magazine *Die Woche* (The week) and founded the weekly *Dresdener Gesellschaft* (Dresden society). In 1905 he moved permanently to Berlin, first as a theater critic (1906–14) and then as a stage manager for theater director Max Reinhardt and the Hebbel-Theater and as director of the Kleines Theater. From 1911 onward he became known as a film director: his credits included *Richard Wagner* (1913), *Der Tunnel* (1914–15), starring Fritz Massary, and nearly all the films made with the famous actor Albert Bassermann.



Figure 394  
Wäuer, *Komposition mit Ovalen* (Composition with ovals), 1921

Impressed by the Italian Futurist exhibition at the Galerie Der Sturm in 1912, Wäuer took up painting and sculpture. After the war he joined the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art) and the Novembergruppe (November group). A number of his graphic works and articles were published in *Der Sturm*, and he wrote a pantomime, *Die vier Toten von Viareggio* (The four dead of Viareggio), for which Walden wrote the music.

In 1921–24 Wäuer restructured and developed art classes in the Berlin schools and introduced art therapy for children. From 1924 until 1933 he was president of the Internationale Vereinigung der Expressionisten, Futuristen, Kubisten, und Konstruktivisten (International association of Expressionists, Futurists, Cubists, and Constructivists), later called *Die Abstrakten* (The abstracts), which was dissolved by the Nazis in 1933. His plays and lectures on art could frequently be heard on the radio between 1928 and 1933.<sup>1</sup> (P. C.)

#### Notes

- 1 Nell Walden and Lothar Schreyer, *Der Sturm: Ein Erinnerungsbuch an Herwarth Walden und die Künstler aus dem Sturmkreis* (Baden-Baden: Woldemar Klein, 1954); Carl Laszlo, *Willam Wäuer* (Basel: Editions Panderma, 1979); Schreyer, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus* (Munich: Albert Langen/Georg Müller, 1956); *Der Sturm: Herwarth Walden und die europäische Avantgarde, Berlin 1912–1932* (exh. cat., Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, 1961); Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionist Sculpture* (exh. cat., Los Angeles: County Museum of Art, 1983); Volker Pirisch, *Der Sturm: Eine Monographie* (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 1985).

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Komposition mit Ovalen* (Composition with ovals)  
Exhibited as *Abstraktes Litho* (Abstract litho)  
Plate 14 from Bauhaus Portfolio III  
1921  
Lithograph, 34.7 x 28.6 cm (13 5/8 x 11 1/4 in.)  
Catalogue raisonné: Wiegler III/14  
Acquired by the Schlossmuseum, Breslau  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16421  
Destroyed; this print: Fiorella Urbinati Gallery  
Figure 394



Born 1894  
Dresden  
Died 1974  
New York, New York

#### Work in "Entartete Kunst"

*Schlachthaus* (Slaughtering house)  
*Geschlachtet* (Slaughtered)  
1920  
Drawing and watercolor, dimensions unknown  
Acquired by the Städtische Kunstsammlung  
Düsseldorf  
Room G2, NS inventory no. 16292  
Location unknown

*Exotische Landschaft* (Exotic landscape)  
1932  
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown  
Acquired in 1932 by the Städtische Kunstsammlung  
Düsseldorf  
Room 2, NS inventory no. 15950  
Destroyed

## Facsimile of the "Entartete Kunst" Exhibition Brochure

Translated by David Britt

On the following pages is an actual-size reproduction of the *Entartete Kunst* "Ausstellungsführer" (Degenerate "art" exhibition guide). This brochure was published in November 1937, too late to be of use to the visitors to the Munich showing, which closed on November 30, but in time for the February 26, 1938, opening in Berlin and the subsequent tour to eleven other cities in Germany and Austria. The guide's division of the art into nine distinct categories provided the organizers of the exhibition in Berlin and at the later venues with guidelines for the installation of the work. The text is reminiscent of Wolfgang Willrich's antimodernist *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art), published early in 1937; the author, Fritz Kaiser, is otherwise unknown and may be pseudonymous. The art illustrated in the brochure was not all in the Munich exhibition, but all works depicted were by artists who had been represented in Munich or whose work had been confiscated in the 1937 campaigns against "degenerate" art. Another undated edition of the brochure exists; it is virtually identical to the edition here except for several captions mentioning the sculptor Rudolf Haizmann that are given an anti-Semitic tone (see pp. 379, 387).



Degenerate

"Art"

Exhibition Guide

Price 30 pfennigs

Otto Freundlich, *Der neue Mensch* (The new man), 1912, plaster





Führer

durch die Ausstellung

# Entartete Kunst

Die Ausstellung wurde zusammengestellt von der Reichspropagandaleitung, Amtsleitung Kultur. Sie wird in den größeren Städten aller Gaue gezeigt werden. Verantwortlich für den Inhalt: Fritz Kaiser, München. Verlag: Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung, Berlin W 35, Potsdamer Straße 59.

Guide  
to the exhibition  
Degenerate Art

This exhibition has been assembled by the Reich Propaganda Directorate, Culture Office. It will be shown in the larger cities of all regions. Responsible for the content: Fritz Kaiser, Munich. Publisher: Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung, Berlin W 35, Potsdamer Strasse 59.

What the "Degenerate Art" exhibition means to do

*It means to give, at the outset of a new age for the German people, a firsthand survey of the gruesome last chapter of those decades of cultural decadence that preceded the great change*

*It means to appeal to the sound judgment of the people and thus to put an end to the drivel and claptrap of all those literary cliques and hangers-on, many of whom would still try to deny that we ever had such a thing as artistic degeneracy*

*It means to make it clear that this degeneracy in art was something more than the sort of short-lived foolishness, idocy and rash experimentation that might have spent itself and died even without the National Socialist revolution*

*It means to show that this was no "necessary ferment" but a deliberate and calculated onslaught upon the very essence and survival of art itself*

*It means to expose the common roots of political anarchy and cultural anarchy and to unmask degenerate art as art-Bolshevism in every sense of the term*

*It means to reveal the philosophical, political, racial, and moral goals and purposes pursued by those who promoted subversion*

*It means to show, too, how these symptoms of degeneracy spread from the deliberate troublemakers to infect those more or less unwitting acolytes who, in spite of previous—and in some cases also subsequent—evidence of artistic talent, were so lacking in scruple, character, or common sense as to join in the general Jewish and Bolshevik furor*

*It means to reveal in this way the true peril of a trend that, steered by a few Jewish and openly Bolshevik ringleaders, could succeed in enlisting such*

## Was will die Ausstellung „Entartete Kunst“?

Sie will am Beginn eines neuen Zeitalters für das Deutsche Volk anhand von Originaldokumenten allgemeinen Einblick geben in das grauenhafte Schlußkapitel des Kulturzerfalles der letzten Jahrzehnte vor der großen Wende.

Sie will, indem sie das Volk mit seinem gesunden Urteil aufruft, dem Geschwätz und Phrasendrusch jener Literaten- und Kunst-Eliten ein Ende bereiten, die manchmal auch heute noch gerne bestreiten möchten, daß wir eine Kunstentartung gehabt haben.

Sie will klar machen, daß diese Entartung der Kunst mehr war als etwa nur das flüchtige Vorüberdauern von ein paar Narrheiten, Torheiten und allzu kühnen Experimenten, die sich auch ohne die nationalsozialistische Revolution totgelaufen hätten.

Sie will zeigen, daß es sich hier auch nicht um einen „notwendigen Gärungsprozeß“ handelte, sondern um einen planmäßigen Anschlag auf das Wesen und den Fortbestand der Kunst überhaupt.

Sie will die gemeinsame Wurzel der politischen Anarchie und der kulturellen Anarchie aufzeigen, die Kunstentartung als Kunstbolschewismus im ganzen Sinn des Wortes entlarven.

Sie will die weltanschaulichen, politischen, rassistischen und moralischen Ziele und Absichten klarlegen, welche von den treibenden Kräften der Zersetzung verfolgt wurden.

Sie will auch zeigen, in welchem Ausmaß diese Entartungserscheinungen von den bewußt treibenden Kräften übergriffen auf mehr oder weniger unbefangene Nachbeter, die trotz einer früher schon und manchmal später wieder bewiesenen formalen Begabung gewissen-, charakter- oder instinktos genug waren, den allgemeinen Juden- und Bolschewistenummel mitzumachen.

Sie will gerade damit aber auch zeigen, wie gefährlich eine von ein paar jüdischen und politisch eindeutig bolschewistischen Wort-

**„Kunstkommunist werden heißt  
zwei Phasen durchlaufen:**

**1. Platz in der kommunistischen  
Partei nehmen und die Pflichten  
der Solidarität im Kampf über-  
nehmen;**

**2. Die revolutionäre Umstellung  
der Produktion vornehmen.“**

**Der Jude Wieland Herzfelde  
in „Der Gegner“ 1920/21.**



To become an art Communist is to pass through  
two phases

1. to take one's place in the Communist party and  
assume the duties of solidarity in the struggle
2. to undertake the revolutionary transformation  
of production"

The Jew Wieland Herzfelde in "The Opponent"  
1920/21

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1. George Grosz, *Frühlingserwachen* (Spring's awakening), 1922, lithograph

2. George Grosz, *Entkündung* (Disrobing), 1921, drawing or lithograph

3. George Grosz, *Der Hypochonder Otto Schmalhausen* (The hypochondriac Otto Schmalhausen), 1921, lithograph

4. Marc Chagall, *Die Prise* (The pinch of snuff), 1912, oil on canvas

5. Unidentified



individuals to work toward Bolshevik anarchy in cultural politics when those same individuals might well have indignantly denied any affiliation with Bolshevism in party politics

*It means to prove above all that none of the men who were in any way involved in the degeneracy of art can now turn around and talk about "harmless follies of youth"*

From all this emerges, finally, what the "Degenerate Art" exhibition does not mean to do

*It does not mean to assert that all the names that are emblazoned on the botched efforts shown here also appeared in the membership lists of the Communist party. As no such assertion is made, no refutation is called for*

*It does not mean to deny that one or another of those shown here has at some time—before or since—"achieved something different." It is not the business of this exhibition, however, to gloss over the fact that in the years of the major Bolshevik-Jewish onslaught upon German art such men stood on the side of subversion*

*It does not mean to prevent those artists shown who are of German blood—and who have not followed their former Jewish friends abroad—from now honestly striving and fighting for the basis of a new and healthy creativity. It does and must mean to prevent, however, the jabbering cliques from that murky past from forcing any such men on the new state and on its forward-looking people as "the natural standard-bearers of an art of the Third Reich."*

führen geleitete Entwicklung war, wenn sie auch solche Menschen kulturell in den Dienst der bolschewistischen Anarchiepläne stellen konnte, die ein parteipolitisches Bekenntnis zum Bolschewismus vielleicht weit von sich gewiesen hätten.

Sie will damit aber erst recht beweisen, daß heute keine der an dieser Kunstentartung damals irgendwie beteiligten Männer kommen und nur von „harmlosen Jugendscheleien“ sprechen darf.

Aus alledem ergibt sich schließlich auch, was die Ausstellung „Entartete Kunst“ nicht will:

Sie will nicht die Behauptung aufstellen, daß alle Namen, die unter den ausgestellten Machwerken als Signum prangen, auch in den Mitgliederlisten der kommunistischen Partei verzeichnet waren. Diese nicht aufgestellte Behauptung braucht also auch nicht widerlegt zu werden.

Sie will nicht bestreiten, daß der eine oder andere der hier Vertretenen manchmal — früher oder später — „auch anders gekonnt“ hat. Ebensovienig aber durfte diese Ausstellung die Tatsache verschweigen, daß solche Männer in den Jahren des bolschewistisch-jüdischen Generalangriffes auf die deutsche Kunst in der Front der Zerstörung standen.

Sie will nicht verhindern, daß diejenigen Deutschblütigen unter den Ausgestellten, welche ihren jüdischen Freunden von ehemals nicht in das Ausland gefolgt sind, nun ehrlich ringen und kämpfen um eine Grundlage für ein neues, gesundes Schaffen. Sie will und muß aber verhindern, daß solche Männer von den Zirkeln und Cliquen einer so düsteren Vergangenheit dem neuen Staat und seinem zukunftsstarken Volk gar heute schon wieder als „berufene Bannerträger einer Kunst des Dritten Reiches“ aufgeschwätzt werden.

„Wir ziehen es vor, unsauber zu existieren, als sauber unterzugehen. Unfähig aber anständig zu sein, überlassen wir verbohrten Individualisten und alten Junglern. Keine Angst um den guten Ruf!“

„Der Gegner“ 1920/21.



„Das realisch Gebundene wird zertellt und aufgebrochen zu einem Gefäß für seine aufgestaute, sinnlich brennende Leidenschaft, die — nun entzündet — keine seelische Tiefe mehr kennt und nach außen schlägt, verzehrend, expansiv, sich mit allen Teilen begattend. Es gibt für ihn keine Widerstände mehr und vorge-setzte Grenzen . . .“

Zeitgenössisches Literaturgeschwätz über solche damals „moderne“ Bordellkunst.



“We would rather exist unclean than perish clean: we leave it to stubborn individualists and old maids to be inept but respectable, reputation is not our worry.”

“The Opponent” 1920/21

“Constrained reality is split up and broken open to become a vessel for his accumulated, burning sensual passion, which once inflamed is oblivious of all psychic depths and bursts out—consuming, expanding, copulating with all its parts. There exist for him no resistance and no preordained limits.”

Contemporary literary drivel on such formerly “modern” brothel art

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1. Otto Dix, *Dompteur* (Animal trainer), 1922, etching and drypoint
2. Max Pechstein, *Gelindel* (Coquetry), 1923, etching, drypoint, and aquatint
3. George Grosz, *Waltertraum* (Waltz dream), 1921, lithograph and watercolor
4. Paul Kleinschmidt, *Frauenbad* (Women's baths), 1922, etching

The arrangement of the exhibition

The sheer diversity of the manifestations of degeneracy, as the exhibition seeks to show them, is such as to stun and bewilder any visitor, so a clear organizational principle has been adopted whereby the works in each room are classified by tendency and form into a number of groups. A brief guide to the exhibition follows, treating the groups in the recommended sequence

Group 1

This affords an overall view of the barbarism of representation from the point of view of technique. This group exemplifies the progressive collapse of sensitivity to form and color, the conscious disregard for the basics of technique that underlie fine art, the garish spluttering of color, the deliberate distortion of drawing, and the total stupidity

Anyone who pursues the new for its own sake strays all too easily into the realm of folly. Of course, the more stupid a thing made from stone and materials, the more likely it is to be something really new because earlier ages did not allow every fool to insult his contemporaries with the abortions of his sick brain

*The Führer*

Reich Party Congress 1933

## Bur Gliederung der Ausstellung.

Da die Fülle der verschiedenen Entartungsercheinungen, wie sie die Ausstellung zeigen will, auf jeden Besucher ohnehin einen fast niederschmetternden Eindruck macht, wurde durch eine übersichtliche Gliederung dafür gesorgt, daß in den einzelnen Räumen jeweils der Tendenz und der Form nach zusammengehörige Werke in Gruppen übersichtlich vereinigt sind. Nachstehend wird die Führungslinie kurz dargestellt.

### Gruppe 1.

Hier ist eine allgemeine Übersicht über die Barbarei der Darstellung vom handwerklichen Standpunkt her zu gewinnen. Man sieht in dieser Gruppe die fortschreitende Zersetzung des Form- und Farbempfindens, die bewußte Verachtung aller handwerklichen Grundlagen der bildenden Kunst, die grelle Farbfleckerei neben der bewußten Verzerrung der Zeich-

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Wer nur das Neue sucht um des Neuen willen, verirrt sich nur zu leicht in das Gebiet der Narreteien, da das Dümme, in Stein und Material ausgeführt, natürlich um so leichter das wirklich Neuartigste zu sein vermag, als ja in früheren Zeitaltern nicht jedem Narren genehmigt wurde, die Umwelt durch die Ausgeburten seines frankten Hirns zu beleidigen.

Der Führer  
Reichsparteitag 1933.

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Ein sehr aufschlußreicher

## rassischer Querschnitt

Man beachte besonders auch die unten stehenden drei Malerbildnisse. Es sind von links nach rechts: Der Maler Morgner, gesehen von sich selbst. Der Maler Radziwill, gesehen von Otto Dix. Der Maler Schlemmer, gesehen von E. L. Kirchner.



A highly revealing  
racial  
cross section

Note also, in particular, the three portraits of painters shown below. They are, from left to right: the painter Morgner as seen by himself, the painter Radziwill as seen by Otto Dix, the painter Schlemmer as seen by E. L. Kirchner.

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1. Emil Nolde, *Mann und Weibchen* (Man and female), 1912, oil on canvas
2. Wilhelm Morgner, unidentified self-portrait
3. Otto Dix, *Bildnis Franz Radziwill* (Portrait of Franz Radziwill), 1928, mixed media on canvas
4. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Bildnis B. R.* (Berti Rosenberg) (Portrait of B. R. [Berti Rosenberg]), 1915, tempera and oil on canvas
5. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Roter Kopf* (Red head), 1917, wood
6. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Bildnis Oskar Schlemmer* (Portrait of Oskar Schlemmer), 1914, oil on canvas



of the choice of subject matter that developed by degrees into a blatant insult to any normal viewer with an interest in art

#### Group 2

The works assembled in these rooms are those concerned with *religious themes*. These horrific objects were once described in the Jewish press as "revelations of German religious feeling." Any person of normal sensibilities will find, however, that these "revelations" put him more in mind of *mumbo jumbo* whatever his own religious allegiance, he can only regard them as a shameless *mockery of any religious idea*. It is highly significant that painted and carved mockeries of *Jewish Old*

Until National Socialism came to power, there existed in Germany a so-called modern art, which is to say that, almost by the nature of the word, there was something new almost every year. National Socialist Germany, however, means to have a *German* art once again, and this, like all the creative values of a people, must and will be an *eternal* art. If art lacks an eternal value for our people, then even today it has no higher value.

#### The Führer

at the opening of the House of German Art

nung, die absolute Dummheit der Stoffwahl, lauter Dinge, die nach und nach den Charakter einer strengen Herausforderung jedes normalen, kunstinteressierten Beschauers annahmen.

#### Gruppe 2.

In diesen Räumen sind solche Bildwerke zusammengefaßt, die sich mit religiösen Inhalten befassen. Man nannte diese Schauerstücke in der jüdischen Presse einstmals „Offenbarungen deutscher Religiosität“. Der normal empfindende Mensch denkt allerdings bei diesen „Offenbarungen“ eher an einen *Hexen-espül* und empfindet sie, ganz gleich, welchem religiösen Bekenntnis er angehört, als unverfälschten *Hohn auf jede religiöse Vorstellung*. Außerordentlich beachtenswert ist die Tatsache, daß gemalte und geschnitzte Verhöhnungen *jüdisch-alttestamentarischer Legenden* nicht anzutreffen sind. Die

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**B**is zum Machtantritt des Nationalsozialismus hat es in Deutschland eine sogenannte „moderne“ Kunst gegeben, d.h. also, wie es schon im Wesen dieses Wortes liegt, fast jedes Jahr eine andere. Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland aber will wieder eine *deutsche* Kunst, und diese soll und wird wie alle schöpferischen Werte eines Volkes eine *ewige* sein. Entbehrt sie aber eines solchen *Ewigkeitswertes* für unser Volk, dann ist sie auch heute ohne höheren Wert.

#### Der Führer

bei der Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst.

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## „Offenbarungen deutscher Religiosität“

hat die den jüdischen  
Kunsthändlern feile  
Presse einmal solchen  
Hexenspek genannt.

### Die Titel lauten:

„Christus und die  
Sünderin“, „Tod der  
Maria aus Ägypten“,  
„Kreuzabnahme“  
und „Christus“.

Die „Künstler“  
heißen: Nolde,  
Morgner und  
Kurth.



"Manifestations of German religious feeling

which is how the press, which sold out to the  
Jewish art dealers, once referred to mumbo jumbo  
of this kind

The titles are

"Christ and the Adulteress," "Death of  
Mary of Egypt," "Deposition," and "Christ"  
The "artists" are Nolde, Morgner and Kurth

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1. Emil Nolde, *Christus und die Sünderin* (Christ and the adulteress), 1926, oil on canvas
2. Wilhelm Morgner, *Kreuzabnahme* (Deposition), 1912, oil on canvas
3. Emil Nolde, *Heilige Maria von Ägypten* (Saint Mary of Egypt), 1912, oil on canvas
4. Fritz Kurth, *Christus*, oil on canvas

Testament legends are not to be found. The figures of Christian legend, on the other hand, leer out at us in a constant succession of devilish masks

#### Group 3

The graphic works shown in this exhibition are conclusive proof of the political basis of degenerate art. The methods of artistic anarchy are used to convey an incitement to political anarchy. Every single image in this group is an incitement to class struggle in the Bolshevik sense. The idea is to convince every productive person, by means of a crudely tendentious proletarian art, that he will remain a slave and languish in mental chains until the last property owner, the last non-proletarian has been swept away by the longed-for Bolshevik revolution. Workers, their wives, and their children stare out at the viewer with faces of utter misery in shades of gray and green "Capitalists" and

In the field of culture, as elsewhere, the National Socialist movement and government must not permit incompetents and charlatans suddenly to change sides and enlist under the banner of the new state as if nothing had happened, so they can once again call all the shots in art and cultural policy

*The Führer*

Reich Party Congress 1933

Gestalten der christlichen Legende hingegen grinsen uns hier mit immer neuen Teufelszügen an.

#### Gruppe 3.

Die in dieser Abteilung gezeigten Graphiken sind schlüssige Beweise für den politischen Hintergrund der Kunstentartung. Mit den Ausdrucksmitteln einer künstlerischen Anarchie wird hier die politische Anarchie als Forderung gepredigt. Jedes einzelne Bild dieser Gruppe ruft zum Klassenkampf im Sinne des Bolschewismus auf. Der schaffende Mensch soll durch eine grob tendenziöse Proletkunst gestärkt werden in der Überzeugung, daß er so lange in geistigen Ketten schmachtender Slave bleiben wird, bis auch der letzte Besitzende, der letzte Nichtproletarier von der erhofften bolschewistischen Revolution beseitigt sein wird. Mit grauen und grünen Elendsgesichtern starren Arbeiter, Arbeiterfrauen und Arbeiterkinder dem Beschauer entgegen. Auf

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Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung und Staatsführung darf auch auf kulturellem Gebiet nicht dulden, daß Nichtskönner oder Gaukler plötzlich ihre Fahne wechseln und so, als ob nichts gewesen wäre, in den neuen Staat einziehen, um dort auf dem Gebiete der Kunst und Kulturpolitik abermals das große Wort zu führen.

Der Führer  
Reichsparteitag 1933.

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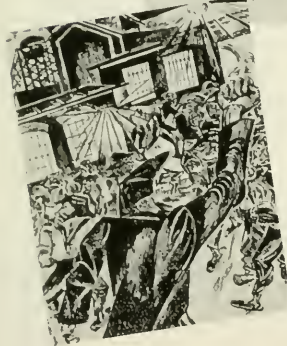
## „Kunst“ predigt Klassenkampf!

'Art' preaches class struggle!



„Maler Du willst; Du stürzest die Welt um; Du bist Politiker! Oder Du bleibst Privatmann... Malen um des Malens willen ist Ruderapparat im Zimmer.“

Der Anarchist Ludwig Rubiner in „Maler bauen Barrikaden“ („Die Aktion“ 1914).



"Painter, you desire, you overturn the world, you are a politician! Or else you remain a private man. Painting for painting's sake is like having a rowing machine in your bedroom."

The anarchist Ludwig Rubiner in "Painters Build Barricades" ("Action" 1914).

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1. Hans Grundig, unidentified work
2. Conrad Felixmüller, *Revolution. Nächtllicher Bergarbeiterstreik* ('Revolution. Miners' strike at night), 1921, pen and ink
3. Otto Dix, *Schwangere* (Pregnant woman), c. 1920
4. Christoph Voll, *Vier Knaben und ein kleines Kind* (Four boys and a little child), 1919/24, woodcut



'exploiters' of every sort imaginable are shown sneering at the misery of the productive individual: the whole range of these 'slave drivers' is depicted, from the butcher to the banker. And yet the Jewish art dealers, who were not exactly starving even then and who profited considerably from this same proletarian art, are conspicuously absent from the work of these painters of the class struggle.

#### Group 4

This section too has a marked political tendency. Here, "art" enters the service of Marxist draft-dodging propaganda. The intention is manifest: the viewer is meant to see the soldier either as a murderer or a victim, senselessly immolated for something known to the Bolshevik class struggle as "the capitalist world order." Above all, the people are to be deprived of their profound reverence for all the military virtues: valor, fortitude, and readiness for combat. And so, in the drawings in this section, alongside caricatures of war cripples expressly designed to arouse repulsion and views of mass graves delineated with every refinement

Art that cannot rely on the joyous, heartfelt assent of the broad and healthy mass of the people, but depends on tiny cliques that are self-interested and biased by turns, is intolerable. It seeks to confuse the sound instinct of the people instead of gladly confirming it.

#### *The Führer*

at the opening of the House of German Art

den Zeichnungen sind alle überhaupt nur vorstellbaren „Kapitalisten“ und „Ausbeuter“ dargestellt, wie sie sich höhrend über das Elend des schaffenden Menschen hinwegsetzen. Vom Fleischermeister bis zum Bankier sind alle diese „Skavenhalter“ dargestellt. Nur jene sicherlich damals auch nicht darbedenden jüdischen Kunsthändler, die sich gerade auch an dieser Proletkunst nicht wenig bereicherten, sind auffälligerweise von den Klassentampfmalern ganz übersehen worden.

#### Gruppe 4.

Auch diese Abteilung hat eine ausgeprägte politische Tendenz. Hier tritt die „Kunst“ in den Dienst der marxistischen Propaganda für die Wehrpflichtverweigerung. Die Absicht tritt klar zutage: Der Beschauer soll im Soldaten den Mörder oder das sinnlose Schlachtopfer einer im Sinn des bolschewistischen Kampfes „kapitalistischen Weltordnung“ erblicken. Vor allem aber soll dem Volk die tief eingewurzelte Achtung vor jeder soldatischen Tugend, vor Mut, Tapferkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft ausgetrieben werden. So sehen wir in den Zeichnungen dieser Abteilung neben bewußt abscheu erregenden Zerrbildern von Kriegstrüppeln und den mit aller Raffinesse ausgemalten Einbliden in Massengräber die

Keine Kunst, die nicht auf die freudigste und innigste Zustimmung der gesunden breiten Masse des Volkes rechnen kann, sondern sich nur auf kleine, teils interessierte, teils blasierte Eliten stützt, ist unerträglich. Sie versucht das gesunde, instinktivere Gefühl eines Volkes zu verwirren, statt es freudig zu unterstützen.

Der Führer,  
bei der Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst.



**„Der Künstler muß als Künstler  
Anarchist sein.“**

**Der Jude und Bolschewist  
Kurt Eisner, München, in  
„Aufruf zum Sozialismus“.**



**“The artist as an artist must be an anarchist”**

The Jew and Bolshevik Kurt Eisner, Munich, in “Appeal  
for Socialism”

**„Laßt uns Schlagwetteratmo-  
sphäre verbreiten! Lernt! Vor-  
bereitet! Cht Euch!“**

**Der Bolschewist Johann R. Becher in  
„Aufruf an alle Künstler“ 1919, Berlin**

**“Let us create an explosive atmosphere! Learn! Prepare!  
Exercise!”**

The Bolshevik Johann R. Becher in “Appeal to All  
Artists” 1919, Berlin

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1. Otto Dix, *Mutter und Kind* (Mother and child), 1923, oil on wood
2. Friedrich Skade, *Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman), oil on canvas
3. George Grosz, *“In meinem Gebiet soll's soviet kommen”* (“Under my rule it shall be brought to pass”), 1920/21, drawing or lithograph
4. Max Beckmann, *Die Bettler* (The beggars), 1922, lithograph

of detail, we see German soldiers represented as simpletons, vile erotic wastrels, and drunkards. That not just Jews but "artists" of German blood could produce such botched and contemptible works, in which they gratuitously reaffirmed our enemies' war atrocity propaganda—already unmasked at the time as a tissue of lies—will forever remain a blot on the history of German culture.

#### Group 5

This section of the exhibition affords a survey of the moral aspect of degeneracy in art. To those "artists" whom it presents, the entire world is clearly no more or less than a *harlot* and the human race is exclusively composed of *harlots* and *pimps*. Among these works of painted and drawn pornography there are some that can no longer be displayed, even in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition, in view of the fact that women will be among the visitors. To anyone in contemporary Germany it is wholly inconceivable that a few short years ago, in the period of Centrist rule under Heinrich Brüning, such abysmal vulgarity, such utter decadence, and such blatant criminality were still permitted to appeal to the basest human instincts under the slogan of "artistic freedom." Nor must it be overlooked that this aspect of degenerate art, too, is ultimately political in intention. This is apparent from the fact that almost all of this filth reveals a clear Marxist message of class conflict. Again and again we come upon drawings in which wastrels of the "property-owning classes" and their harlots are contrasted with the emaciated "proletarian" figures who stumble wearily past in the background. In other drawings the harlot is held up as an ideal in contrast to woman in bourgeois society, who in the view of the creators of this "art" is morally

deutschen Soldaten als Trottel, gemeine erotische Wüstlinge und Säufer dargestellt. Daß nicht nur Juden, sondern auch deutschblütige „Künstler“ mit solch niederträchtigen Machwerken die feindliche Kriegsgreuelpropaganda, die damals schon als Lügengewebe entlarvt war, nachträglich auf diese Weise unaufgefordert erneut bestätigten, wird für immer ein Schandfleck der deutschen Kulturgeschichte bleiben.

#### Gruppe 5.

Diese Abteilung der Ausstellung gibt einen Einblick in die moralische Seite der Kunstentartung. Für die darin vertretenen „Künstler“ ist offensichtlich die ganze Welt ein einziges großes Bordell, und die Menschheit setzt sich für sie aus lauter Dirnen und Zuhältern zusammen. Es gibt unter dieser gemalten und gezeichneten Pornographie Blätter und Bilder, die man auch im Rahmen der Ausstellung „Entartete Kunst“ nicht mehr zeigen kann, wenn man daran denkt, daß auch Frauen diese Schau besuchen werden. Es ist für jeden Menschen unseres heutigen Deutschlands völlig unbegreiflich, daß man vor wenigen Jahren noch, und zwar auch noch in den Zeiten der Zentrumshegemonie unter Heinrich Brüning, so abgrundtiefe Gemeinheiten, so viel Verkommenheit und ein so eindeutig überführtes Verbrechen unter der Devise „Freiheit der Kunst“ ungehindert an die niedersten Instinkte des Untermenschentums appellieren ließ. Das aber darf nicht übersehen werden: Auch diese Seite der Kunstentartung geht letzten Endes auf eine politische Zielstellung zurück. Das ist schon daraus ersichtlich, daß fast alle diese Schweinereien auch eine deutliche marxistisch-klassenkämpferische Tendenz aufweisen. Immer wieder begegnet man Blättern, auf denen Wüstlinge der „besitzenden Klasse“ und ihre Dirnen in Gegensatz gestellt sind zu den ausgehungerten Gestalten des im Hintergrunde sich müde vorbeischieppenden „Proletariats“. Auf anderen Zeichnungen wird die Dirne idealisiert und in Gegensatz gestellt zur Frau der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, die nach Ansicht der Macher dieser „Kunst“ moralisch viel

# Gemalte Wehrsabotage

des Malers Otto Dix

Painted sabotage of national defense  
by the painter Otto Dix



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1. Otto Dix, *Kriegskruppen* (War cripples), 1920, oil on canvas

2. Otto Dix, *Der Schutzengraben* (The trench), 1920-23, oil on canvas



far more depraved than the prostitute. In short *in this section the moral program of Bolshevism shrieks out from every wall*

#### Group 6

The many works shown here serve to demonstrate that degenerate art often lent its support to that segment of Marxist and Bolshevik ideology whose objective is the systematic eradication of the last vestige of racial consciousness. In the pictures in the previous section the harlot was held up as a moral ideal, here we are presented with the negro and the South Sea islander as the evident racial ideal of "modern art." It is hardly believable that

And what do you create? Misshapen cripples and cretins, women who can arouse only revulsion, men closer to beasts than to human beings, children who if they lived in such a shape would be taken for the curse of God! And this is what these cruel dabblers dare to serve up as the art of our time, that is, as the expression of all that molds and sets its stamp on the present age

#### The Führer

at the opening of the House of German Art on those responsible for the decadence of art

verworfenen ist als die Prostituierte. Kurzum: Das moralische Programm des Bolschewismus schreit in dieser Abteilung von allen Wänden.

#### Gruppe 6.

Hier wird an einer größeren Zahl von Werken sichtbar gemacht, daß sich die entartete Kunst vielfach auch in den Dienst jenes Teiles der marxistischen und bolschewistischen Ideologie gestellt hat, deren Ziel lautet: Planmäßige Abtötung der letzten Reste jedes Rassebewußtseins. Wurde in den Bildern der vorigen Abteilung die Dirne als sittliches Ideal hingestellt, so begegnen wir nun hier dem Neger und Südpazifischer als dem offensichtlich rassistischen Ideal der „modernen Kunst“. Es ist kaum zu glauben, daß die Macher

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Und was fabrizieren sie? Mißgestaltete Krüppel und Kretins, Frauen, die nur abscheuerregend wirken können, Männer, die Tieren näher sind als Menschen, Kinder, die, wenn sie so leben würden, geradezu als Fluch Gottes empfunden werden müßten! Und das wagen diese grausamsten Dilettanten unserer heutigen Mitwelt als die Kunst unserer Zeit vorzustellen, d. h. als den Ausdruck dessen, was die heutige Zeit gestaltet und ihr den Stempel aufprägt.

#### Der Führer

bei der Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst über die Träger des Kunstzerfalles.

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## Die Dirne wird zum sittlichen Ideal erhoben!



Was die bolschewistische Jüdin Rosa Luxemburg an der russischen Literatur besonders liebte: „Die russische Literatur adelt die Prostituierte, verschafft ihr Genußung für das an ihr begangene Verbrechen der Gesellschaft ... erhebt sie aus dem Fegfeuer der Korruption und ihrer seelischen Qualen in die Höhe sittlicher Reinheit und weiblichen Heldentums.“

Rosa Luxemburg  
in „Die Aktion“ 1921.



The harlot as a moral ideal!

What the Bolshevik Jewess Rosa Luxemburg loved most about Russian literature "Russian literature ennobles the prostitute, makes amends to her for the crime that society has committed against her. Lifts her out of the purgatory of corruption and mental torment to the heights of moral purity and female heroism"

Rosa Luxemburg in "Action" 1921

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1. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Frauenbildnis* (Portrait of a woman), watercolor
2. Paul Kleinschmidt, *Duet in the North Café* (Duet at the North Café), 1925, oil on canvas
3. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Gelbe Tänzerin* (Yellow dancer), 1913, oil on canvas

the makers of these works are men whose homes are—or at least were—in Germany or Europe. It must be stressed that this nigger art is also so barbarous in technique that many a negro would justifiably refuse to see his own likeness in the figures depicted, still less acknowledge any part in the authorship of such works

#### Group 7

This section of the exhibition reveals that, alongside the negro as the racial ideal of what was then "modern" art, there was a highly specific intellectual ideal, namely, the *idiot*, the *cretin*, and the *cripple*. Even where these "artists" have portrayed themselves or each other, the resulting faces and figures are markedly cretinous. This may not—to judge from the rest of the works— invariably reflect a deliberate avoidance of likeness on their part. Be that as it may, one thing is certain: to the "moderns" represented here a mindless, moronic face constituted a special creative stimulus. This is the only possible explanation for the sheer abundance of sculpture, graphic work, and painting contained in this section of the exhibition. Here are human figures that show more of a resemblance to gorillas than to

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"Works of art" that are not capable of being understood in themselves but need some pretentious instruction book to justify their existence—until at long last they find someone sufficiently browbeaten to endure such stupid or impudent twaddle with patience—will never again find their way to the German people

*The Führer*  
at the opening of the House of German Art on degenerate art

dieser Bildwerke in Deutschland oder in Europa ihre Heimat haben oder wenigstens damals noch hatten. Dabei ist allerdings zu betonen, daß auch diese Niggerkunst handwerklich so barbarisch ist, daß sich mancher Neger mit Recht dagegen auflehnen würde, in den dargestellten Gestalten Menschen seinesgleichen zu erblicken oder gar der Urheberchaft an solchen Bildwerken beizugehen.

#### Gruppe 7.

In dieser Abteilung der Ausstellung wird klar gemacht, daß außer dem Neger als dem rassistischen Ideal der damals „modernen“ Kunst auch ein ganz besonders geistiges Ideal vorschwebte, nämlich der *Idiot*, der *Kretin* und der *Paralytiker*. Auch wo sich diese „Künstler“ selbst oder gegenseitig porträtierten, kommen dabei ausgesprochen kretinhafte Gesichter und Gestalten heraus. Das mag, den übrigen Werken nach zu schließen, nicht immer ein grundsätzlicher Verzicht auf Ähnlichkeit sein. Sicher aber ist, daß jedes stupid-idiotenhafte Gesicht die hier vertretenen „Modernen“ besonders zum Schaffen angeregt hat. Anders wäre es nicht zu erklären, daß auch diese Abteilung der Ausstellung in Plastik, Graphik und Malerei so umfangreich ist. Hier sind

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„Kunstwerke“, die an sich nicht verstanden werden können, sondern als Daseinsberechtigung erst eine schwulstige Gebrauchsanweisung benötigen, um endlich jenen Versüßterten zu finden, der einen so dummen oder frechen Unsinn geduldig aufnimmt, werden von jetzt ab den Weg zum deutschen Volke nicht mehr finden.

Der Führer  
bei der Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst  
über die entartete Kunst.

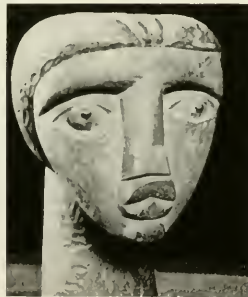
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## Jeder Kommentar ist hier überflüssig!

Die „Werke“ stammen von Voll, Kirchner, Heckel, Hoffmann und Schmidt-Rottluff.

No comment is necessary here!

These 'works' are by Voll, Kirchner, Heckel, Hoffmann and Schmidt-Rottluff.



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1. Christoph Voll, *Schwangere Frau* (Pregnant woman), wood
2. Eugen Hoffmann, *Adam und Eva* (Adam and Eve), wood
3. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Das Paar* (The couple), 1923/24, wood
4. Karl Schmidt Rottluff, *Litauisches Mädchen* (Lithuanian girl), 1917, wood
5. Erich Heckel, *Grosse Stehende* (Large standing woman), 1912, wood



men Here are portraits that make the earliest known attempts at depicting the human form—in Stone-Age caves—look like mature masterworks But even for such horrors as these, as the purchase prices show, the highest prices were still being demanded and paid a few years ago

#### Group 8

In one small room, just for a change, all the artists represented are Jews It must be pointed out, to obviate any misunderstanding, that this represents only a tiny selection of the numerous examples of Jewish trash that the exhibition as a whole has to show The distinguished "contributions" to degenerate art clearly made by Jewish spokesmen, dealers, and patrons suffice in themselves to justify this "special honor" Here, for example, we find "the new man" as imagined by the Jew *Frandlich* Hanging or standing all around it

Jewry was able, largely by exploiting its position in the press, to enlist the aid of so-called art criticism not only in gradually obscuring all normal ideas of the nature and function of art and its purpose, but also in destroying the general healthy response in this area

*The Führer*  
at the opening of the House of German Art

menschliche Figuren zu sehen, die wahrhaftig mit Gorillas mehr Ähnlichkeit haben als mit Menschen. Hier gibt es Porträts, gegen die die ersten geschichtlich bekannten Versuche der Menschen-darstellung in steinzeitlichen Höhlen reife Meisterwerke sind. Aber auch für solche Schauerstücke wurden, wie die Ankaukspreise ausweisen, noch vor wenigen Jahren höchste Preise verlangt und bezahlt.

#### Gruppe 8.

In einem kleinen Raum sind hier der Abwechslung halber einmal nur Juden vertreten. Damit keine Mißverständnisse entstehen, sei bemerkt, daß es sich hier nur um eine kleine Auswahl aus den zahlreichen jüdischen Machwerken handelt, die die Ausstellung insgesamt zeigt. Die großen „Verdienste“, die sich die jüdischen Vorträger, Händler und Förderer der entarteten Kunst zweifellos erworben haben, rechtfertigt zur Genüge diese „Sondererhebung“. Hier findet sich u. a. auch „Der neue Mensch“, wie ihn sich *Jud Frandlich* erträumt hat. Dort

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Das Judentum verstand es, besonders unter Ausnützung seiner Stellung in der Presse, mit Hilfe der sogenannten Kunstkritik nicht nur die natürlichen Auffassungen über das Wesen und die Aufgaben der Kunst sowie deren Zweck allmählich zu verwirren, sondern überhaupt das allgemeine gesunde Empfinden auf diesem Gebiete zu zerstören.

Der Führer  
bei der Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst.

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## Drei Kostproben entarteter Plastik und Malerei

Die Titel lauten:  
„Selbstbildnis“ des Juden  
Meidner,  
„Der neue Mensch“,  
Plastik  
des Juden Freundlich,  
„Kopf“ von Harzmann.



Three specimens of degenerate sculpture and painting  
| In another edition: Three specimens of Jewish sculpture and painting |

The titles are  
"Self-Portrait" of the Jew Meidner,  
"The New Man," sculpture of the Jew Freundlich  
"Head" by Harzmann

| In another edition  
The titles are  
"Self-Portrait," "The New Man," and "Head"  
The Jews are  
Meidner, Freundlich, and Harzmann |

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1. Otto Freundlich, *Der neue Mensch* (The new man), 1912, plaster
2. Ludwig Meidner, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait), 1912, oil on canvas
3. Rudolf Harzmann, *Kopf* (Head), bronze

are yet more dissolute dreams, both sculpted and painted, that beggar description

#### Group 9

This section can only be entitled "Sher Insanity" It occupies the largest room in the exhibition and contains a cross section of the abortions produced by all the "isms" thought up, promoted, and peddled over the years by Flechtheim, Wollheim, and their cohorts In the case of most of the paintings and drawings in this particular chamber of horrors there is no telling what was in the sick brains of those who wielded the brush or the pencil One of them ended up by "painting" with only the contents of garbage cans Another was content with three black lines and a piece of wood on a large white ground A third had the bright idea of painting "a number of circles" on two square meters of canvas A fourth used at least six pounds of paint in painting three successive self-portraits because he could not figure out whether his head was green or sulfur yellow round or angular, his eyes red or sky blue or whatever In this "insanity group," visitors to the exhibition usually just shake their heads and smile Not without cause, certainly But when we reflect that all these "works of art" have been removed not from the dusty corners of deserted studios but from the art collections and museums of the great German cities, where some of them still met the gaze of an astonished public during the first years that followed the Führer's assumption of power, then it is no laughing matter then we can only choke back our fury that so decent a people as the Germans could ever have been so foully abused

stehen und hängen auch noch andere plastische und gemalte Wüstenträume herum, denen gegenüber Worte verjagen müssen.

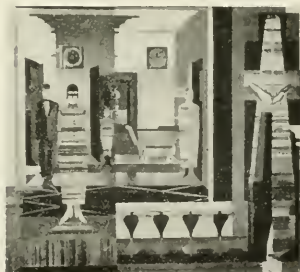
#### Gruppe 9.

Dieser Abteilung kann man nur die Überschrift „Vollender Wahnsinn“ geben. Sie nimmt den größten Raum der Ausstellung ein und enthält einen Querschnitt durch die Ausgeburten sämtlicher „Ismen“, die Flechtheim, Wollheim und Cohnjorts im Laufe der Jahre ausgeheckt, gefördert und veranfaßt haben. Auf den Bildern und Zeichnungen dieses Schauerkabinetts ist meistens überhaupt nicht mehr zu erkennen, was den kranken Geistern vorschwebte, als sie zu Pinsel oder Stift gegriffen. Der eine „malte“ schließlich nur noch mit dem Inhalt von Müll-eimern. Ein anderer begnügte sich mit drei schwarzen Linien und einem Stück Holz auf einem großen weißen Untergrund. Ein Dritter hatte die Erleuchtung, „Einige Kreise“ auf zwei Quadratmeter Leinwand zu malen. Ein Vierter verbrauchte nacheinander für drei Selbstbildnisse gut drei Kilogramm Farbe, da er sich nicht einig werden konnte, ob sein Kopf grün oder schwefelgelb, rund oder eckig, seine Augen rot oder himmelblau oder sonst etwas sind. In dieser Gruppe des Wahnsinns pflegen die Ausstellungsbesucher nur noch den Kopf zu schütteln und zu lachen. Sicher nicht ohne Grund. Aber wenn man bedenkt, daß auch all diese „Kunstwerke“ nicht etwa aus verstaubten Ecken verlassener Ateliers, sondern aus den Kunstsammlungen und Museen der großen deutschen Städte herausgeholt wurden, wo sie teilweise noch in den ersten Jahren nach der Machtergreifung hingen und der staunenden Mitwelt dargeboten wurden, dann kann man nicht mehr lachen; dann kann man nur mit der Wut darüber kämpfen, daß mit einem so anständigen Volk wie dem deutschen überhaupt einmal so Schindluder getrieben werden konnte.

## Selbst das wurde einmal ernst genommen und hoch bezahlt!

Die Titel heißen: „Der Gott der Flieger“, „Am Strand“, „Merzbild“ und „Familienbild“.

Die „Künstler“ heißen: Molzahn, Metzinger und Schwitters.



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1. Johannes Molzahn, *Gott der Flieger* (God of the aviators), 1921, oil on canvas
2. Kurt Schwitters, *Merzbild* (Merz picture), 1919, mixed media
3. Jean Metzinger, *Im Kanu* (In the canoe), 1936
4. Johannes Molzahn, *Familienbild* (Family portrait)

Even this way once taken seriously and bought for good money!

The titles are "The God of the Aviators," "On the Beach," "Merz Picture" and "Family Portrait".  
The "artists" are Molzahn, Metzinger and Schwitters.



In this hour I affirm my unalterable resolve here, as in the realm of political confusion, to clear out all the claptrap from artistic life in Germany.

"Works of art" that are not capable of being understood in themselves but need some pretentious instruction book to justify their existence—until at long last they find someone sufficiently browbeaten to endure such stupid or impudent twaddle with patience—will never again find their way to the German people!

All those catchphrases, such as "inner experience," "a strong cast of mind," "powerful will," "prophetic emotion," "heroic stance," "meaningful empathy," "experience of duration," "archetypal primitivism," and the like—all those stupid, lying subterfuges, all that claptrap all that drivel will no longer serve to excuse—let alone to commend—productions that are intrinsically worthless because they are plainly inept.

If someone has a powerful impulse or an inner experience, let him prove it through his work and not through foolish words. We are all far less interested, in any case, in any so-called impulse than we are in talent. In future, any artist who wants to be exhibited in this building, or to present himself to the public anywhere in Germany, is going to need talent. The impulse we can surely take for granted! It would really be the limit if anyone were to inflict on his fellow citizens works that lacked even an impulse. If these fools now seek to make their works palatable by presenting them as the expression of a new age, then the only answer is this: it is not art that makes a new age, but the whole life of a nation that first reforms itself and then often seeks a new form of expression. The truth

## Kunstsibschewismus am Ende.

Aus der Rede des Führers zur Eröffnung des Hauses der Deutschen Kunst in München.

Ich will in dieser Stunde betennen, daß es mein unabänderlicher Entschluß ist, genau so wie auf dem Gebiet der politischen Verwirrung nunmehr auch hier mit den Phrasen im deutschen Kunstleben aufzuräumen.

„Kunstwerke“, die an sich nicht verstanden werden können, sondern als Daseinsberechtigung erst eine schwulstige Gebrauchsanweisung benötigen, um endlich jenen Verschühterten zu finden, der einen so dummen oder frechen Unsinn geduldig aufnimmt, werden von jetzt ab den Weg zum deutschen Volke nicht mehr finden!

Alle diese Schlagworte, wie: „inneres Erleben“, „eine starke Gefinnung“, „kraftvolles Wollen“, „zukunftssträchtige Empfindung“, „heroische Haltung“, „bedeutungsvolles Einfühlen“, „erlebte Zeitordnung“, „ursprüngliche Primitivität“ usw., alle diese dummen, verlogenen Ausreden, Phrasen oder Schwägereien, werden keine Entschuldigung oder gar Empfehlung für an sich wertlose, weil einfach ungenutzte Erzeugnisse mehr abgeben.

Ob jemand ein starkes Wollen hat oder ein inneres Erleben, das mag er durch sein Werk und nicht durch schwachhafte Worte beweisen. Überhaupt interessiert uns alle viel weniger das sogenannte Wollen als das Können. Es muß daher ein Künstler, der damit rechnet, in diesem Haus zur Ausstellung zu kommen oder überhaupt noch in Zukunft in Deutschland aufzutreten, über ein Können verfügen. Das Wollen ist doch wohl von vornherein selbstverständlich! Denn es wäre schon das Allerhöchste, wenn ein Mensch seine Mitbürger mit Arbeiten belästigte, in denen er am Ende nicht einmal was wollte. Wenn diese Schwäger nun aber ihre Werke dadurch schmackhaft zu machen versuchen, daß sie sie eben als den Ausdruck einer neuen Zeit hinstellen, so kann ihnen nur gesagt werden, daß nicht die Kunst neue Zeiten schafft, sondern daß sich das allgemeine Leben der Völker neu gestaltet und daher oft auch nach einem neuen



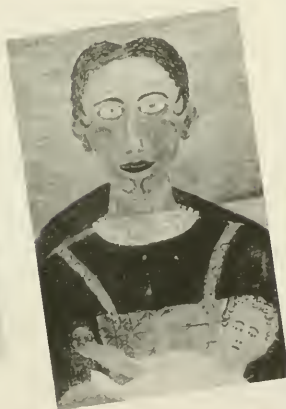
## Zwei „Heilige“!!

Die obere heißt „Die Heilige vom inneren Licht“ und stammt von Paul Klee. Die untere stammt von einem Schizophrenen aus einer Irrenanstalt. Daß diese „Heilige Magdalene mit Kind“ immer noch menschenähnlicher aussieht als das Machwerk von Paul Klee, das durchaus ernst genommen werden wollte, ist sehr aufschlußreich.

## „Ethik der Geisteskrankheit.“

„Der Besessenen wahnsinniges Reden ist die höhere Weltweisheit, da sie menschlich ist . . . Warum haben wir diese Einsicht gegenüber der Welt des freien Willens noch nicht gewonnen? Weil wir äußerlich die Herren des Wahnsinns sind, weil die Geisteskranken von uns vergewaltigt werden, und wir sie daran hindern, nach ihren ethischen Gesetzen zu leben . . . Jetzt müssen wir den toten Punkt in unserem Verhältnis zur Geisteskrankheit zu überwinden trachten.“

Der Jude Wieland Herzfelde in „Die Aktion“ 1914.



## Two "saints"

The one *above* is called 'The Saint of the Inner Light' and is by Paul Klee.

The one *below* is by a schizophrenic from a lunatic asylum. That this 'Saint Mary Magdalene and Child' nevertheless looks more human than Paul Klee's botched effort, which was intended to be taken entirely seriously, is highly revealing.

## "Ethics of Mental Illness"

"The crazy talk of obsessives is the higher wisdom, for it is human. Why have we yet to gain this insight into the world of the free will? Because, superficially, we are in command of insanity, because we do violence to the mentally ill and prevent them from living in accordance with their own ethical laws. Now we must seek to overcome the blind spot in our relationship with mental illness."

The Jew Wieland Herzfelde in "Action" 1914.

1. Paul Klee, *Die Heilige vom inneren Licht* (The saint of the inner light), 1921, color lithograph
2. Unidentified

is that all the talk of a new art in Germany over the last few decades has sprung from a total failure to conceive what the new German age is. For a new epoch is not molded by literary men but by warriors, that is, by the truly formative presences that lead nations and make history. But then that is a status to which these wretched, muddled daubers or scribbles can hardly be expected to aspire.

Besides, only barefaced impudence or unfathomable stupidity could dare to offer to our present age, of all ages, works that might have been made ten or twenty thousand years ago by Stone-Age man. They speak of the primitive in art, and they forget that it is not the purpose of art to move backward and away from the evolution of a nation, that its task can only be to symbolize that living evolution.

Today the new age is shaping a new human type. In countless areas of life huge efforts are being made to exalt the people—to make our men, boys, and youths, our girls and women healthier and thus stronger and more beautiful. And from this strength and this beauty there springs a new lease on life, a new joy in life. Never has mankind been closer to antiquity, in appearance or in feeling, than it is today. Steeled by sport, by competition, and by mock combat, millions of young bodies now appear to us in a form and a condition that have not been seen and have scarcely been imagined for perhaps a thousand years. A glorious and beautiful type of human being is emerging: one who, after supreme achievement in work, honors that fine old saying, "Work hard and play hard." This human type, as we saw him in last year's Olympic Games, stepping out before the whole world in all the radiant pride of his bodily strength and health—this human type, you gentlemen of the prehistoric, spluttering art brigade, is the type of the new age. And what do you create? Misshapen cripples and cretins, women who can arouse only revulsion, men closer to beasts than to human beings, children who if they lived in such a

Ausdruck sucht. Allein, das, was in den letzten Jahrzehnten in Deutschland von einer neuen Kunst redete, hat die neue deutsche Zeit jedenfalls nicht begriffen. Denn nicht Literaten sind die Gestalter einer neuen Epoche, sondern die Kämpfer, d. h. die wirklich gestaltenden völkerführenden und damit Geschichte machenden Erscheinungen. Dazu werden sich aber diese armseligen verworrenen Pinxler oder Strikenten wohl kaum rechnen.

Außerdem ist es entweder eine unverfrorene Frechheit oder eine schwer begreifliche Dummheit, ausgerechnet unserer heutigen Zeit Werke vorzusetzen, die vielleicht vor zehn- oder zwanzigtausend Jahren von einem Steinezeiter hätten gemacht werden können. Sie reden von einer Primitivität der Kunst, und sie vergessen dabei ganz, daß es nicht die Aufgabe der Kunst ist, sich von der Entwicklung eines Volkes nach rückwärts zu entfernen, sondern daß es nur ihre Aufgabe sein kann, diese lebendige Entwicklung zu symbolisieren.

Die heutige neue Zeit arbeitet an einem neuen Menschentyp. Ungeheure Anstrengungen werden auf unzähligen Gebieten des Lebens vollbracht, um das Volk zu heben, um unsere Männer, Knaben und Jünglinge, die Mädchen und Frauen gesünder und damit kraftvoller und schöner zu gestalten. Und aus dieser Kraft und aus dieser Schönheit strömen ein neues Lebensgefühl, eine neue Lebensfreude. Niemals war die Menschheit im Aussehen und in ihrer Empfindung der Antike näher als heute. Sport-, Wett- und Kampfspiele stählen Millionen jugendlicher Körper und zeigen sie uns nun steigend in einer Form und Verfassung, wie sie vielleicht tausend Jahre lang nicht gesehen, ja kaum geahnt worden sind. Ein leuchtend schöner Menschentyp wächst heran, der nach höchster Arbeitsleistung dem schönen alten Spruch huldigt: Saure Wochen, aber frohe Feste. Dieser Menschentyp, den wir erst im vergangenen Jahr in den Olympischen Spielen in seiner strahlenden stolzen körperlichen Kraft und Gesundheit vor der ganzen Welt in Erscheinung treten sahen, dieser Menschentyp, meine Herren prähistorischen Kunststotterer, ist der Typ der neuen Zeit. Und was fabrizieren Sie? Mißgestaltete Krüppel und Kretins, Frauen, die nur abföhrerregend wirken können, Männer, die Tieren näher sind als Menschen, Kinder, die, wenn

## Dieser Mädchenkopf

Ist die Arbeit eines unheilbar irrsinnigen Mannes in der psychiatrischen Klinik in Heidelberg. Daß irrsinnige Nichtkünstler solche Bildwerke schaffen, ist verständlich.



This head of a girl

is the work of an incurably insane man in the psychiatric clinic in Heidelberg. That insane nonartists should produce such works is understandable.



## Diese Spottgeburt

aber wurde ehemals ernsthaft als Kunstwerk besprochen und stand als Meisterwerk von E. Hoffmann in vielen Kunstausstellungen der Vergangenheit. Der Titel des Monstrums hieß: „Mädchen mit blauem Haar“; seine Frisur erstrahlt nämlich im reinsten Himmelblau.

This abortion

was, on the other hand, seriously discussed as a work of art and included in many exhibitions in the past as a masterpiece by E. Hoffmann. The title of the monstrosity is "Girl with Blue Hair", indeed, its coiffure is a resplendent pure sky blue.

1. Eugen Hoffmann, *Mädchen mit blauem Haar* (Girl with blue hair), plaster
2. Karl Brendel, *Mädchenkopf* (Head of a girl), 1912/13, chewed bread



shape would be taken for the curse of God! And this is what these cruel dabblers dare to serve up as the art of our time, that is, as the expression of all that molds and sets its stamp on the present age

Let no one try to say that such artists really see things this way I have noticed among the works submitted many that compel the supposition that some people's eyes fail to show them things as they really are—that is, that there really exist men who see our people of the present day only as absolute cretins, and who, as a matter of principle, perceive—or as no doubt they would put it, "experience"—meadows as blue, skies as green, clouds as sulfur yellow, and so forth I have no intention of entering into any argument as to whether these individuals really see and feel that way or not, but on behalf of the German people I would like to ban any such pitiful unfortunates—evidently the victims of defective eyesight—from

Our resolve was firm that the driveling Dadaist-Cubist and Futurist "experience"-mongers and "objectivity"-mongers would never under any circumstances be allowed any part in our cultural rebirth This will be the most effective consequence of our realizing the true nature of the cultural decadence that lies behind us

*The Führer*  
Reich Party Congress 1935

sie so leben würden, geradezu als Fluch Gottes empfunden werden müßten! Und das wagen diese grausamsten Dilettanten unserer heutigen Mitwelt als die Kunst unserer Zeit vorzustellen, d. h. als den Ausdruck dessen, was die heutige Zeit gestaltet und ihr den Stempel aufträgt.

Man sage nur nicht, daß diese Künstler das eben so sehen. Ich habe hier unter den eingesendeten Bildern manche Arbeiten beobachtet, bei denen tatsächlich angenommen werden muß, das gewissen Menschen das Auge die Dinge anders zeigt, als sie sind, d. h., daß es wirklich Männer gibt, die die heutigen Gestalten unseres Volkes nur als verkommene Kretins sehen, die grundsätzlich Wiesen blau, Himmel grün, Wolken schwefelgelb usw. empfinden oder, wie sie vielleicht sagen, erleben. Ich will mich nicht in einen Streit darüber einlassen, ob diese Betreffenden das nun wirklich so sehen und empfinden oder nicht, sondern ich möchte im Namen des deutschen Volkes es nur verbieten, das so bedauerliche Unglückliche, die ersichtlich an Sehstörungen leiden, die Ergebnisse ihrer Fehlbetrachtung

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**F**est stand der Entschluß, die dadaistisch-kubistisch und futuristischen Erlebnis- und Sachlichkeitschwächer unter keinen Umständen an unserer kulturellen Neugeburt teilnehmen zu lassen. Dies wird die wirkungsvollste Folgerung aus der Erkenntnis der Art des hinter uns liegenden Kulturzerfalls sein.

Der Führer  
Reichsparteitag 1935.

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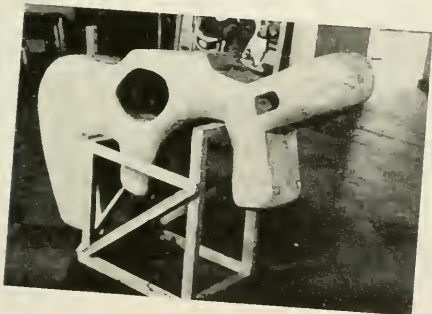
**Wenn ein unheil-  
bar Irrsinniger,**

ein Dilettant wohlgemerkt,  
eine Katze modelliert, so sieht  
das etwa so aus:



**Wenn dagegen Haizmann,**

der seinerzeit als ein „genialer Plastiker“ gefeiert  
wurde, auf die Idee kommt, ein „Fabeltier“ zu  
schaffen, so sieht dieses als Brunnenfigur gedachte  
Monstrum so aus, wie dieses Bild zeigt:



**Dieses Machwerk  
wiegt  
nebenbei bemerkt  
etliche Zentner.**

When an incurable lunatic,

and an amateur into the bargain models a cat, this is  
how it looks

But when Haizmann,

[In another edition: But when the Jew Haizmann,

praised in his own day as a "sculptor of genius," takes  
it into his head to create a "fabulous beast" to adorn  
a fountain, the resulting monstrosity looks like  
this picture

This inferior work weighs several hundred pounds,  
by the way

[In another edition: The Jew creature weighs several  
hundred pounds, by the way.]

1. Rudolph Haizmann, *Fabeltier* (Fabulous beast), plaster
2. Karl Brendel, *Katze* (Cat)

attempting to bluff the public into accepting the products of their distorted vision as real, or even as "art."

No, there are only two possible alternatives.

Either these so-called artists really see things this way and therefore believe in what they represent, in which case we would simply have to investigate whether their visual defects spring from a mechanical or a congenital cause. If the former, this would be a matter for deep regret on behalf of these unfortunates themselves, if the latter, then it would be a matter for the Reich Ministry of the Interior, which would make it its business at least to forestall any further hereditary transmission of such appalling visual defects. Or else even they do not believe in the reality of such impressions but seek to foist their humbug on the people for other reasons, then such behavior falls within the scope of criminal law. It is of no concern to me whether or not these amateur artists fall to clucking over each other's eggs and giving each other testimonials! For the artist does not work for the artist, but like everyone else he works for the people! And we shall take good care that from now on the people will be the judges of his art.

To draw attention to oneself by deliberate lunacies is not only a sign of artistic failure but of moral defect.

*The Führer*

Reich Party Congress 1933

der Mitwelt mit Gewalt als Wirklichkeiten aufzuschwätzen versuchen, oder ihr gar als „Kunst“ vorsetzen wollen.

Nein, hier gibt es nur zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder diese sogenannten „Künstler“ sehen die Dinge wirklich so und glauben daher an das, was sie darstellen, dann wäre nur zu untersuchen, ob ihre Augenfehler entweder auf mechanische Weise oder durch Vererbung zustande gekommen sind. Im einen Fall tief bedauerlich für diese Unglücklichen, im zweiten wichtig für das Reichsinnenministerium, das sich dann mit der Frage zu beschäftigen hätte, wenigstens eine weitere Vererbung derartiger grauenhafter Sehstörungen zu unterbinden. Oder aber sie glauben selbst nicht an die Wirklichkeit solcher Eindrücke, sondern sie bemühen sich aus anderen Gründen, die Nation mit diesem Humbug zu belästigen, dann fällt so ein Vergehen in das Gebiet der Strafrechtspflege... Es interessiert mich dabei auch nicht im geringsten, ob sich diese Auch-Künstler die von ihnen gelegten Eier dann gegenseitig begackern und damit begutachten oder nicht! Denn der Künstler schafft nicht für den Künstler, sondern er schafft genau so wie alle Anderen für das Volk! Und wir werden dafür Sorge tragen, daß gerade das Volk von jetzt ab wieder zum Richter über seine Kunst aufgerufen wird.

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Durch bewußte Verrücktheiten sich auszuzeichnen, um damit die Aufmerksamkeit zu erringen, das zeugt nicht nur von einem künstlerischen Versagen, sondern auch von einem moralischen Defekt.

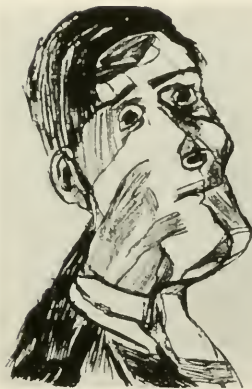
Der Führer  
Reichsparteitag 1933.

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## Welche von diesen drei

Zeichnungen ist wohl eine Dilettantenarbeit vom Insassen eines Irrenhauses? Staunen Sie: Die rechte obere! Die beiden anderen dagegen wurden einst als meisterliche Graphiken Kokoschkas bezeichnet.



Which of these three

drawings is the work of an amateur, an inmate of a lunatic asylum?

You will be surprised *the one on the right above!* The other two used to be regarded as master drawings by Kokoschka

1

2

3

1. Oskar Kokoschka, *Walter Hasenclever (Kopf nach Rechts)* (Walter Hasenclever (Head turned to the right)), 1917, lithograph
2. Unidentified
3. Oskar Kokoschka, *Selbstbildnis von zwei Seiten* (Self-portrait from two sides), 1923, color lithograph



A valuable admission

"We can bluff like the most hardened poker players. We act as if we were painters, poets, or whatever, but what we are is simply and ecstatically impudent. In our impudence we take the world for a ride and train snobs to lick our boots, *parce que c'est notre plaisir*. We raise the wind, raise the storm with our impudence."

From the manifesto by A. Undo in "Action" 1915

## Dummheit oder Frechheit — oder beides — auf die Spitze getrieben!

Ein wertvolles Geständnis:

„Wir können bluffen wie die ab-  
gesottesten Pokerspieler. Wir  
tun so, als ob wir Maler, Dichter  
oder sonst was wären, aber wir  
sind nur und nichts als mit Wol-  
lust frech. Wir setzen aus Frech-  
heit einen riesigen Schwindel in  
die Welt und züchten Snobs, die  
uns die Stiefel abschlecken, *parce  
que c'est notre plaisir*. Wind-  
macher, Sturmmacher sind wir  
mit unserer Frechheit.“

Aus dem Manifest von A. Undo  
in „Die Aktion“ 1915.



1

2

3

1. Max Ernst, *Erschaffung der Eva* (*Belle Jardinière*) (Creation of Eve [*Belle Jardinière*]), 1923, oil on canvas
2. Willi Baumeister, *Figur mit Streifen auf Rosa III* (Figure with pink stripe III), 1920, mixed media
3. Johannes Molzahn, *Zwillinge* (Twins), c. 1930, oil on canvas

# Chronology

Compiled by Jonathan Petropoulos with Dagmar Lott Reschke

Historical

Cultural

1870

The victory of Prussia and its allies over the French culminates in the unification (1871) of the German states as the German Reich, with King Wilhelm I of Prussia named Kaiser (emperor, r. 1871–88).

1871



Otto von Bismarck

The Reichstag (German parliament) adopts a new constitution and elects Otto von Bismarck the first Reichskanzler (chancellor). In the context of a unified German empire, antagonism against a powerful centralized Roman Catholic Church rises during the decade. Bismarck spearheads the government's attack on the church in a policy known widely as *Kulturkampf* (cultural combat).

1876

The opera house at Bayreuth opens with the premiere of Richard Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The ring of the Nibelungen).

1877

For the first time the Socialists succeed in getting a half million votes in popular elections.

1880

Bismarck introduces restrictive legislation directed against the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei (Socialist workers' party).

1883

Publication of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Thus spake Zarathustra).

1888

The reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II is marked by economic expansion and burgeoning imperial ambition during the years prior to the First World War.

1889

The first performance of Gerhart Hauptmann's *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (Before dawn), in Berlin, establishes naturalism as a German literary movement eschewing heroism, didacticism, and contrivance in favor of the depiction of quotidian experience.

1890

The Kaiser dismisses Bismarck, whose anti-Socialist law is repealed. The Socialist party becomes the Sozialistische Demokratische Arbeiterpartei (Social democratic workers' party), headed by August Bebel.

1892

Publication of Max Nordau's *Entartung* (Degeneration).

1896

Creation of the Viennese Sezession under the presidency of Gustav Klimt.

Advent of *Jugendstil*.

1898

Formation of the Berliner Sezession, an exhibition society; Max Liebermann elected president. Membership soon includes Lovis Corinth and Max Slevogt.

Kathe Kollwitz exhibits her series of etchings *Ein Weberaufstand* (The uprising of the weavers) at the Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung (Great Berlin art exhibition).

1900

Publication of Sigmund Freud's *Die Traumdeutung* (The interpretation of dreams)

1902

Aby Warburg establishes a library devoted to art history in Hamburg

1905



Erich Heckel  
Title woodcut  
Die Brücke catalogue  
1910

March 31 Wilhelm II leads an expeditionary force to Tangier in an imperialist challenge to Britain and France

July 9 In Berlin the Social Democratic assembly denounces the Kaiser's imperialism

June 7 Formation of Die Brücke (The bridge) in Dresden by Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. They are soon joined by Max Pechstein (1906)

October–November At the Salon d'Automne in Paris, André Derain, Henri Matisse, Maurice de Vlaminck, and others present works that are subsequently regarded as in the Fauve style

Publication of Albert Einstein's *Spezielle Relativitätstheorie* (Special theory of relativity)

1907

Der Werkbund, an arts and crafts society, founded in Munich by Peter Behrens, Joseph Maria Olbrich, and others

Pablo Picasso completes his Cubist painting *Les Femmes d'Alger* in Paris

1908

Publication of Wilhelm Worringer's *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and empathy)

1909

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti issues the Futurist manifesto

Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, August Macke, and Franz Marc found the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (New Munich artists' society), publishing the *Almanach des bleuen Reiters* (The blue rider almanac) two years later

1910

Its population doubling in thirty-five years, from less than a million to more than two million, Berlin becomes a modern European metropolis

Herwarth Walden founds the publishing house Der Sturm (The storm) and the journal of the same name, promoting modern art

First gallery exhibition for Die Brücke held at Galerie Arnold, Dresden

1911

Carl Vinnen publishes *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (A protest by German artists), inveighing against the purchase of French Impressionist paintings by German museums. Max Beckmann, Kandinsky, Macke, and Marc publish *Im Kampf um die Kunst* (Fighting for art) in response

1912

Gaining a plurality, the Social Democrats succeed for the first time in becoming the largest party in the Reichstag

First major international exhibition of modern art, organized by the Sonderbund westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler (Special association of west German friends of art and artists) in Cologne

Walden opens Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin

Publication of Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the spiritual in art)

1913



Armory Show New York

Walden presents the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* (First German autumn salon), Berlin

Influenced by the Sonderbund exhibition and including works by Kandinsky, Kirchner, and Wilhelm Lehmbruck, the Armory Show, the first international exhibition of modern art in the United States, opens in New York

Marcel Duchamp creates his first "ready-made," *Bicycle Wheel*

1914

The First World War begins. The United States, entering the war in April 1917, helps stem the Germans' final offensive in early 1918

Marc dies in the battle of Verdun, France

Dada, the new art, is founded at Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich

## 1918

*November* As Germany faces certain defeat at the hands of the Western Entente—France, Britain, and the United States—revolution spreads throughout the country. The Kaiser abdicates, and Philipp Scheidemann, a Social Democrat, proclaims a new German republic

Kurt Schwitters makes his first Merz constructions

Publication of Thomas Mann's *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Reflections of an unpolitical man)

Bernhard Kellermann, Kollwitz, and other artists sign a declaration of support for the new republican government published in *Vorwärts*, the Social Democrats' newspaper

Formation of the Novembergruppe (November group) and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' council for art) in Berlin. Both exhibition groups, consisting of radical artists, writers, and architects, advance ideas about the relationship between politics and art

## 1919



Max Pechstein  
Title lithograph  
*An alle Künstler*

*January* The Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist party) is founded. Government and right-wing paramilitary forces brutally suppress Spartacist uprisings; leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht are murdered

*February* A newly elected national assembly, meeting in Weimar, selects Friedrich Ebert as the first Reichspräsident (president)

*June* Germany accepts the terms of the Treaty of Versailles

*July* A liberal constitution guaranteeing universal suffrage and proportional representation is ratified by the national assembly

*February* The Arbeitsrat für Kunst elects Walter Gropius its chairman

The Novembergruppe issues an appeal for political involvement, *An alle Künstler* (To all artists!). In November the Arbeitsrat and Novembergruppe merge

Gropius forms the art and design school Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar. The staff soon includes Marcel Breuer, Lyonel Feininger, Johannes Itten, Kandinsky, Klee, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Man Ray, and Oskar Schlemmer

## 1920



*Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari*

*February 24* The Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP, National Socialist German workers party) is founded in Munich

*March* The Kapp Putsch, an attempt by right-wing forces to wrest control of the government in Berlin, fails largely because of opposition of striking unions

First International Dada Fair held in Berlin

Film *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (The cabinet of Dr. Caligari, director: Robert Wiene)

Erwin Piscator opens his Proletarian Theater in Berlin

Vladimir Tatlin designs a monument (never executed) to the Third International of the Communist party

Katherine Dreier, Duchamp, and Man Ray found the Société Anonyme in New York

Antoine Pevsner and Naum Gabo publish the Realist manifesto

## 1921

*March* France occupies Rheinland-Westfalen, including the Ruhr mining region, in an effort to enforce German payment of wartime reparations, prompting strikes (April) by miners

Influence of extreme right-wing secret organizations increases

Erich Mendelsohn completes his Einstein Tower in Potsdam

Film *Lichtspiel Opus 1* (Light play 1, filmmaker: Walter Ruttmann)

Arnold Schoenberg announces the principle of the twelve-tone scale

Alban Berg premieres *Wozzeck* at the Staatsoper, Berlin

Publication of Heinrich Wölfflin's *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken* (The principles of art history)

Publication of Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus*

Einstein receives the Nobel Prize for physics

Alexandr Rodchenko, Vavara Stepanova, the Stenberg brothers, and others create Constructivist works in Moscow. The Productivist movement begins shortly thereafter with works by Liubov Popova, Rodchenko, and Stepanova

Avant-garde art group Zenit organizes and begins publication of a periodical, *Zenit*, in Zagreb



1922



Walter Rathenau

Historical

April 16 The Treaty of Rapallo, signed by Germany and the Soviet Union, codifies cooperation between the outcast powers of Europe

June 24 Assassination of Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau by National Socialists

Cultural

October Mann delivers a speech, "Von deutscher Republik" (On the German republic), in Berlin in support of the Weimar Republic

Publication of Hans Prinzhorn's *Bildner der Geisteskranken* (Image-making by the mentally ill)

Film *Dr. Mabuse* (director Fritz Lang)

Film *Nosferatu* (director F. W. Murnau)

Van Diemen Gallery, Berlin, presents Russian avant-garde art in the *Erste Russische Kunstausstellung* (First Russian art exhibition)

Publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses*

T. S. Eliot writes *The Waste Land*

1923



"Beer Hall" putsch, Munich

October 15 With inflation peaking at one U.S. dollar to 42 billion marks, currency reform is introduced

November 9 Seeking to induce the Bavarian state government to rebel against the federal government in Berlin, and modeling their actions on Benito Mussolini's 1922 march on Rome, the Nazis, led by Adolf Hitler and Erich Ludendorff, attempt a putsch in Munich

November 15 Street fighting between right- and left-wing radicals, including the paramilitary Sturmabteilung (SA, storm troop), leads to the Reichstag's banning both the National Socialist and Communist parties

Publication of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck's *Das Dritte Reich* (The Third Reich)

Publication of Rainer Maria Rilke's poems *Sonnette an Orpheus* (Sonnet to Orpheus) and *Duineser Elegien* (Duinese Elegies)

Popular radio broadcasts begin in Germany

1924

November French and Belgian soldiers evacuate Rheinland-Westfalen following German acceptance of the Dawes Plan to restructure reparations and loan payments

Unemployment totals 2.6 million workers

Hitler serves one year of a five-year sentence for treason

In connection with the 1923 publication of George Grosz's illustrations for his *Ecc Homo*, Grosz and publisher Wieland Herzfelde stand trial on charges of publishing obscene material. Found guilty, they are fined 6,000 marks, and plates for the book are confiscated.

Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer establish the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for social research), widely known as the Frankfurt School

Publication of Mann's *Der Zauberberg* (The magic mountain)

Hitler dictates *Mein Kampf* while imprisoned in Landsberg

André Breton issues the first Surrealist manifesto and begins publishing the periodical *La Révolution surréaliste*

1925



Poster, *Battleship Potemkin*

April Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg is elected president following the death of Ebert

Autumn Hitler begins rebuilding the NSDAP

October 15 Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann negotiates the Treaty of Locarno. Germany promises to respect its borders with France and Belgium

June 11 *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity) exhibition, organized by Gustav Hartlaub, opens at the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim

The Bauhaus moves to Dessau

Publication of El Lissitzky and Hans Arp's *Kaustömen* (The isms of art)

Publication of Lion Feuchtwanger's *Jud Süß* (Jew Süß)

Posthumous publication of Franz Kafka's *Der Prozess* (The trial)

At the request of the Reichswehr (army) Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin* is banned in Germany, though the ban is subsequently lifted

In a resolution entitled "On the Party's Policy in the Field of Artistic Literature" the central committee of the Soviet Communist party calls for an artistic style "comprehensible to the millions" while also advocating continued open competition among various artistic tendencies

1926



Metropolis

1927

# Historical

April Germany and the Soviet Union renew the Treaty of Rapallo

September Stresemann's diplomacy leads to Germany being admitted to the League of Nations

January Allied control over Germany ends

August 10–21 First Nazi party rally in Nuremberg

# Cultural

Mies van der Rohe becomes director of the Werkbund in Berlin

Schubert elected to the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian academy of arts) Berlin

Bertolt Brecht's *Baal* and antimilitarist *Mann ist Mann* (Man is man) are staged in Berlin and Darmstadt

Film *Metropolis* director Lang

Otto Dix appointed to the faculty of the Kunstakademie Dresden

Paul Hindemith's *Hin und Zurück* (To and fro) is performed at the Baden Baden festival

Ernst Krenek's *Johnny spielt auf* (Johnny strikes up) opens at the Städtische Oper, Leipzig

Otto Klemperer becomes conductor of the Kroll-Oper, Berlin

Publication of Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and time)

Publication of Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race)

Publication of Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (All quiet on the western front)

Brecht and Kurt Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* (The three-penny opera) opens in Berlin

A Berlin court finds Grosz and Herzfelde guilty of blasphemy in connection with the publication of Grosz's portfolio *Hintergrund* (Background). Their conviction is subsequently overturned on appeal

1928



Lotte Lenya in the film version of *Die Dreigroschenoper*

June 28 The Social Democrats join with the ultra-conservative Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP, German national people's party), the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German democratic party), and the Zentrum (Center) in a "Great Coalition," selecting Hermann Müller chancellor

August 27 The combatants of the First World War sign the Kellogg-Briand pact, renouncing war as a means of settling disputes

Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture) founded in Munich by Heinrich Himmler, Alfred Rosenberg, and other National Socialists to promote Nazi-approved culture

Mann receives the Nobel Prize for literature

Publication of Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*

Opening of the Museum of Modern Art in New York with Alfred Barr, Jr. as its first director

1929

May 1 *Blutmai* (Bloody May) is marked by Communist demonstrations in Berlin and the beginning of a long series of street confrontations between Nazis and Communists

Onset of the Great Depression worldwide resulting in withdrawal of loans to Germany

1930



Election poster "Our last hope: Hitler"

March Unemployment totals 4.4 million workers

March 27 Müller's cabinet resigns, Heinrich Brüning's Zentrum forms a new government (March 30)

September 14 In Reichstag elections the Nazis increase their representation from 12 to 107 seats

April–May In Thuringia, Wilhelm Frick, Nazi minister of the interior, enacts the repressive Ordinance against Negro Culture (April 5), while Schultze-Naumburg orders the effacement of Schlemmer's murals in the Bauhaus and the removal of works by Barlach, Kandinsky, and Klee from the Schlossmuseum in Weimar

October Nazis disrupt the Frankfurt performance of Brecht and Weill's *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (The rise and fall of the city of Mahagonny) with stink bombs

Publication of Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Myth of the twentieth century)

Lewis Milestone's film *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), Josef von Sternberg's *Der blaue Engel* (The blue angel, 1930), and G. W. Pabst's *Weißfront 1918* (1930) are banned

January Unemployment reaches 57 million workers

June 5 Cuts in the salaries and pensions of public employees are announced

July 13 Following the collapse of the Darmstadter National Bank, all German banks are closed for two days. The German stock market closes shortly afterward, remaining closed until September

October Right-wing paramilitary forces, including the Nazi SA and the Stahlhelm, a veterans' organization, form a coalition, the Harzburg Front

## 1932



Yamawaki  
The End of the  
Dessau Bauhaus

January Unemployment continues rising

April 30 Hindenburg is reelected president. Hitler, running second, wins 37 percent of the vote nationally

June 1 Fall of Brüning cabinet; Franz von Papen is appointed chancellor by Hindenburg, but by November his government also falls, and Kurt von Schleicher, formerly minister of defense, is appointed (December 3) in his place, falling in turn just seven weeks later (January 28, 1933)

July 31 The Nazis poll 378 percent of the vote in Reichstag elections, more than doubling their seats, to 230

June 5–6 The Glaspalast (Glass palace), Munich, site of annual exhibitions of academic art as well as installations of avant-garde works, is destroyed by fire

July 3 After consistently presenting performances of music by Hindemith, Krenek, Schoenberg, and other avant-garde composers, the Kroll-Oper closes

Like Brecht, Hanns Eisler, John Heartfield, and Bruno Taut, Piscator leaves Germany to work in the Soviet Union

January 21 Dessau town council votes to dissolve the Bauhaus. The school is moved to Berlin as a private institute under the directorship of Mies van der Rohe. All teachers at the Folkwang art school, Essen, are dismissed

Grosz takes up residence in New York as an exile and accepts a teaching post at the Art Students League

Der Sturm ceases publication; Walden emigrates to the Soviet Union

Publication of Hans Fallada's *Kleiner Mann, was nun?* (Little man, what now?)

## 1933



Hindenburg and Hitler

January 30 Two days after the fall of Schleicher, Hindenburg appoints Hitler chancellor. Hermann Göring and Wilhelm Frick are initially the only other National Socialists in the cabinet

January 31 Hitler addresses the nation on radio: "Gebt uns vier Jahre Zeit" (Give us four years' time)

February 27 Reichstag fire and subsequent emergency measures strengthen Hitler's control, approximately four thousand Communists, blamed for the conflagration, are imprisoned

March 5 In the last freely contested elections in Hitler's Germany the National Socialists garner 44 percent of the vote, their current allies, the DNVP, taking an additional 5 percent, yielding a parliamentary plurality

March 24 Passage of an enabling act allows Hitler to act without the consent of the Reichstag

April 1 The Nazis call for a boycott of businesses owned by Jews

April 7 Jews and those deemed "politically unreliable" are purged from government bureaucracies by the Professional Civil Service Restoration Act, a crucial early milestone in Nazi persecution

May 2 All trade unions are absorbed into the National Socialist Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German labor front)

May 6 Nazi hooligans destroy the Hirschfeld Institute for Sexual Science at Charlottenburg

May 10 In an act described as *wider den un-deutschen Geist* (against the un-German spirit) the burning of books is organized by Nazis in Berlin and numerous university towns

July 11 Hitler abolishes the founding of new political parties

February Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann solicit signatures for an anti-Fascist poster, *Dringender Appell* (Urgent appeal), for distribution throughout Berlin. Einstein and Ernst Toller are among the signatories

March 12 Joseph Goebbels named Reich Minister for National Enlightenment and Propaganda

April First Schandaustellungen (abomination exhibitions) detaching modern art are held in Dresden and Mannheim. During the year similar exhibitions are held in cities throughout Germany

April 11 In Berlin the Bauhaus is closed by the police on Göring's orders

July 25 Frick orders the closing of 30 *Deutsche Künstler* (30 German artists), an exhibition of modern art including works by Barlach, Beckmann, and Emil Nolde at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller, Berlin

September 22 The Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture), a network of government-controlled bodies, is established under Goebbels's leadership to regulate all artistic endeavor

October 15 In Munich Hitler lays the cornerstone for the first official National Socialist building, the Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German art). A parade and pageant mark the first Tag der Deutschen Kunst (German art day)

November 15 Eugen Honig, an architect, is named president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts)

December The library of the Warburg Institute is moved from Hamburg to London

Many artists—Gropius, Kandinsky, Klee, Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Toller, and Weill among them—emigrate from Germany

Those who lose teaching posts include Willi Baumeister, Beckmann, Dix, Karl Hofer, Kollwitz, Liebermann, Pechstein, and Schlemmer

Museum directors who lose their posts include Ernst Gosebruch (Essen), Hartlaub (Mannheim), Carl Georg Heise (Lübeck), Ludwig Justi (Berlin), Gustav Pauli and Max Sauerlandt (Hamburg)



Nazi book-burning, Berlin



Nazi party rally, Nuremberg

## 1935

## Historical

**January 26** Germany and Poland sign a nonaggression pact

**June 28** *Nacht der langen Messer* (Night of the long knives) in an attempt to stabilize his rule, Hitler orders the murders of Ernst Röhm and other leaders of the SA, justifying his action as a preventive measure against a possible putsch

**July 25** Austrian National Socialists attempt a putsch. Although the insurrection is quelled, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß is murdered

**August 1** Hindenburg dies. Hitler subvenes the presidency under his new title, Führer (leader)

**August 19** In a plebiscite to validate Hitler's dictatorship, the Nazis receive 89 percent of the vote

Fifteen concentration camps exist in Germany by the end of the year

## Cultural

**January** Hitler names Rosenberg his deputy in charge of intellectual and ideological training

**March 28** *Araojitluta*, an exhibition of Italian avant-garde art, opens in Berlin with speeches by Expressionist poet Gottfried Benn and futurist painter and poet Marinetti. Goebbels serves on the honorary committee

In the spring Kakoschka flees to Prague, where he organizes the anti-Fascist Kakoschka League with Theo Balden, Heinrich Heide, and Eugen Hoffmann among others as members

**September 1** At the Nuremberg party rally Hitler condemns both modernism and traditional nationalist art. This is the address memorialized by Leni Reifenstahl's film *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the will)

In the Soviet Union social realism is ratified as the official style by the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers

**January 13** In a plebiscite 91 percent of voters in the Saarland, a western region ceded to France after the First World War, indicate their support for rejoining the Reich

**March 16** Universal military conscription is introduced in violation of the Treaty of Versailles

**July 25** The Communist Third International declares that party members in democratic countries should support their governments' efforts against Fascist states. In response "popular front" movements begin throughout Europe

**September 15–18** The Nuremberg Laws define who is a Jew and curtail the civil rights of Jews

Richard Strauss resigns as president of the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich chamber of music) after incurring official displeasure in response to his collaboration with a Jewish librettist, Stefan Zweig, on *Die schweigsame Frau* (The silent woman)

## 1936



Newspaper commemorating the Berlin Olympics

**February 16** Representatives of the Popular Front win a majority of parliamentary seats in Spanish elections. From February through June 170 churches, 69 political clubs, and 10 newspaper offices are destroyed by fire, 113 general strikes and 228 partial strikes are called. On July 18 an army rebellion begins the Spanish civil war

**March 7** Germany reoccupies the demilitarized Rheinland, another violation of the Treaty of Versailles

**May 3** A Popular Front government wins a majority of parliamentary seats in France; the Fascist party is suppressed (June 30)

**July 17** Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler of the SS (Schutzstaffel, elite guard) is named chief of German police

**August 21** The Berlin Olympics concluded; German courts resume mock trials of Roman Catholic priests accused of immoral conduct, but a week later Hitler orders an end to the trials when the German Catholic Church publicly joins the Nazi opposition to Bolshevism

**September 9** A four-year plan, aimed at reconciling increased military expenditure with economic reform, is announced under Göring's jurisdiction

**November 1** A German-Italian pact forms the basis of the Axis. An anti-Comintern pact with Japan follows a month later

Germany plays host to the winter Olympic Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen (February) and summer games in Berlin (August)

**August** Count Klaus von Baudissin, Nazi director of the Museum Folkwang, Essen, sells Kandinsky's *Improvisation 1912*, the first modernist painting removed from a public collection

**October 30** The modern section of the Berlin Nationalgalerie in the Kronprinzenpalais is closed by Minister of Education Bernhard Rust

**November 23** The Nobel Prize for peace is awarded to left-wing journalist and social theorist Carl von Ossietzky. Hitler forbids Germans to accept the award, thus deepening the country's isolation from the international community

**November 26** Goebbels bans art criticism

**December** Adolf Ziegler, a painter of Nazi-approved subjects, replaces Hönig as president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste

**December** In an open letter to the dean of the philosophy faculty, University of Bonn, Thomas Mann protests the rescinding of his honorary doctorate

The Kollektiv deutscher Künstler (Collective of German artists) is founded by exiled publisher Paul Westheim in Paris. Members include Max Ernst, Otto Freundlich, and Gert Wollheim





Poster, *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*



Pageant on "Tag der Deutschen Kunst" (German art day)



Goebbels and Hitler visit *Entartete Kunst*



Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, Paris Exposition



Ernst Barlach, *Mädgebürg War Memorial*



New Bauhaus logo



Russian avant-garde art, Tretakov Gallery, Moscow

Poster, *Der ewige Jude*Burning synagogue, Rostock, *Reichskristallnacht*

## Historical

March 14 Pope Pius XI issues his encyclical "With Burning Concern" which is critical of Nazi policy

April 26 In support of Franco the German Condor Legion flies bombing raids over Guernica in the Basque region of Spain

February Hitler replaces the moderate foreign minister, Constantin von Neurath, with Joachim von Ribbentrop and in a shakeup of the military dismisses Werner von Blomberg, the minister of war, and Werner von Fritsch, quartermaster general of the army

March 12 The *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria adds 7 million citizens to the Reich

September 12 Joseph Goebbels decrees the exclusion of Jews from public cultural events

September 29 In return for Hitler's abjuring further territorial claims in Europe, heads of state—Neville Chamberlain, Edouard Daladier, Hitler, and Mussolini—agree to Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia)

October 4 The Popular Front government falls in France when the left abstains from a vote of confidence

November 12 The *Reichskristallnacht* (Reich "night of broken glass") pogrom leaves hundreds of German Jews dead, many imprisoned, and massive destruction of property

## Cultural

May–November The German pavilion at the *Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne* in Paris is an Albert Speer design. Picasso's *Guernica* is exhibited in the Spanish pavilion

June 30 Goebbels transmits Hitler's order to Ziegler enabling him to begin purging examples of "entartete Kunst" from museums for an exhibition

July 18 Hitler, officiating at the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and its inaugural exhibition, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) proclaims a *Säuberungskrieg* (cleansing war against modernist, "degenerate" art

July 19 Ziegler opens the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* near the Hofgarten, Munich, directly across the park from the Haus der Deutschen Kunst

July 19 Beckmann emigrates to Amsterdam Feininger, Kirchner, and Schwitters leave Germany soon afterward

August–November The purging of German museums continues. Approximately five thousand paintings and sculptures and twelve thousand graphic works are confiscated and moved to a warehouse on Kupeniker Strasse, Berlin

October 15 Laszlo Moholy-Nagy opens the New Bauhaus in Chicago

November Numerous confiscated works of art are included in *Der ewige Jude* ("The eternal Jew" exhibition in Munich

Rosenberg begins publishing the periodical *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (Art in the Third Reich)

Several war memorials by Barlach are removed from German churches

Defamatory installation of Russian avant-garde art in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Publication of Wolfgang Willrich's *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art)

May The Gestapo begins confiscating artworks owned by Jews in Vienna

May 4 Ossietzky dies of tuberculosis after his incarceration in the Papenburg concentration camp

May 31 Expropriation of artworks deemed degenerate is legitimized by passage of post facto legislation

June 26 Hitler authorizes Sonderauftrag Linz (Special project Linz), empowering Hans Posse, director of the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, to collect artworks for his personal museum in Linz

July 8 20th Century German Art at the New Burlington Galleries, London, opens with an address by Beckmann, "On My Theory of Painting."

November In the wake of the Kristallnacht pogrom, confiscations of artworks owned by Jews begin

November 4 *Freie Deutsche Kunst* (Free German art), an exhibition of modern art organized by German exiles, opens in Paris

Speer designs the Neue Reichskanzlei (New Reich chancellery), Berlin, construction completed in mid-1939

Barlach dies in Güstrow. Kirchner commits suicide in Switzerland

Goebbels establishes the Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art), which spends the next four years selling confiscated works

## 1939



German troops invade Poland

### Historical

**January 30** In a speech to the Reichstag Hitler prophesies the destruction of the Jewish people in the coming war

**March 14–16** The occupation of Prague and disarmament of Czechoslovakia begins

**May 22** The Pact of Steel, codifying a military alliance between Germany and Italy, is signed

**August 23** Germany and the Soviet Union sign a mutual non-aggression pact

**August 25** Britain guarantees the integrity of Poland

**September 1** Germany invades Poland Britain and France respond (September 3) by declaring war on Germany, France invades the Saarland (September 9), the Soviet Union invades Poland (September 17)

**September 27** Warsaw falls as the Poles capitulate, thereby creating a border between Germany and the Soviet Union

**November 8** Assassination of Hitler attempted in the Lowenbrau-Keller, Munich

A policy of "euthanasia"—extermination of the mentally ill and others living "valueless lives"—is undertaken, then abandoned following a public outcry

### Cultural

**June 30** The Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, auctions 125 paintings and sculptures purged from German museums

**September** SS commandos, accompanying German armed forces into Poland, plunder works of art, especially those relating to German culture and history

Publication of Ernst Junger's *Auf den Marmorklippen* (On the marble cliffs) and Ernst Wiechert's *Das Einfache Leben* (The simple life), both viewed by many as veiled criticisms of the Nazi regime

Kokoschka with Heartfield, Schwitters, and others found the Freier Deutscher Kulturbund (Free German cultural league) in London. More than one hundred exiled artists join

Artist Hans Grundig is imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp

## 1940



Felix Nussbaum's self-portrait with identity card

**April 9** German armed forces invade Denmark and Norway

**May–June** Germany invades the Netherlands, which capitulates May 15, Belgium, which capitulates May 28, and France, which signs an armistice June 22, dividing the country into a German-occupied northern zone and a southern zone under the Vichy regime

**August** The success of the Royal Air Force in its defense during the Battle of Britain induces Hitler to cancel plans for invasion

**May 10** Jewish painter Felix Nussbaum is arrested in his Brussels hiding place, deported, and later murdered at Auschwitz

**July 7** Death of Paul Klee in Switzerland

**September** Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, Klaus Mann, and Franz and Alma Werfel escape across the French-Spanish border and travel via Lisbon to the United States. Walter Benjamin commits suicide shortly thereafter when he finds the route closed

**September 17** The German high command in France authorizes the "Rosenberg task force" to seize art from the private collections of Jewish families. Similar actions are authorized in Belgium, the Netherlands, and other occupied territories

**November 5** Göring inspects booty in the Jeu de Paume and issues an order concerning the distribution of desirable confiscated works. Hitler first, Göring second, various German museums and institutions third

**November 28** Premieres of anti-Semitic films *Der ewige Jude* and *Jud Süß*

## 1941



Max Ernst arrives in New York

**February** German troops land in North Africa to support faltering Italian forces

**April 6** Germans bomb Belgrade and begin fighting in Yugoslavia and Greece, the two countries capitulate within the month

**May 10** Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess flies to Scotland, where he is apprehended and imprisoned

**June 11** Franklin Roosevelt freezes German and Italian assets in the United States, seizes German and Italian vessels in American ports, and closes German consulates in American cities

**June 22** Germany invades the Soviet Union and massacres Jews at Babi Yar, near Kiev (September 29)

**December** The German offensive falls short at the outskirts of Moscow, Soviets use fresh Siberian divisions to launch a counterattack

**December 7** The Japanese bomb Hong Kong, Malaya, Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, and Singapore. Within one week the United States and the Axis powers have declared war against one another

**April 19** Premiere in Zurich of Brecht's *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (Mother Courage and her children). In July Brecht and his family arrive in Los Angeles, having traveled via Finland and the Soviet Union

**August 23** Nolde is forbidden to paint

**September** Requested by Baldur von Schirach, the governor of Vienna, Strauss agrees to move to the Austrian capital to make guest appearances as conductor of the Staatsoper and Philharmonie

Ernst flees Paris for New York



*January 20* At a conference in Wannsee near Berlin, the decision is taken to organize the *Endlösung* (final solution): the extermination of the Jews.

*July* Deportation of Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka begins.

*November* Allied troops land in North Africa and by December begin bombardment of Italian cities.

*February 22* Zweig and his wife commit suicide in Brazil.

*June 10* The last Jewish schools in Germany are closed.

*June 11* Anne Frank begins writing her diary while hiding in Amsterdam.

*July 11* The rector of the University of Vienna announces that because of their loss of citizenship Martin Buber and Zweig are to be stripped of their academic degrees.

## 1943



German prisoners of war, Stalingrad

*January 31* The German army capitulates at Stalingrad.

*February 18* In a speech to sixteen thousand at the Berlin Sportpalast (Sports pavilion) Goebbels rallies the German people with a call for "total war."

*April* Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the heroic struggle ends with the SS destroying the Jewish residential quarter of the city.

*May 15* Field Marshal Rommel surrenders to Allied forces in Africa.

*July 25* Mussolini is forced from power and arrested.

*September 13* A new Italian government, led by Pietro Badoglio, declares war on Germany.

*February 6* With Schirach's backing the controversial exhibition *Junge Kunst im Dritten Reich* (New art in the Third Reich) opens in the Vienna Künstlerhaus, including some abstract works.

*March 4* Freundlich, intercepted by the Gestapo as he attempts to cross the Pyrenees, is deported to Poland, where he dies at the Maidanek concentration camp.

*May 23* Approximately five hundred works of modern art are burned in the garden of the Jeu de Paume, Paris.

*August 31* The newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* is banned.

## 1944



Art stored in the salt mines

*June 6* D-Day: Allied forces make their landfall in northern Europe at Normandy.

*July 20* Attempt by members of upper military echelons to assassinate Hitler at his East Prussian headquarters fails. Count Claus von Stauffenberg and others are executed for their participation.

*August 15* Allied troops land in the south of France, liberating Paris ten days later.

*February 15* Most of the three thousand graphic works stored in Nolde's Berlin atelier are destroyed during an aerial attack on the city.

*June 30* The Staatsoper, Vienna, performs Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* (Twilight of the gods) as its last regularly scheduled presentation after Goebbels orders a reduction in cultural activities.

*August* As an austerity measure the government limits the number of publications produced in the Reich.

Nazis sequester works of art in Tyrolean salt mines and isolated castles.

## 1945

*January 26* Auschwitz is liberated by the Soviet army.

*January 30* Hitler makes his last radio address.

*February 4–11* Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin confer at Yalta.

*February 13–15* At least eighty thousand perish in the English and American bombing of Dresden.

*March 7* The Allies cross the Rhine at Remagen.

*April 25* American and Soviet armies meet on the Elbe.

*April 28* Mussolini and Clara Petacci are executed by partisans.

*April 30* Hitler and Eva Braun commit suicide. Goebbels serves as chancellor for one day before his suicide.

*May 7* Unconditional surrender is signed by the Germans at Reims and again the next day at Berlin.

*June 5* The Allied Control Commission assumes control over Germany.

*July 17–August 2* In conference at Potsdam the Big Three—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—assume power within their zones of German occupation, agree on the dismantling of German industrial installations, and redraw the map of Eastern Europe as they restore territory occupied by Germany during the war.

*January 30* *Kolberg*, an extravagant feature film, personally supervised by Goebbels, depicting the German defense of the homeland during the Napoleonic wars, opens at the single cinema still operating in Berlin.

*April 22* Kollwitz dies at Schloss Moritzburg near Dresden.

*May* Thomas Mann delivers an address, "Germany and the Germans," in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



# Register of Frequently Cited Names and Organizations

Compiled by Dagmar Lott-Reschke and U. Claudia Mesch

## • Die Aktion (Action)

A journal published in Berlin (1911–32) by Franz Pfemfert. *Die Aktion* was generally considered left-wing and pacifist in its sentiments. During the First World War the magazine included poetry, prose, and letters from soldiers as well as prints and drawings by such modernists as Lyonel Feininger, Otto Freundlich, George Grosz, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Ludwig Meidner.

## • von Baudissin, Count Klaus (b. 1891)

Ministerial director of the Office of Public Education under the minister of education, Bernhard Rust, during the Third Reich, from 1925 to 1933 Baudissin had been assistant curator at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. He organized the "chamber of horrors" exhibitions of modernist art at the Berlin Kronprinzenpalais in 1933 and in 1934 was appointed director of the Museum Folkwang, Essen, replacing Ernst Gosebruch. Baudissin sold Wassily Kandinsky's *Improvisation 192* in August 1936, making it the first modernist work removed from a public collection as a "cleansing" act. Baudissin was a member of Adolf Ziegler's committee for the confiscation of modernist art from German museums and the organization of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich in 1937.

## • Boehmer, Bernhard A. (d. 1945)

See Andreas Huneke's essay in this volume

## • Buchholz, Karl

See Andreas Huneke's essay in this volume

## • Cassirer, Paul (1871–1926)

Publisher, writer, and art collector. Cassirer established the Galerie Paul Cassirer, Berlin, site of modernist exhibitions and performances. As a patron, he was closely associated with the Berlin Sezession.

## • Flechtheim, Alfred (1878–1937)

Through his galleries in Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Vienna, Flechtheim was a consistent promoter of French and German modernism. An art collector himself and a publisher, he was cofounder of the Sonderbund, an association of artists and their supporters, which in 1912 presented the first international modernist art exhibition. Flechtheim emigrated to London in 1930.

## • Frick, Wilhelm (1877–1946)

Reich minister of the interior (1933–43). Frick had served as minister of culture in the state of Thuringia (1930–31), where he initiated the first assaults on modernist artists. He played an active role in the expropriation of the property of Jews and was hanged in Nuremberg after the war.

## • Goebbels, Joseph (1897–1945)

Goebbels was appointed as Reich minister for public enlightenment and propaganda in 1933 and in that capacity masterminded the National Socialist propaganda machine, which controlled all aspects of German cultural life. He was responsible for staging the book burnings of May 1933 in which Jewish, Marxist, and other "subversive" authors were con-

demned. Personally interested in German Expressionist art, Goebbels tried initially to support such artists as Emil Nolde. By 1937, however, the tide had turned against Expressionism, and on June 30 of that year he authorized Adolf Ziegler to begin collecting works for an exhibition in Munich "of the art of decay in Germany since 1910 in the areas of painting and sculpture." Goebbels's *Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst* (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art) was responsible for recommending confiscated art works for sale for hard currency beginning in 1938. He died by his own hand on May 1, 1945, after serving a single day as chancellor following the death of Hitler.

## • Goring, Hermann (1893–1946)

Goring served as commander-in-chief of the German air force, created the state secret police (Gestapo), and together with Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich was responsible for setting up the first concentration camps. He served as president of the Reichstag (Parliament) in 1932 and later as prime minister of Prussia and was Hitler's second in command. Goring was an avid art collector, who employed a personal art advisor. Several well-known works from the Berlin Nationalgalerie were allegedly set aside for his collection. Following his 1946 conviction by the Nuremberg tribunal, Goring committed suicide.

## • Gurlitt, Hildebrand (b. 1895)

See Andreas Huneke's essay in this volume

## • Handstaengl, Eberhard (1886–1973)

Handstaengl served as director of the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, from 1925 to 1933, when he was appointed director of the Berlin Nationalgalerie. He remained in Berlin until he was forced to retire four years later. In 1939 he was employed as an editor by the F. Bruckmann Verlag (publishing company) in Munich. After the war he became general director of the Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, where he remained until his retirement in 1953.

## • Hentzen, Alfred (1903–1985)

Hentzen, a German art historian, was appointed to the curatorial department of the Berlin Nationalgalerie, first as an assistant and then as a curator. During his tenure he helped establish the department of modern art in the Kronprinzenpalais. In Berlin he edited the avant-garde journal *Museum der Gegenwart* (Modern museum, 1930–33) and was an outspoken critic of National Socialist policies concerning modern art. He wrote *Deutscher Bildhauer der Gegenwart* (Modern German sculpture) in 1934, it was banned the following year. In 1937 he was forced to resign his position, although he was able to find work first as a curator in the Staatliche Museen at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum and later at the Deutsches Museum, Berlin, between 1938 and 1945. After the war he worked at the Kestner-Gesellschaft, Hannover, trying to rebuild the collection; he became director in 1952. He served as director of the Hamburger Kunsthalle from 1955 until his retirement in 1969.

## • Hetsch, Rolf (b. 1903)

A lawyer and art historian by training, Hetsch was responsible for inventorying the 12,890 confiscated artworks stored by the National Socialists at the Kopenicker Strasse warehouse in Berlin. (Of his six-volume inventory only one volume is known to have survived the war.) He also administered the movement of works sold from storage at Schloss Niederschönhausen. Before joining the NSDAP, Hetsch had written a book on the German modernist Paula Modersohn-Becker and begun another on Ernst Barlach.

## • Himmler, Heinrich (1890–1945)

From 1929 Himmler served as head of the SS (Schutzstaffel, elite guard) and from 1936 as head of the police and the state secret police (Gestapo). In 1943 he was appointed minister of the interior and thereafter was fanatical in his implementation of the "final solution," as the regime's plan for the systematic annihilation of Jews and other enemies was known. Himmler committed suicide in May 1945.

## • Hinkel, Hans (1901–1960)

Hinkel joined the NSDAP in 1921 and in 1923 became editor of the National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*. He was a member of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat league for German culture) and in 1930 became supervisor of non-Aryan cultural activities.

## • Hoffmann, Heinrich (1885–1957)

Hoffmann served as Hitler's official photographer and was his confidant. This proximity prompted his appointment to the selection committee for the annual *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) in Munich and to the *Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst* (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art). He published the National Socialist journal *Kunst im Volk* (Art of the people). His photographs were published in numerous popular journals of the 1930s and 1940s; his archives are housed today in the National Archives, Washington, DC.

## • Hofmann, Franz (b. 1888)

An art historian by training and an early supporter of Hitler, Hofmann wrote polemical articles about modern art for the official National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In 1933 he was appointed director of the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, and began purging works of modern art from the collection before 1937; he remained as director until 1938. He served on Adolf Ziegler's commission for the confiscation of modernist art and on the *Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst* (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art). It was Hofmann who suggested a symbolic burning of art works in Berlin in 1938.

## • Just, Ludwig (1876–1957)

See Annegret Janda's essay in this volume

- *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Combat league for German culture)  
Alfred Rosenberg founded the league in 1929 as an official arm of the National Socialist party explicitly to seek the condemnation of modernist art works branded as "entartete Kunst." The league supported instead highly sentimentalized folkish (popular) art.
- *Möller, Ferdinand* (1882–1956)  
See Andreas Hancke's essay in this volume.
- *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity)  
In 1925 Gustav Hartlaub, director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, organized the exhibition *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (New objectivity: German painting after Expressionism), which promulgated a new, more realistic style and included work by Max Beckmann, Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, George Grosz, and Karl Hubbuch. These artists were reacting to the emotional aspect of Expressionism and approached their subjects—portraiture and commonplace objects—with a sober perspective that addressed the difficult economic and political situation of the 1920s.
- *Novembergruppe* (November group)  
Following the November 1918 revolution a significant number of architects, artists, writers, filmmakers, and composers in Berlin—Bertolt Brecht, Lyonel Feininger, Walter Gropius, Erich Mendelsohn, and Max Pechstein among them—formed a group to sponsor exhibitions, organize readings, create posters, and publish catalogues to urge their fellow artists to involve themselves in the emerging society. They called on Cubists, Expressionists, and Futurists to unite; their strident graphics urged the citizenry to work together to form a national consensus in support of the revolution.
- *Piper, Reinhard* (1879–1953)  
One of the most important publishers of art history, literature, and philosophy in the modern German era, Piper founded his firm in 1904, publishing works by Dostoevsky and Schopenhauer. During his career he brought out works on recent and contemporary artists—Cézanne, Daumier, van Gogh, Manet, Renoir—and Old Masters—Bruegel, Cranach, Dürer, Rembrandt—as well as books by such critics as Julius Meier-Graefe and Wilhelm Worringer and such composers as Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg. In 1912 he published Wassily Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the spiritual in art) and Kandinsky and Franz Marc's *Almanach des Blauen Reiters* (The blue rider almanac), two of the cornerstones of Expressionism. He also presented deluxe portfolio editions of many of the most prominent Expressionist graphic artists. Piper was a lifelong advocate of the work of Ernst Barlach. In 1936 Joseph Goebbels censured the firm for its intended publication of Barlach's drawings, which prompted the artist to protest that he was a good German, neither Jewish nor degenerate.
- *Prinzhorn, Hans* (1886–1933)  
The Psychiatric Clinic of the University of Heidelberg emerged in the early 1920s as a center for the study of the art of the insane under the direction of the neurologist and psychologist Prinzhorn, who collected six thousand drawings, paintings, and objects by patients at the clinic, mounted an exhibition of their work, and published *Die Bildner der Geisteskranken* (Image-making by the mentally ill) in 1922. Much attention was focused on Prinzhorn's pioneering efforts, and many artists visited Heidelberg throughout the 1920s to see the work. Paul Schultze-Naumburg used examples from the collection in his treatise *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race), which in turn influenced the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition guide.
- *Rave, Paul* (Ortwin) (1891–1962)  
Rave joined the curatorial staff of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin in 1922 and in 1937 became the provisional director when Gustav Hantstengel was forced to resign. Rave remained as provisional director throughout the war and subsequently served as director until 1950. His 1949 book *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Art dictatorship in the Third Reich) was the first account of the "entartete Kunst" actions of the NSDAP. In 1952 Rave became director of the Neue Nationalgalerie in West Berlin.
- *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste* (Reich chamber of visual arts)  
Under Joseph Goebbels's direction, this branch of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture) undertook universal control of art production from 1933 onward. All artists were required to be registered in order to obtain materials and permission to exhibit, and only those who could prove their Aryan descent were eligible for membership. It was through the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste that the purge of modernism from visual art was organized and a new German art imposed.
- *Rosenberg, Alfred* (1893–1946)  
The leading cultural ideologue of the National Socialist party, Rosenberg, an architect by training, had joined the party as early as 1919. In 1929 he organized the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Combat league for German culture) and the following year published *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The myth of the twentieth century), his tract on Aryan racial superiority. He served as editor of *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (Art in the Third Reich) and the *Völkischer Beobachter* (1921), the official NSDAP newspaper. He became deputy for the supervision of all "intellectual and ideological training and education" for the NSDAP in 1934, and in 1939 he was temporarily appointed to replace Alois Schardt as director of the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortizburg) in Halle. In September 1940 he spearheaded the so-called Rosenberg task force, charged with confiscating art treasures from Jewish collections and libraries in France and other occupied countries and transporting them to Germany. Rosenberg was hanged in Nuremberg in 1946.
- *Rust, Bernhard* (1883–1945)  
As Reich minister of science, education, and popular culture from 1934 to 1945 Rust oversaw the purge of German universities, during which thousands of Jewish, Social Democratic, and other academicians in official disfavor lost their jobs. His victims included such scientists as Albert Einstein and Otto Heinrich Warburg as well as such renowned artists as Max Liebermann. Rust was responsible for the closing of the modern art department of the Berlin Nationalgalerie at the Kronprinzenpalais in 1936 and ordered the "cleansing" of the museum's collection. He committed suicide in 1945.
- *Schardt, Alois* (1889–1955)  
Schardt served as director of the Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Mortizburg) in Halle from 1926 to 1933, when he was sent to Berlin for four months to replace Ludwig Justi, who had been forced to resign the directorship of the Nationalgalerie. He was arrested by the SS at the opening of a Franz Marc exhibition in Hannover, his recently published monograph on Marc had been condemned by the NSDAP. In 1939 he emigrated to the United States and was affiliated with Marymount College in Los Angeles.
- *Scholz, Robert* (b. 1902)  
A follower of Alfred Rosenberg, Scholz contributed art commentary to the *Völkischer Beobachter* and Rosenberg's periodical *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (Art in the Third Reich). In 1940 he was appointed to head the Rosenberg task force and participated in the Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst (Commission for the disposal of products of degenerate art). A French court convicted him of crimes against humanity and sent him to prison in 1945.
- *Schultze-Naumburg, Paul* (1869–1949)  
One of the most powerful of Nazi theorists, Schultze-Naumburg published *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and race) in 1928, applying the arguments of racist demagoguery to artistic production in a pseudoscientific manner. He attempted to demonstrate a connection between avant-garde portraiture and photographs of the physically handicapped; he was influenced by the attention being accorded artists under Hans Prinzhorn's care in Heidelberg. As superintendent of the Weimarer Vereinigte Werkstätten (Weimar unified craft workshops) in the 1930s, Schultze-Naumburg ordered the effacement of Oskar Schlemmer's mural in the school.
- *Schweitzer, Hans* (b. 1901)  
The National Socialist propaganda artist Schweitzer produced exhibition posters for the party and published caricatures in the *Völkischer Beobachter* under the pseudonym Mjölmir (Thunderhammer). Joseph Goebbels appointed him Reich commissioner for artistic design with instructions to develop guidelines for official Nazi art. He served on Adolf Ziegler's committee for the confiscation of modernist art works.
- *Der Sturm* (The storm)  
In Berlin in 1910 Herwarth Walden founded *Der Sturm*, a journal devoted to avant-garde art. Published until 1932, it contained original graphics by such artists as Oskar Kokoschka and members of Die Brücke. Alfred Döblin and Elsa Lasker-Schüler were among its authors. In 1912 Walden also established a publishing house and gallery by the same name. The gallery was soon to become a venue for ground-breaking exhibitions of European avant-garde art, showing modern German, French, Italian, and Russian works.
- *Walden, Herwarth* (1878–1941)  
See *Der Sturm*.
- *Willrich, Wolfgang* (b. 1897)  
Willrich was a painter and influential art critic, closely associated with the first "chamber of horrors" art exhibitions in Dresden. In 1937 he published his inflammatory book, *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art), which used collage techniques to defame modernist art. He was a member of Adolf Ziegler's commission for the confiscation of art for the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition and collaborated with Walter Hansen on the installation.
- *Ziegler, Adolf* (1892–1959)  
Ziegler was one of the painters favored by Hitler. He joined the party in 1925 and was considered the Reich expert on art. He taught at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts in 1933. In 1936 Joseph Goebbels appointed him president of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) and the following year authorized him to oversee a commission for the confiscation of modernist art works from public collections. Ziegler reorganized the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich. In 1943 as a result of his pacifist tendencies he was briefly imprisoned in a concentration camp.

# Exhibition Ephemera

*'Degenerate Art' The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* included a representation of relevant books and catalogues, musical selections and scores, photographs, film extracts and newsreel footage, posters, newspaper clippings, and ephemera. The introductory gallery contained material on *Entartete Kunst*, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, Nazi-approved art, the Galerie Fischer auction, a twenty-two-foot scale model of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition by Eric Marable, and *Munch 1937*, a film loop by Erwin Leiser. The film gallery presented a program of extracts from twelve abstract and Expressionist films by Oskar Fischinger, Fritz Lang, Hans Richter, Robert Wiene, and others. In the literature room forty books by such authors as Albert Dohlin, John Dos Passos, Lion Feuchtwanger, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, Karl Marx, and Erich Maria Remarque, which were among those proscribed by the Nazis in 1933, were displayed with a film, *Germany 1933*, by Leiser, focusing on the book burnings (Exhibited books that also appear in the bibliography of this volume are noted in that section.) The music gallery contained material on the exhibition *Entartete Musik* as well as on Nazi-approved music, jazz, and those composers and musicians who were defamed by the Nazis and forced into exile, musical selections included were by Hanns Eisler, Arnold Schoenberg, Kurt Weill, and others.

## Posters and exhibition-related publications

Hans Schweitzer (pseud. Mjolinir), posters: *National-Sozialismus* (National socialism), 1930, and *Unsere letzte Hoffnung Hitler* (Our last hope Hitler), 1932, The Robert Core Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California

Felix Albrecht, poster: *Deutschland erwacht* (Germany awakes), 1932, The Robert Core Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California

Käthe Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann, poster: *Dringender Appell* (Urgent appeal), Berlin, 1933, Käthe-Kollwitz-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin

For *Sonderausstellung Entartete Kunst. Abrechnung mit der jüdisch-bolschewistischen Kulturvergiftung* (Special exhibition of degenerate art. Retribution for the Jewish-Bolshevist poisoning of culture) at the Haus der Kunst, Dortmund

- Poster and exhibition leaflet, 1935, Stadtarchiv Dortmund

For *Olympische Spiele Berlin 1936* (Berlin Olympic Games 1936)

- Frantz Würbel, poster, 1936, The Robert Core Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California

For *Entartete Kunst* at the Kunst- und Gewerbeverein, Regensburg

- Exhibition leaflet, 1936, Stadtarchiv Regensburg

For *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew) at the Bibliotheks-bau des Deutschen Museums, Munich

- Postcard, 1937, private collection, Munich

For *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate art)

- Fritz Kaiser, exhibition brochure, 1937, a) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Core Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, b) Günther Thiem, Stuttgart, c) private collection

At the Archäologisches Institut, Munich

- Postcards and circular, 1937, private collection, Munich

At the Haus der Kunst, Berlin

- Invitation card, 1938, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie
- Postcards, 1938, George-Grosz-Archiv, Berlin
- Ticket of admission, 1938, private collection

At the Kunstpalast am Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf

- Ticket of admission, 1938, Archiv Lauterbach, Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf
- Leaflets, 1938, private collection, Hamburg

For *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Munich

- Richard Klein, poster, 1937, private collection, Los Angeles
- Catalogue, 1937, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Special Collections (Wilhelm F. Arntz Archive), Los Angeles (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago only)
- Leaflet, private collection, Munich

For "Tag der Deutschen Kunst München 1937" (German art day, Munich 1937)

- Richard Klein, postcard and parade button, 1937, private collection, Munich

For *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Munich

- Richard Klein, poster, 1938, The Robert Core Rifkind Foundation, Beverly Hills, California
- Catalogues, 1938–44, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Core Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies (Los Angeles only), The Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago only)

For *20th Century German Art* at the New Burlington Galleries, London

- Poster, 1938, The Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London
- Catalogue, 1938, Dr. Stephan Lackner

## National Socialist propaganda

Other books included in the exhibition are listed as primary sources in the bibliography (p. 406)

Brochure: publisher's release for Wolfgang Willrich's *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art), Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1937, private collection, Munich

Brochure: *Der Führer macht Geschichte 1937* (The Führer makes history, 1937), with photographs by Heinrich Hoffmann, Berlin: Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes, 1937, private collection, Munich

Max Simon Nordau, *Entartung* (Degeneration), Berlin: C. Dunker, 1892 (vol. 1), 1893 (vol. 2), Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge

## Galerie Fischer auction

For *Gemälde und Plastiken moderner Meister aus deutschen Museen* (Paintings and sculpture by modern masters from German museums), auction, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, June 30, 1939 (all material courtesy of the Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, unless otherwise indicated)

- Contracts: with the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, March 7, 1939, with the Marine Insurance Company, Zurich, March 11/14, 1939, with the Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, Lucerne, April 17, 1939
- Announcements of the auction in the program of the Casino Kursaal Lucerne Saison 1939, March 31, 1939, of the preview exhibition, Zurich, of previews in Zurich and Lucerne
- Catalogues: a) Galerie Fischer, Lucerne (Theodor Fischer's annotated copy), b) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Core Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, c) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch Art Research Library
- Bidding cards: Josef von Sternberg for lot 67 (Kokoschka, *Tower Bridge in London*), Jean Buisseret, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Liege, for lot 39 (Ensor, *Masks and Death*), lot 44 (Gauguin, *From Tahiti*), and lot 83 (Laurencin, *Portrait of a Girl*)
- Payment records: Josef von Sternberg, Georg Schmidt, director of the Kunstmuseum Basel, Pierre Matisse, Paris

The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition has intrigued three generations of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. Paul Ortwin Rave's *Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Mann, 1949; ed. Uwe M. Schneede, Berlin: Argon, 1987) has remained the standard account for information on the exhibition, the subsequent Galerie Fischer auction in Lucerne in 1939, and the activities leading up to these actions. The first book to appear in English was Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt's *Art under a Dictatorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), which was also a firsthand account. The author was an American-based scholar who served at the end of the war in the United States government's Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section, which was responsible for investigating the art looting by the Nazis in Germany and France. Lehmann-Haupt's book is especially valuable for its assessment of Nazi cultural policies, he also discussed the role played by culture in a totalitarian society and compared Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia on this issue. Another, more recent study in English is Berthold Hinz's *Art in the Third Reich* (New York: Random House, 1979), originally published in 1974 as *Die Malerei im deutschen Faschismus 1933–1945: Kunst und Konterrevolution* (Giessen: Anabas, 1974). Two works that provide much documentary material on art in Nazi Germany are Joseph Wüll, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), and Otto Thomae, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie: Bildende Kunst und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1978).

It was not until the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Entartete Kunst* that any attention was focused on the exhibition by museums. That year, 1962, saw the first commemorative exhibition mounted at Munich's Haus der Kunst, the building that had been built for the first *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* but had been used after the war to house the modern collection of the Bavarian region. The 1962 exhibition featured artists whose work was seized as "degenerate" during the 1937–38 sweep through the German museums; it did not bring together exclusively those works that had been shown in Munich. Franz Roh's *"Entartete" Kunst: Kunstbarbarei im Dritten Reich* (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1962), also a twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration, contained valuable listings of several thousand of the sixteen thousand paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints taken from German museums and provided some information about their whereabouts at that time. Until recently this was the most frequently consulted source for a museum-by-museum itemization of what was confiscated.

German historian Hildegard Brenner published her pioneering book *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt) in 1963. It remains the major source for the subject (unfortunately, only one chapter has been translated into English). For the next two decades very little material appeared in Germany and none in America that dealt specifically with the Munich exhibition. It was at the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1933 book-burnings that attention was once again focused on the fate of modern culture during the Third Reich, a number of books and exhibitions in Berlin, Hamburg,

and Duisburg provided important documentation. On the occasion of the 1987 anniversary of *Entartete Kunst* the exhibition itself and the actions leveled against the visual arts came under reexamination by a new generation. There were commemorative exhibitions in Düsseldorf, Halle, Mannheim, Munich, Stuttgart, and in 1988 in West and East Berlin that dealt with specific aspects of the confiscations. Many of these exhibitions were accompanied by well-researched, valuable catalogues, but most were focused on the activities in a particular city or region and included only a modest number of borrowed artworks. The publication accompanying the 1987 exhibition in Munich, *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), edited by Peter-Klaus Schuster, is the most comprehensive. Newspaper and magazine articles as well as television programs proliferated. Many raised the question of the status of the Nazi-approved art and what was to be done with the thousands of examples lying in the basements of museum and government buildings.<sup>1</sup> Some controversy erupted in 1986, for instance, when a leading German businessman and collector, Peter Ludwig, and his wife Irene commissioned their portraits by Arno Breker, the sculptor most highly favored by the Nazis, who still lives and works in Düsseldorf.<sup>2</sup> The art produced during the Third Reich and the issue of how it is viewed today remains a very sensitive topic in Germany. (S. B.)

## Notes

1 After the war much of this art (6,337 works) was taken over by the United States government and placed in the care of the Pentagon. In 1982, after Congress passed legislation providing for the return of the less inflammatory examples, over 5000 works were delivered to the German government, which further classified the Nazi art. The more overtly propagandistic pieces were kept under guard at an army base in Ingolstadt, Bavaria, and the remainder was put in the care of the Oberfinanzdirektion in Munich.

2 The attitude of Peter and Irene Ludwig toward Nazi art and artists and the larger issue of how to handle Nazi art emerged as controversial topics of public discussion in Germany in the mid-1980s. For an anthology of relevant articles and manifestos see Klaus Staack, *NS-Kunst ins Museum?* (Göttingen: Steil/Zirk, 1988) and a special issue of the art journal *timenem* that was devoted to the debate, "Nazi Kunst ins Museum?" (*timenem*, no. 157 [March 1987]).



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Compiled by Jonathan Petropoulos, with the assistance of U Claudia Mesch

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From the outset it was clear that to reconstruct as much as possible of the original *Entartete Kunst* exhibition of 650 works of art, let alone to place German events of more than fifty years ago in perspective for American audiences, would be a formidable undertaking. Ultimately, conceiving, organizing, and mounting “*Degenerate Art*”: *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* required five years of intense effort. This could not have been accomplished without the confidence and constant encouragement of museum director Earl A. Powell III, for which I am very grateful. Our board of trustees, under the direction of Daniel N. Belin and then Robert F. Maguire III, wholeheartedly supported the exhibition as an important endeavor. One trustee in particular, Franklin D. Murphy, deserves my special thanks. Dr. Murphy saw the Munich show in 1937, when he was traveling in Germany during the summer following his college graduation. His recollections, advice, and enthusiasm were much appreciated.

Without corporate sponsorship it has been difficult to mount an exhibition as complex and ambitious as this one. Consequently, we relied on government support to help fund this challenging project. This exhibition was only realized through funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities and National Endowment for the Arts as well as through an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. In addition, a National Endowment for the Arts fellowship for museum professionals in 1986–87 helped underwrite my several months’ stay in Germany, enabling me to complete a significant portion of the archival work.

We were delighted that early in the planning stages the Art Institute of Chicago expressed keen interest in the exhibition and that they became the sole venue after Los Angeles. It was a pleasure to work with director James Wood and curator Charles Stuckey, whose enthusiasm for the project rivaled my own.

The original *Entartete Kunst* exhibition has become one of the most frequently cited but little understood events in the history of our century. Unfortunately, until recently it was impossible to determine exactly what had comprised the exhibition, not to mention the fate of the works themselves. With the discovery of several dozen photographs in the archives of the Nationalgalerie in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, added to material from archives in Munich and the Arntz archives at the Getty Center for Art History and the Humanities in Los Angeles, the task of reassembling the original list of works became a possibility. The meticulous work and dedicated scholarship of Annegret Janda, Andreas Hüneke, and especially Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau made it a reality. Their contributions over the past several years to the documentation of the contents of *Entartete Kunst* and their participation in this volume are greatly appreciated. Lüttichau was helpful at every step of this project, generous in his advice, in assisting in securing loans and tracking down archival photographs. He has been a model collaborator. Janda, formerly

the archivist at the Nationalgalerie in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, freely shared the treasures under her jurisdiction, and her cooperation made much of the visual part of this book a reality.

In 1987 Germany commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the original *Entartete Kunst* show with a series of books, articles, lectures, and exhibitions. I am grateful to the following museum colleagues who have also worked on this subject: Manfred Fath, Sabine Fehlemann, Dagmar Lott-Reschke, Karin von Maur, Jörn Merkert, Werner Schmalenbach, and Peter-Klaus Schuster. Klaus Gallowitz, director of the Städtische Galerie (Städtisches Kunstinstitut) in Frankfurt, deserves my special thanks for adjusting the opening dates of his exhibition of modern art collections in prewar Frankfurt so as to not jeopardize loans to our exhibition.

Since it was conceived as a reconstruction of several rooms of the original *Entartete Kunst* show, ours was an exhibition in which there was no margin for substitution in the roster of requested works. Much of the art we sought required exceptions to long-standing loan restrictions by colleagues to whom we are particularly grateful: Christian Geelhaar, Basel; Wolf-Dieter Dube, Magdalena Moeller, Angela Schneider, and Peter-Klaus Schuster, Berlin; Ulrich Weisner, Bielefeld; Evelyn Weiss, Cologne; Klaus Gallowitz, Frankfurt; Werner Hofmann and Helmut Leppien, Hamburg; Norbert Nobis and Ursula Reuther, Hannover; Irene Martin, Lugano; Carla Schulz-Hofmann and Armin Zweite, Munich; and Peter Beye and Karin von Maur, Stuttgart, have all been generous with works under their care. In the United States Robert Gore Rifkind and Fiorella Urbinati, Los Angeles; Vivian Endicott Barnett, Riva Castleman, Lisa Dennison, John Elderfield, Kirk Varnedoe, and Diane Waldman, New York; William J. Chiego, Oberlin; and Michael Shapiro, Saint Louis, were particularly accommodating. All the lenders, who are listed on page 416, were extremely cooperative. To them goes our heartfelt gratitude for making this endeavor possible.

The arduous process of locating works of art was aided by numerous conversations I had with many colleagues who always took an interest and often provided valuable leads. I was privileged to speak at length with the eminent scholar and bibliophile Wilhelm Arntz shortly before his death. His encouragement in this area, one to which he had devoted more than thirty years of his life, was very heartening in the project's early stages. It was extremely helpful that his library and archive were acquired by the Getty Trust, housed at the Getty Center for Art History and the Humanities, and made immediately accessible to me by the willing and able staff. In particular I would like to acknowledge those who guided me to works included in the original show, confirmed suspicions that certain works had been destroyed, or provided other assistance: Marcelo Mattos Araujo, Vivian Endicott Barnett, Timothy Benson, Hans Bolliger, Marco Crameri, Werner Crisp, Andrea Firmenich, Katherine Fleet, Stefan Frey, Wolfram Gabler, Hans Geissler, Peter Grosz, Wolfgang and Ingeborg Henze, Rainer Horstmann, Joop Joosten, Felicitas Karg-Baumeister, Florian Karsch, Eberhard

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During my research on the 1939 Galerie Fischer auction, the staff of the gallery in Lucerne most graciously opened their files and archives to me on several occasions. I thank Anna Fischer and especially Marco Crameri, who has devoted much time to investigating the fate of the auctioned works.

As the exhibition developed, it expanded beyond a reconstruction of the original show to include documentation on the prescription by the National Socialists of film, music, and literature. It was a privilege to collaborate with outstanding scholars who generously acted as our advisors in the creation of separate exhibition rooms devoted to these arts.

In music, Michael Meyer of California State University, Northridge, contributed an essay to this volume and with Leonard Stein, director of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute, helped organize the documents, texts, and selections of music that were made available to visitors on audio tapes. Together with the Los Angeles County Museum's director of music programs, Dorrance Stalvey, we planned two evenings devoted to the performance of music of the period Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, who organized an exhibition in Germany on the 1938 *Entartete Musik* show, were generous, sharing material from their exhibition as well as texts from their catalogue for our presentations in Los Angeles and Chicago. It is gratifying that during the course of the Los Angeles exhibition, the Los Angeles Philharmonic presented several concerts of music of the period, sponsored a related exhibition at the Hollywood Bowl Museum, and hosted a symposium and presentation on *Entartete Musik*. It was a pleasure to work with Ernest Fleischmann and Ara Guzelimian of the Philharmonic.

In literature, I relied on the expert advice and scholarship of Ehrhard Bahr, professor of German literature at the University of California, Los Angeles, who worked tirelessly with Jonathan Petropoulos of our research team to shape the content, write the text panels, and locate archival materials for the exhibition vitrines. Bahr was unfailing in his guidance and willingness to review material (often on short notice) and take time from his own archival research in Germany to find material for us.

Ron Haver, the Los Angeles County Museum's distinguished curator of film, and William Moritz of the California Institute of the Arts were enthusiastic about programming a retrospective of German films, "From Caligari to Hitler," in the museum's Bing Theater to coincide with the exhibition. Moritz, who contributed an essay to this volume, worked closely with us on the selection of film clips to be shown in the exhibition itself. I relied on the talents of the award-



winning filmmaker Erwin Leiser of Zurich to locate and assemble the documentary film footage shown in the introductory and literature rooms of the exhibition. Discussions about film of the period with Leiser and Anton Kaes of the University of California, Berkeley, proved most helpful.

An article by Grace Glueck in the *New York Times* about the exhibition several months prior to the opening led to the startling discovery of actual footage taken by American newsreel and documentary filmmaker Julien Bryan. I am indebted to Raye Farr and the filmmaker's son, Sam Bryan, as well as the Library of Congress, for making this footage and related stills available to us.

One of the most gratifying responses during the course of preparing this exhibition was that of other cultural institutions in Los Angeles that offered to participate with us in collateral programming. It is with pleasure that we collaborated with Gordon Davidson and his staff at the Mark Taper Forum, who eagerly responded to our suggestion of an evening of cabaret to be mounted during the run of the exhibition. Peter Jelavich and John Willett provided material and translations for the production. Stein organized a related exhibition and lectures at the Schoenberg Institute, and at UCLA Bahr organized an interdepartmental seminar with many invited lecturers to coincide with the exhibition. The Martyrs of the Holocaust Museum in Los Angeles mounted a small show, *Polluting the Pure: An Exhibit on Racial Hygiene and Eugenes*, and the Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance brought several lecturers to Los Angeles.

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At the Los Angeles County Museum of Art I am once again indebted to the extensive library, collection, and staff of the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies for both research materials and the loan of many graphics and books. The staff of the Mr and Mrs Allan C. Balch Research Library, in particular Eleanor Hartman and Anne Diederick, helped to locate many important newspaper articles and arrange endless interlibrary loans.

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This publication, which will be the lasting record of the exhibition, was sensitively designed by Drobka, who patiently, resourcefully, and imaginatively responded to its challenges. His meticulous attention to the details of its complicated layout and his solutions for handling less-than-perfect quality archival photographs was creative, imaginative, and contributed to make this a beautiful and readable book. Brenner and his staff were responsible for many of the excellent original photographs in this book and also worked carefully to accommodate the demands of reproducing archival photographs. The editing and the coordination of texts from many authors has been skillfully handled by Susan Caroselli. Her precise work, her grace with authors, and dedication to the project are gratefully acknowledged. I am also indebted to the expert guidance of Mitch Tuchman, the museum's managing editor, for overseeing the conception and execution of this book with great interest, knowledge, and enthusiasm. I owe him my thanks for his cogent suggestions in the reading of my manuscripts for the book. I am delighted to work with Paul Gottlieb and his staff at Harry N. Abrams, Inc., in the publication of this volume.

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At this moment the arts in America are the subject of much discussion and controversy, and the issue of government support for the arts has been questioned for the first time since the founding of the National Endowment for the Arts more twenty-five years ago. An exhibition that reflects on a dark moment in cultural history but focuses on those works of art and creative geniuses that survived is a celebration of the power of art to transcend the most daunting circumstances.

Stephanie Barron  
Curator, Twentieth-Century Art  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

## List of Lenders

Akademie der Künste, Berlin  
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(continued from front flap)

chronology, and extensive documentation on the fate of the works in the 1937 exhibition and those that were sold at auction in Lucerne in 1939. A facsimile of the rare guide to the 1937 exhibition, with a new English translation, helps place the reader in the ambience of the show. A room-by-room photographic survey, along with an illustrated list of all works shown, will be valuable to students of twentieth-century art and of German culture.

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